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ANCIENT EGYPT

UNDER THE PHARAOHS.

BY JOHN KENRICK, M.A.

Ἀριπρεπέων γένος ἀνδρῶν
Οἱ πρῶτοι βίβωτοιο δισσθήσαντο κελύθους,
Πρῶτοι δ' ἡμερόντος ἐπειρήσαντο ἀρότρου,
Σπῶτοι δὲ γραμμῇσι πόλον διεμετρήσαντο,
Ὡς, ᾧ φρασσόμεναι λαξὸν ὁρμόν ἡλίοιο.

DIONYSII PERIEGESIS 232.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.



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ANCIENT EGYPT

UNDER THE PHARAOHS

BY JOHN KENNEDY, M.A.

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JOHN B. ALDER, FOUNDED
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P R E F A C E.

EGYPTIAN archæology and history have undergone a complete revolution since the commencement of the present century, and especially since the discovery of the hieroglyphical character. Hitherto, however, no work has appeared in our language from which the historical student can obtain a comprehensive view of the results of the combined labors of travellers and artists, interpreters and critics, during the whole of this period. The object of my work is to supply this deficiency. It describes, according to the present state of our knowledge, the land and the people of Egypt, their arts and sciences, their civil institutions, and their religious faith and usages; and relates their history from the earliest records of the monarchy to its final absorption in the empire of Alexander. Strictly speaking, the dominion of the Pharaohs ceased with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. But it was not without reason that Manetho carried on his Dynasties to the flight of Nectanebus the Second. The struggle of two centuries, renewed at intervals, for the recovery of the national independence, belongs essentially to the history of the native sovereigns.

The references which the work contains will indicate the sources, ancient and modern, from which it has been derived. No accessible materials have been intentionally neglected. It may seem presumptuous in one who possesses but a limited acquaintance with hieroglyphics, to undertake a work, of which the historical part, before the commencement of the Greek accounts, must be derived from hieroglyphical legends. I may plead, however, that the province of the decipherer and the antiquary has always been held to be distinct from that of the historian, who is only required to follow the best authority that he can obtain. In the uncertainty which still prevails in regard to the interpretation of hieroglyphics, the reader is perhaps most safe in the hands of one who has no system of his own to defend. Wherever a doubt appeared to exist, I have acknowledged it; where no materials for history are found, I have left the blank to be filled up by subsequent discovery.

The history of Egypt, down to the seventh century B.C., is almost entirely derived from inscriptions on monuments. Their number has been greatly increased by the researches of individual travellers, and still more by those of the French, Tuscan and Prussian expeditions, so that on the surface at least of Egypt and Nubia very few remain that have not been accurately copied, nor many of which the general purport and evidence is not understood. I should gladly have waited for the results of the last-mentioned of these undertakings, had the time of their complete publication been more definite. It is not probable, however, that the promised work of Lepsius will effect any change in the great divisions of

Egyptian history, as laid down by his friend and fellow-laborer, the Chevalier Bunsen. Whatever period were chosen for a publication like the present, the same difficulty would still exist; the evidence would not be exhausted; there would still be doubtful questions of criticism, interpretation and chronology.

What is now published, although complete in itself, is only a portion of a contemplated work comprehending the history of those countries of the East whose civilization preceded and influenced that of Greece. Syria and Phœnicia will form the next volume. The rapidity with which the discovery and interpretation of the Assyrian and Persian monuments have lately advanced, justifies the hope that it may be possible before long to relate the history of these monarchies with something of the copiousness and certainty which Egyptian history has attained.



CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

The Valley of the Nile and its Monuments.

Antiquity of Egyptian civilization.—The White River.—The Blue River.—Meroe.—The Tacazzè.—Gebel-el-Birkel.—The Third Cataract.—Island of Argo.—Semneh.—The Second Cataract.—Aboosimbel.—Ibrim.—Derr.—Amada.—Pseleis.—Kalabsche.—Beitoualli.—Taphis.—Pilæ.—Syene.—Ombi.—Apollinopolis Magna (Edfoo).—Elithya (El-kab).—Latopolis (Esneh).—Gebelein.—Hermonthis.—THEBES.—Apollinopolis Parva.—Coptos.—Tentyra.—Diospolis Parva.—Abydos.—Panopolis.—Hermopolis Magna.—Speos Artemidos (Benihassan).—Alabastron.—Oxyrynchus.—Heracleopolis.—The Fyoun.—The Pyramids.—MEMPHIS.—Branches of the Nile.—The <i>Pelusiæ</i> .—Heliopolis.—Bubastus.—Pelusium.—Lake Menzaleh.—Tanis.—The <i>Sebennytic</i> .—Busiris (Babbeit).—The <i>Canopic</i> .—Terenuthis.—Sais.—Naucratis.—Lake Mareotis.—Coast of Egypt	1-50
--	------

CHAPTER II.

The Country between Egypt and the Red Sea.

Wadi Magara.—Surabit-el-Kadim.—Geological structure.—Routes from the Nile to the Red Sea.—Emerald mines.—Wadi Jasoos.—Gold mines.—Population of the coast and the interior	51-55
--	-------

CHAPTER III.

The Western Desert.

False conceptions of the Desert.—Its extent.—The Oases.—Ammonium (Siwah).—Bahr-be-la-Ma.—Natron lakes.—Fountain of the	
--	--

Sun.—El-Bacharieh.—Artesian wells.—El-Khargeh.—El-Dakkel. —El-Farafreh	Page 56-64
---	---------------

CHAPTER IV.

The Inundation of the Nile, Soil, Productions, and Climate of Egypt.

Geology of the Delta.—Petrified forest.—Alluvium of the Nile.— Theories of the ancients.—Commencement, amount and end of the inundation.—Quality of the Nile water.—Botany of Egypt. —Zoology.—Climate.—Differences of Upper and Lower Egypt	65-80
---	-------

CHAPTER V.

Population and Language.

Complexion and hair of the ancient Egyptians.—The Coptic lan- guage.—Relation to the Syro-Arabian languages.—Identity with the old Egyptian.—Origin of Egyptian population.—Supposed connexion with India	81-93
--	-------

CHAPTER VI.

Memphis and the Pyramids.

Foundation of the city.—Site.—Pyramids of Gizeh.—The Sphinx. —Tombs near the Pyramids.—Causey.—Quarries of Mokattam. —Pyramids of Abousier—of Saccara—of Dashour—of Lisht—of Meydoom—of Illahoun.—The Pyramid of El-Koofa.—Pyramids of Meroe	94-125
--	--------

CHAPTER VII.

Thebes.

Deposition of the soil.— <i>Western bank</i> .—Qoorneh.—The Meneph- theion.—The Rameseion.—Sepulchre of Osymandyas.—The Amenophion.—The Vocal Memnon.—Medinet Abou.—The Thothmeseion.—Pavilion of Rameses.—The Hippodrome.—Se- pulchres.—The Bab-el-Melook or Valley of the Kings.—Sepul- chres of the Queens.— <i>Eastern bank</i> .—Luxor.—Obelisks.—The

Amenophion.—Dromos of Sphinxes.—Karnak.—Obeliaks of Thothmes I.—Hypostyle hall.—Victories of Sheshonk.—The hundred gates of Thebes	Page 126-150
--	-----------------

CHAPTER VIII.

Amount of Population.

Estimates of Diodorus, Josephus, De Pauw, Goguet, Jomard.—Cal- culation from the data of Tacitus.—Causes of its being over- estimated.—Present amount	151-154
---	---------

CHAPTER IX.

Agriculture and Horticulture.

Agricultural instruments.—Species of grain.—Flax.—Cotton.— Esculent vegetables.—Lotus and papyrus.—Wine.—Pasturage of cattle.—The ass.—The horse.—The persea.—The palm.— Ornamental gardening	155-169
--	---------

CHAPTER X.

The Chase. Fisheries.

Wild animals.—The hippopotamus.—The crocodile.—Fishery of the Lake Mœris.—Aquatic birds.—Hatching by artificial heat .	170-175
---	---------

CHAPTER XI.

Navigation and Commerce.

Egyptian dislike to the sea.—Navigation of the Nile.—Form and structure of boats.—The Baris.—Route to Cosseir.—Egyptians not active in foreign commerce	176-180
---	---------

CHAPTER XII.

Mechanical and Industrial Arts.

Stone engraving.—Chemistry.—Spinning and Weaving.—Metal- lurgy.—Use of iron.—Quarrying.—Carpentry.—Different kinds of wood; whence imported	181-186
---	---------

CHAPTER XIII.

Military Equipment, Armor, and Warfare.

Calasirians and Hermotybian. — Enrollment and drill. — Defensive armor. — Weapons. — War-chariots. — Use of cavalry. — Military ensigns. — Encampment. — Fortification. — Naval warfare .	Page 187-195
---	-----------------

CHAPTER XIV.

Domestic Life and Manners. Amusements.

Size and arrangement of houses. — Decorations. — Furniture. — Chairs. — Headstools. — Posture at meals. — Diet. — Introduction of a mummy at feasts. — Song of Maneros. — Exhibitions of agility and strength. — Amusements on the river. — Dice. — Game resembling draughts. — <i>Mora</i> . — Tricks of jugglers .	196-205
--	---------

CHAPTER XV.

Dress.

The calasiris. — Dress of the lower orders — of the king. — Double crown or <i>Psheent</i> . — Head-dress of the queen. — Distinction of princes of the blood. — Use of artificial hair. — Sandals. — Collars and bracelets. — Rings. — Mirrors. — Use of stibium and hennah .	206-211
--	---------

CHAPTER XVI.

Architecture.

Earliest style. — Resemblance to the Doric. — Two kinds of capital. — Proportions of the shaft. — The abacus. — Carnice. — Portico. — Width of intercolumniation. — Osiride columns. — Convergence of architectural lines. — The arch. — Arrangement of temples. — The dromos. — The pylones. — The naos. — The sekos. — Typhonia. — Color applied to architecture	212-220
--	---------

CHAPTER XVII.

Sculpture and Painting.

Characteristics of early art. — Unchangeableness of Egyptian forms. — Influence of religion on art. — Type of the human face. —

Colossal sculpture.—Carving in wood.—Superiority of historical sculpture and painting to religious.—Defects in drawing and perspective.—Caricature.—Number of colors and mode of applying them.—Fresco painting.—Knowledge of anatomy.—Peculiarity of Egyptian relief.—Correspondence of the progress and decline of art with that of national power and prosperity.—Art under the Ptolemies and the Romans	221-232
---	---------

CHAPTER XVIII.

Music.

Control exercised by religion.—Variety of instruments.—Knowledge of harmony.—The harp, lyre, and guitar.—The sistrum.—The flute.—The drum.—The dance	233-237
--	---------

CHAPTER XIX.

Art of Writing.

Frequency of its use in Egypt.—Account of Egyptian writing by Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Tacitus, Pliny, Ammianus, Clemens.—Opinions of the moderns, Warburton, Zoega.—The Rosetta Stone.—Discoveries of Young and Champollion.— <i>Pictorial</i> , <i>Symbolical</i> , and <i>Phonetic</i> hieroglyphics.—Evidence of the reading and interpretation of hieroglyphics.—Enchorial or demotic character.—Hieratic.—Anaglyphs. Note.—Interpretation of a line from the Rosetta Stone.—Hieroglyphics of grammatical inflexions	238-272
---	---------

CHAPTER XX.

Science.

Geometry.—Whether learnt by the Greeks in Egypt.—Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Plato.—Astronomy. Knowledge of the meridian line.—Months originally lunar.—Length of solar year.—Sothiac period.—The Phoenix.—Cycle of twenty-five years.—Division into weeks.—Precession of the equinoxes.—Solar eclipses.—Astrology.—Divisions of the zodiac.—Mechanical science.—Arithmetical notation.—Weights and measures.—Medicine.—Iatromathematic	273-292
---	---------

CHAPTER XXL

Religion.

Sect. 1.—*Theology.*

Accounts of the Egyptian religion given by Herodotus, Manetho, Diodorus, Plutarch.—The later Pythagoreans and Platonists.—Modern writers—Jablonsky, Zoega.—Discoveries by means of hieroglyphics.—Dynasties of gods.—Threefold division of Herodotus.—Egyptian theology not originally a system.—Eight gods—Amun, Noum, or Kneph, Amun Khem, Ptah, Maut, Sate, Thriphis, Pasht.—Children of the great gods—Khons, Anouke, Harka.—Other gods—Athor, Neith, Ra, Horhat, Sebek, Athom, Mandoo.—Physical gods—Sun, Moon, Heaven (Tpe), the Nile.—Æsculapius.—Osiris and Isis.—Osiris Pethempamenthes.—The judgment scene.—The Typhonian mythe.—Seth.—Obliteration of his figure on monuments.—Horus, Harpocrates, Nephthys, Anubis, Thoth.—Gods of the second and third order not to be distinguished.—Religious honors paid to deceased persons.—Serapis, Mars, Hercules, Hecate.—Whether the unity of God, as an intellectual principle, was a doctrine of Egyptian theology

Page

396-464

Sect. 2.—*Sacrificial Rites. The Sacerdotal order.*

Different kinds of sacrifices.—Human sacrifices in Egypt.—Offering of victims.—Unbloody sacrifices and offerings.—Habits of the priests.—Circumcision.—Gradation of ranks.—Whether women were admitted to the priesthood.—Divination.—Oracles.—Stellar influences.—Religious processions.—Festivals appropriate to different parts of the year.—Panegyrics.—Feast of Mars—of Isis—Neith at Saïs—of Dionusos.—Mysteries.—The Triaconterides

368-396

Sect. 3.—*Doctrine of a Future Life.*

State of the dead according to the Jewish belief.—The Homeric conception of the shades.—Motive for embalmment among the Egyptians.—Doctrine of Metempsychosis—whether connected with retribution.—Adoption of this doctrine by the Greeks.—Pindar.—Plato.—The Book of the Dead.—Representations in the tomb.—No uniformity of opinion on this subject among the Egyptians themselves

396-410

CHAPTER XXII.

Embalmmment, Sepulture, and Funeral Rites.

	Page
Office of the <i>Taricheuta</i> .—Three different kinds of embalmment.—Judgment preliminary to interment.—Mode of conveyance to the sepulchre.—Objects deposited in tombs.—Offerings made to deceased persons by the <i>Choachuta</i> .—Whether the Greek scenery of the unseen world was borrowed from Egypt.	411-427

PLATES.

- I. Sections of the Pyramids. Hieroglyphics of the Montha.
- II. Shields and Banner of Egyptian Kings.
General Phonetic Alphabet.
- III. Hieroglyphic Characters.
- IV. Grammatical Inflexions.
Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Numerals.
Facsimile of a portion of the Rosetta Inscription.

A N C I E N T E G Y P T.

CHAPTER I.

ANTIQUITY OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION.—THE VALLEY OF THE NILE AND ITS MONUMENTS.

THE seats of the earliest civilization in the ancient world extend across the southern part of Asia, in a chain, of which China forms the extremity towards the east and Egypt towards the west. Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, the Medo-Bactrian countries and India are its intermediate links. The civilization of Medo-Bactria appears to have been the lowest, as its history is the most obscure; but in all these countries, when they become known to us, we find the people cultivating the soil and dwelling in cities, living under regular forms of government, practising the mechanical arts, possessed of at least a tincture of science and a written character more or less perfect. All that lies beyond and around them is involved in barbarism and ignorance. The origin of this earliest civilization, however, and its transmission from one country to another, cannot be fixed by direct historical evidence. In all, the belief of the nation attributes to itself the immemorial possession of its own soil; and to its progenitors or to the gods the invention of the arts and sciences. Whether these have really had a single origin, and what has been their primitive seat, is a question which the present state of historical knowledge does not enable us to answer. But there

is no difficulty in fixing on the country from which Ancient History must begin. The monuments of EGYPT, its records and its literature, surpass those of India and China in antiquity by many centuries¹. Babylon and Assyria have no literary records, and their monuments of brick or a perishable marble, though their absolute age is unknown, bear on their face the evidence of a much more recent date than the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt. Abraham, a wanderer from Mesopotamia, where as yet no great monarchy had arisen², found Egypt already ruled by a Pharaoh, and in all probability as far advanced in social improvement as we know it to have been in the days of his great-grandson, Joseph. Herodotus had seen the stupendous remains of Babylon, but neither the sight of these, nor the claims of the Chaldean priests, induced him to assign more than a very moderate antiquity to the Assyrian monarchy, of which he reckoned it the second capital³. In Egypt, on the contrary, he received without questioning even the most extravagant statements respecting the antiquity of the nation⁴. Neither his belief nor that of Plato, expressed in more unmeasured terms⁵, affords indeed any proof of the soundness of Egyptian chronology: but they are an evidence of the impression which the monuments and records, the institutions and general aspect of the country, had made on two men, who had travelled widely and observed acutely—an impression of immemorial, unchangeable antiquity.

¹ See Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ägypter*, Einleitung, p. 28–54.

² Genesis xiv. 1.

³ Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἀνω Ἀσίας ἐκ ἑτα εἰκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι αἱ ἀπὸ Μήδοι ἤλθοντο ἀπίστασθαι. 1, 95. Τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ τὰ ἔν κον καὶ ἄλλα πολιέματα μεγάλα πολλά· το δὲ δυναστεύοντες καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστήσαντος γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα καταστήκει, ἦν Βαβυλῶν. 1, 178.

⁴ Her. 2, 142, 145. Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω αἰεὶ εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο.

⁵ Εὐρύθεος ἀνέθετο τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα, οὐχ ὥς ἔπος ἔπειν μυριοστὸν, ἀλλ' ὅντως. Plat. de Leg. 2, s. 3, p. 657 E.

Even if it were doubtful whether Egypt preceded the other nations which have been mentioned, in the establishment of law and the cultivation of science, letters and art, it must still be the starting point of *our* Ancient History. India exercised no perceptible influence on the West till the time of Alexander; China remained in its insulation till the Roman Empire. The religion of the Medo-Bactrian nations, and the science of the Babylonians may, through intermediate channels, have been conveyed even to our times; but the genealogy which connects European with Egyptian civilization is direct and certain. From Egypt it came to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the remoter nations of the West, by whom it has been carried throughout the globe. The indigenous culture of Asia has either become extinct, or is in rapid decay; that which had its first germ in the valley of the Nile, still lives and grows in other climates, and in its diffusion seems destined to overshadow and exterminate the ancient civilization of the East.

The geography and history of every country are closely connected with the origin and course of its rivers. In cold and humid climates like our own, their neighborhood may have been avoided by the early inhabitants, who found more healthy abodes on the open sides of the hills. But in the East, where many months succeed each other without any supply of rain, the vicinity of a perennial stream is the first condition of a settled and civilized life. The history of the world begins on the banks of the great rivers of China, India, Assyria and Egypt. The Nile, however, holds a far more important relation to the country through which it flows than any other river of the world. The courses of the Rhine, the Danube or the Rhone, are only lines on the surface of Germany or France; the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris were a very small part of the dominions of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings; but the banks of the Nile are Egypt and Nubia. To live

below the Cataracts and to drink of its waters, was according to the oracle of Ammon to be an Egyptian¹. Upwards or downwards, it is through the valley of the Nile that civilization and conquest have taken their course. We should therefore naturally begin by tracing it from its origin to the sea. But this is still impracticable. The Mesopotamian rivers have been followed to their sources amidst the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan; the traveller has even penetrated to the place where the Ganges bursts forth from the everlasting snows of the Himalaya; but the sacred river of Egypt still conceals its true fountains. The question which Herodotus asked of the priests of Egypt, and Alexander of the oracle of Ammon², which learned curiosity has so often addressed to geographical science, has been only partially answered. We must therefore begin our survey from the confluence of the two tributaries, whose united stream has been known in all ages as THE NILE.

In the latitude of $15^{\circ} 37' N.$ and longitude $33^{\circ} E.$ from Greenwich, two rivers meet near the modern village of Khartoum. The broader but less rapid stream comes from the S. W., and from the color of its waters, mixed with argillaceous matter during the inundation³, it is called the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White River. This is considered as the true Nile, both because its course is the same which the united streams afterwards pursue, and because the volume of water which it furnishes is larger and more constant. Even in the dry season it has a depth of from eighteen to twenty-five feet, and a breadth of a mile: in the inundation it attains a

¹ Herod. 2, 18.

² Herod. 2, 28. Max. Tyr. 41, 1.

³ Hoskins's Travels in Ethiopia, p. 119. It is singular that even this circumstance should be doubtful. Dr. Beke (Journal of Royal Geographical Society, 7, p. 34, N. S.) suggests that the river derives its name *white* from the absence of mud; while Russegger (Reisen, 2, 82) denies that it is *white* at all.

depth of from thirty-six to fifty feet, and a breadth of four miles¹. From the remotest times the origin of this branch of the Nile has been the subject of speculation, and as its course, immediately above the junction, is considerably from the west, it was conjectured to be one of the great rivers known to exist in the western regions of Africa, whose termination was unknown. Juba², on the authority of Carthaginian writers, described the Nile as rising in Mauritania, losing itself twice in the sands, and at length emerging as the Niger, which after dividing the continent across, entered Ethiopia as the Nile; and this opinion was long current at Rome³. Herodotus believed that the great river flowing eastward, which his Nasamonians reached when they had passed the Great Desert, was the Nile⁴. When Park discovered the Joliba at Timbuctoo to have an easterly course, this ancient hypothesis was revived. The travels of Lander showed its fallacy by tracing the Niger to the Bight of Benin. As the Bahr-el-Abiad is followed further to the south, it recovers its ordinary direction towards the north. For our knowledge of its course above Khartoum, we are indebted to the expeditions undertaken by the Pasha of Egypt, in the hope of discovering gold mines, and the more disinterested researches of MM. d'Abbadie and Dr. Beke. It receives several tributaries from the east, between N. L. 11° and 9°, and in 9° 20' a large stream from the west, called the Keilak, whose origin is unknown. The expedition of 1841, led by M. d'Arnaud, ascended to N. L. 4° 42', where its further progress was stopped by a ridge of gneiss which crossed the river. At this point its longitude was nearly that of Cairo. After the junction of the Keilak it receives only trifling accessions from

¹ Russegger, Reisen, 2, 46.

² Plin. N. H. 5, 10. Juba lived in the reign of Augustus

³ Dion. Hist. Rom., lib. 75, p. 1266, ed. Reimar. 'Ο Νεῖλος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀτλαντος
καθὼς ἀναδίδεται.

⁴ 2, 33.

the west; but it is probable, that above the point where the Egyptian expedition halted, a large tributary from the east brings with it the waters of the country between Abessinia and the equator. If the Mountains of the Moon, and the lakes which from their melted snows supply, according to Ptolemy¹, the sources of the Nile, have any existence, it must be south of the equator.

The remotest origin of the Nile, therefore, remains a problem still to be solved; nor indeed can it be said to have any single source². Its course above Khartoum, however, is more interesting to the geographer and ethnologist than to the historian. Its banks are inhabited by tribes, partly Arab, partly negro, deep sunk in barbarism, and contain no traces of a more ancient civilization. Neither the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, nor the Romans ever carried their arms so high; and the researches of a peaceful traveller are embarrassed by the hostility which the black nations feel towards neighbors who from time immemorial have reduced them to slavery.

The Bahr-el-Azrek, Blue or Dark River, the Astapus of ancient geography, unites with the Bahr-el-Abiad at Khartoum. It rises, according to Bruce³, in N. L. $10^{\circ} 59'$, E. L. $36^{\circ} 55'$ in the kingdom of Abessinia, at a height of nearly 6000 feet above the sea⁴. He visited its sources, which had not been seen by any European for seventy years, and professed to have discovered the true sources of the Nile. They are three springs, regarded by the natives with superstitious veneration; not large, but deep. The stream in

¹ Ptolemy, Geogr. 4, 8. Τοῦτον τὸν κόλπον (the coast opposite to Madagascar) περιρικτοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἀθροιστάγοι, ὧν ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἀέκει τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος, ἀφ' οὗ ἐποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι.

² So the Troglodytes maintained. Πολλῶν πηγῶν εἰς ἓνα τόπον ἀθροισμένως συνίσταται τὸ βέημα τοῦ Νείλου. Diodor. 1, 37.

³ Travels, vol. 5, p. 308.

⁴ 256 toises (about 5780 feet), Humboldt, Central Asien, p. 33.

which they unite flows N. W. for about eighty miles, when it falls into the Lake of Tzana or Dembea, the Koloe of Ptolemy, entering on its western and issuing again on its south-eastern side. Its current is so rapid, that it scarcely mingles its waters with those of the lake. Descending from this high region by many cataracts, and bearing the name of Abai, it flows southward to about 10° N. L., and washes the eastern side of the province of Amhara, receiving all the streams from the mountainous region of Gojam. Its course is so circuitous, that it almost surrounds this district, returning by a bend to the north, till it is within seventy miles of its source. Its banks are little known before it reaches the country of Fazuglo, recently explored, in search of gold mines, by the Pasha of Egypt. Indeed, until the Bahr-el-Azrek is traced upward, or the Abai of Bruce downward, continuously, which no traveller yet has done, their identity must be regarded as problematical. From the elevated and hilly district of Fazuglo, the river, enlarged by the influx of the Tumet from the south-west, reaches the plains of Sennaar, by another series of cataracts and rapids. After passing Sennaar, it rapidly verges towards the White River; near the junction, it is even in the dry season a quarter of a mile broad, and in the rainy season swells to double this breadth. To its sweetness and purity the Nile is said to owe the reputation which its waters have in all ages maintained.

Northward of the junction at Khartoum, between that point and the influx of the Tacazzè or Astaboras, in N. L. $17^{\circ} 40'$, E. L. 34° , lay the ancient kingdom of Meroe. It is called an island by the Greek and Roman writers, who were accustomed to give this name to the irregular spaces included between confluent rivers¹; and as the Nile itself was composed of two branches, the island of Meroe is variously described as formed by two rivers or by three. The

¹ So the space included between the Rhone, the Isère and the Alps, was called the Island of the Allobroges (Polyb. Bell. Pun. 2, 49).

country of Sennaar appears sometimes to have been included in its limits, but nothing has been discovered in this region to prove that it partook in the civilization for which Meroe was celebrated¹. According to Diodorus, the island of Meroe was 375 miles long and 125 broad, measures which appear to be derived rather from some political division, than from the natural boundaries of the island. The "Libyan sands," by which he says that it was bordered on one side, are the Desert of Bahiouda on the left bank of the Nile: the "steep precipices on the side of Arabia" are the high mountains of the north of Abessinia². Through the channel of the Tacazzè the Nile receives the rains which fall on these mountains. The country rises rapidly from the Red Sea to the height of 8000 or 9000 feet, and consequently the course of the rivers on the eastern side is short and their streams scanty. The Tacazzè is the last tributary that the Nile receives in its course of 1500 miles to the Mediterranean.

The remains which have identified the site of Meroe, the ancient capital of the island, all lie between 16° and 17° N. L., and not far from the Nile. The most southerly are found at Naga, distinguished as Naga-gebel-ardan, from another place of the same name, a little further to the north³. There are remains of four temples, all of Egyptian architecture, with slight variations, and evidently dedicated to gods of the Egyptian pantheon. In one a king appears holding a number of captives by the hair, who stretch their hands towards him in an attitude of supplication, while he threatens to strike them with a hatchet. The largest temple has been

¹ Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroe* (1, 206), describes some small remains of Egyptian or Ethiopic architecture and a fragment of a sphinx, at Soba, a little to the south of the junction of the Bahr-el-Azrek with the Nile.

² Diod. 1, 33. Πισθήκειν δὲ τῆς νήσου τὸν περικλυζόμενον πάντα τόπον ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Αἰθῶνς θίνας, ἔχοντας ἄμμου μέγεθος ἀέριον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κρημνοὺς καταβύσσους.

³ Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroe*.

consecrated to the worship of the principal god of Thebes, commonly called Ammon, and represented with the head of a ram. An alley of sphinxes with the heads of rams, seven feet high, led up to the principal portico, which is insulated from the temple in a manner not seen in Egyptian architecture; and the bas-reliefs of the principal entrance exhibit the god receiving the homage of a queen. Woad-Naga stands only about a mile from the river: here are the remains of a sandstone temple 89 feet in length, bearing on the capitals of the columns the figures of Athor and Typhon, or Pthah-Sokari¹. The mounds and heaps of brick with which the ground is strewn indicate that these are only the remains of more extensive buildings. The ruins of El-Mesaourat are sixteen or seventeen miles from the river, the most remote which have yet been discovered; they stand in a valley among the sandstone hills, surrounded by the Desert². A wall, 2800 feet in circumference, encloses the remains of eight temples or sanctuaries, and a great number of courts, galleries and chambers, constituting an assemblage of buildings, the destination of which it is difficult to assign. That no great city has existed here is evident from the entire absence of pyramids and excavated sepulchres; and if it had been a college of priests, it is singular that no hieroglyphics should be found on the walls. The style is Egyptian, but of a late age, and the sculpture resembles that of the temples erected under the Ptolemies.

The site of the city of Meroe was placed by Eratosthenes 700 stadia south of the junction of the Nile with the Astaboras³. This does not exactly correspond with the position of Assour, a little north of the present town of Shendy; but the difference is not so great as to invalidate the evidence of the antiquities still existing there. Its position in N. L. 16° 44' answers also to the statement of Philo, that the sun was vertical there forty-five days before the

¹ Hoskins's Travels, p. 112.

² Hoskins, p. 99.

³ Strabo, B. 17, p. 786.

summer solstice.¹ A space of more than three-quarters of a mile in circumference near the river is covered with the traces of buildings, and marks the site of the city. Its dwelling-houses, consisting of sun-baked bricks and branches of palm, would easily perish in a latitude to which the tropical rains partially extend². Groups of pyramids are scattered on the sandstone hills which rise a little to the east; the most distant of them are about two leagues from the river, and they mark the necropolis of ancient Meroe. They are eighty in number, and of various sizes: the most lofty is about 160 feet in height; the largest has a base of 63 feet square; the smallest, of not more than 12 feet³. The material is the sandstone of the hills; the entrance is usually on the eastern side, but not facing exactly to the east; nor do their angles correspond to the cardinal points. In front is a portico with sides pointing inwards, like the gateways of the Egyptian temples, often covered with sculpture: the interior of the portico next to the pyramid also contains sculpture. The angles of some of the pyramids form a series of steps, others are a sloping line, and others again are covered with a square beading. At about two-thirds of their height most of them have a small opening like a window. In one, which was examined by demolition from the top, sepulchral chambers were found at different elevations, and at the bottom pits excavated in the rock, in which mummies were deposited. Some of the pyramids have evidently been royal tombs; Lepsius has found the distinct names of thirty sovereigns in various parts of Meroe, and queens appear receiving the honors and performing the functions which commonly belong to kings—a confirmation of the account of the ancients that female sovereignty prevailed in Ethiopia⁴.

¹ B. 2, p. 77.

² Strabo, 15, p. 690, says, the region of no rain extends from the Thebaid to near Meroe. The rain of Shendy is violent, but not continuous in the wet season (Ritter, Africa, p. 542).

³ Hoskins, ch. 6. Cailliaud, Voyage.

⁴ Wetstein on Acts, 8, 27

This mode of interment continued to a late age: in one of the pyramids opened by Ferlini¹, engraved stones, evidently of Greek workmanship, were found, and an arch remains in another.

What other monuments the island of Meroe may contain is uncertain. Besides the dangers to which the traveller is exposed from the barbarous inhabitants of the country, the wild beasts which everywhere infest it make researches difficult. Cailliaud heard a rumor of the existence of ruins, which he supposes, in connection with those of Soba on the Blue River, may have formed a line of stations, by which trade was carried on between Meroe, and Axum and Adulis on the Red Sea. If they exist, they must belong, like everything else in Meroe, to the Ptolemaic and Roman times. The land near the rivers appears in ancient times to have been used in agriculture, the interior in pasturage; the forests and swamps abounded with elephants, which the natives caught for sale or used for food. Rain falls scantily in the north; and therefore the parts remote from the rivers must always have been nearly desert; but in the south, where the hills rise towards Abessinia, the rain, though not so violent as among the mountains, is sufficient to maintain a considerable degree of fertility. The banks of the Nile are so high that Meroe derives no benefit from the inundation. The Tacazzè², like the Bahr-el-Azrek, descends from its source among the mountains of Abessinia, in lat. $11^{\circ} 40'$, by a precipitous course, in which lakes and rapids alternate. It receives on its way, in lat. 14° , the Mareb, which rises in the chain of mountains parallel to the Red Sea; and where it joins the Nile, it has a breadth of 1000 feet³. The valley of the Tacazzè is lower and warmer than the rest of Abessinia.

The course of the river from this point to Syene, being about

¹ Ferlini, *Fouilles de la Nubie*. Rome, 1838.

² Tacazzè is Ethiopic for river, "Tacazzè Gihon," the river Nile. See Beke, *Trans. of Royal Geogr. Soc.* 7, 1, 7.

³ Kuppel, *Reisen. Mosking*, p. 63.

700 miles, exhibits a series of rapids and cataracts, in consequence of which the fall per mile is double the average of Egypt. The cataracts are seven in number, all composed of granite or kindred rocks, which being harder than the sandstone through which they rise, resist the action of the water, divide the stream, and preserve the inequality of the descent. The Nile, much enlarged after its union with the Tacazzè¹, continues to flow nearly north for 120 miles, through the country of the Berbers. A strip of arable land, about two miles in breadth, borders the river; beyond it all is desert, the inundation not extending further. Nowhere in this part of the Nile's course have any antiquities been discovered, to mark whether in ancient times it was subject to Egypt or Meroe. At the point where it makes its great bend to the south-west, its stream is divided by the rocky island of Mogreb. Here the caravans leave the banks of the river and proceed by the shorter route of the Eastern Desert to rejoin it either at Syene, or at Derr, between the First and Second Cataracts. In all this part of the Nile's course, as the land susceptible of cultivation is so small, the inhabitants avail themselves of the patches of loamy soil which the river deposits in the rocky hollows. The navigation too, for more than 100 miles, is impeded by rapids. The deflection to the S.W. continues, till the Nile reaches, not, as Eratosthenes asserted, the latitude of the city of Meroe², but very nearly that of the most northern point of the peninsula. The space on the left bank included in this great bend, now called the Desert of Bahiouda, was occupied in ancient times by the Nubæ, whose name has extended itself to the whole valley as far as Syene, and into the eastern desert, where, in the time of Eratosthenes, the Megabari and the Blemmyes dwelt³.

Where the Nile skirts the Desert of Bahiouda on the north, its banks are little known, since travellers seldom follow its windings:

¹ Cailliaud, 1, 849

² Strabo, B. 17, p. 786.

³ Strabo, *ubi supra*.

but it is ascertained that they contain no antiquities. The traces of ancient civilization re-appear below the Fourth Cataract, at Nouri, Gebel-el-Birkel and Merawe. Nouri, on the left bank, exhibits the remains of thirty-five pyramids, of which about half are in good preservation; but they have no sculptures or hieroglyphics; no temples stand near them, nor are there any ruins which indicate the former existence of a city. It can only be conjectured that they may be the necropolis of such a city, of which the traces have been buried in the sands. Gebel-el-Birkel', about eight miles lower down, on the right bank, is a hill of crumbling sandstone, between 300 and 400 feet in height, and a mile distant from the river. On its western side, standing in the Desert, are two groups of pyramids, from 35 to 60 feet in height, amounting together to thirteen. Like those of Meroe, some of them have a sanctuary and sloping walls in front, with arched roofs and sculpture. The Egyptian deities Osiris and Athor, with their usual emblems, and the ornaments common in Egyptian architecture, are found here. In one of the sanctuaries, a personage apparently royal, holding a bow of great length and thickness, is receiving oblations similar to those which are represented in the Egyptian tombs. Gebel-el-Birkel contains also the remains of several temples, two of them so far preserved, that their original plan and dimensions can be discovered. The largest has been nearly 500 feet in length, and consisted of two courts, the first 150 feet long and 135 wide, the second 125 feet long and 102 wide. The sanctuary contains a granite altar, on which the name of Tirhakah is inscribed, and another of basalt, with the shield of an Egyptian king². The sculptures with which the walls appear to have been adorned have almost entirely perished, and such is the havoc which time and barbarism have made, that of more than eighty columns which the temple must have contained, one only remains erect.

² Cailliaud, 3, 197. Hoskins, ch. 11.

³ Hoskins (p. 146) says the name is Papi, but he has not given a copy.

Another of much smaller dimensions, being only 115 feet in length, and partly excavated in the rock, was constructed by Tirhakah, whose name, with that of his queen, is read upon the walls of the excavated part¹. It was dedicated to the god Typhon or Pthal-Sokari. The sculptures exhibit offerings made to various gods of the Egyptian pantheon, and the whole style of the building is decidedly of an Egyptian character. Two other temples, one 85 feet in length, remain surrounded by ruins which indicate the ancient importance of the city in which they stood. In one of them a king appears lifting a battle-axe on some captives tied together by their hair². Two lions of red granite, one bearing the name of Amunoph III., the other of Amuntuonch, perhaps his son or brother, were found among the ruins and brought to England by Lord Prudhoe³. They are now appropriately placed at the entrance of the Gallery of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum. Notwithstanding the mutilation they have suffered, their grand and simple outlines and attitude of majestic repose reveal to a discriminating observer the high perfection of taste and skill which characterized Egyptian art under the eighteenth dynasty. The characters for Amun, in the first part of the name, have been obliterated, as in many other instances; and a king Amunasso, of a much later age, perhaps of the Ptolemaic or Roman times⁴, has engraved his own name on one of them, in characters which show the decline of art. Whether these lions mark the southern limits of the dominions of Egypt, or are trophies of conquest, brought from Thebes or Soleb by Ethiopian kings, is a doubtful question. A fragment has also been found here, which appears to have borne the name of Rameses II., and another with that of *Aspelt* or *Osport*.

¹ Hoskins, p. 136.

² Hoskins, p. 141.

³ Birch's Gallery of Antiquities, p. 50.

⁴ Hoskins, 161, 288. Rosellini, Dyn. 25. Sir G. Wilkinson in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 2nd Ser. 1, 54.

No monument has yet been discovered, by which the name of this city could be fixed; but it is probably Napata, the capital of Candace, the Queen of the Ethiopians, which was taken by Petronius in the reign of Augustus¹, and also of those kings of Ethiopia, who are mentioned in the history of the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs. The name *Merawe*, given to a village a short distance below Gebel-el-Birkel, on the right bank of the Nile, has been identified by some writers with *Meroe*. But the site of that kingdom has been fixed by decisive evidence; and if the modern name have any connexion with the ancient, it can only be that Merawe marks the northern limit of the kingdom of Meroe. It stands very near the commencement of the route which conducts across the Desert of Bahiouda to the banks of the Nile, opposite Shendy. Another route through the Desert from the north, commencing at the isle of Argo, appears also to have terminated at Napata, by which the bend of the river to Dongola was cut off². The importance which it thus acquired, as an entrepôt between Nubia and Meroe, would account for its size and population.

The south-western deflection of the Nile continues, after it has passed Merawe, till it reaches the 18th degree of N. latitude, when it turns again to the north. In this part of its course it is about half a mile wide. Scarcely any land is now under cultivation, except in the islands, and the desert spreads in interminable extent everywhere beyond the banks. The kingdom of Dongola begins just where the river resumes its northern direction, and continues to near the Second Cataract. The whole of this district much surpasses in fertility that which has been just described. The banks are no longer rocky; the inundation consequently diffuses itself further over the surrounding country; fine pastures abound, and maintain a breed of valuable horses. No remains of antiquity are found till we reach the island of Argo, in lat. 19° 12' N.,

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 820. Plin. 6, 35.

² See Russegger's Karte von Nubien

a little above the Third Cataract¹. It is twelve miles in length and tolerably fruitful, and is probably the *Gagaudes insula* of Pliny². Two overthrown colossal statues of grey granite, in Ethiopian costume, with Egyptian features, are without a name; but near them lies a fragment of a statue of Sabaco. They all appear to have belonged to a temple which once stood upon this spot, and the two statues may have been erected before its entrance³. They were cut from a quarry at Toumbos, near the Third Cataract, where a similar, but smaller statue still exists, and a hieroglyphic tablet, bearing the names of Thothmes I. and Amunoph III.

Below the Third Cataract, a little to the north of the island of Argo, the Nile makes a considerable deflection to the east, and travellers usually take a straight line through the desert to Soleb or Dherbe on the left bank. In this deflection, the only ruins that occur are those of Seghi or Sesce, on the right bank; they consist of a few columns, on the base of which captives are represented; but no name has been found to determine whose triumph they record⁴. Soleb presents the ruins of a temple, equally remarkable for the elegance of its architecture, and its imposing and picturesque position, on the very line of separation between the verdure and fertility of the Nile, and the desolation of the Desert, spreading to the horizon in a monotonous plain of sand⁵. A *dromos* or avenue 136 feet long, of granite sphinxes, with bodies of lions and heads of rams, led up to a portico or *propylon*, opening into a court 90 feet in length and 113 in width, ornamented with twenty-eight columns. It is succeeded by another 78 feet long, where the remains of thirty-two columns, each 17 feet in circumference, can be traced. A chamber beyond this second

¹ Hoskins's Ethiopia, ch. xv. ² N. H. 6, 35. ³ Hoskins, p. 212.

⁴ Ritter, Africa, 611. They were not seen by Hoskins, who took the Desert-road.

⁵ Cailliaud, 1, 375. Hoskins, p. 245.

court contained twelve columns, on the bases of which prisoners of different nations are represented, as on Egyptian monuments, by embattled ovals. Thirty-eight of these have been counted, but they have neither been drawn nor described with such accuracy as to enable us to identify them. Amunoph III. is the king whose victories are recorded, and the temple was dedicated to Amunra, the chief god of Thebes. The foundations were of crude brick, which in Egypt also has been used for the same purpose, though apparently a slight support for the enormous masses of stone which were placed upon them. Sukkot, also on the left bank, a little lower down, contains some ruins of the age of Amunoph III., and traces of a town of considerable size¹. The river is divided, a few miles below Sukkot, by the island of Sais, the next in magnitude to that of Argo, and soon after enters the district called Batn-el-Hajar, abounding with granitic rocks which approach each other so nearly, that the Nile is contracted in one place into two passages, scarcely a stone's throw wide. The rocks impend over the shore and fill the bed with shoals, among which the river runs with so many eddies, rapids and shallows, that navigation, even in the time of the highest waters, is dangerous, and at other times impracticable². A short distance below the island of Sais, on the right bank, stand the remains of the small temple of Amara. The two columns of the portico, which alone remain, have square bases, an appendage not found in the oldest specimens of Egyptian architecture; and this, joined to the indifferent execution of the sculpture, leads to the conclusion that they are not of the Pharaonic times³. The shields, which might have given us precise information of the builder's name, have never been filled up⁴.

Semneh, on the left bank, in lat. $21^{\circ} 29'$, about half-way between the Island of Sais and the Second Cataract, exhibits the remains of a temple, on an elevated rock near the river, surrounded

¹ Hoskins, 255.

² Cailliaud, 3, 253. Hoskins, p. 261.

³ Ritter, *Africa*, p. 617.

⁴ Cailliaud, 1, 348.

by a covered gallery supported by columns and square pillars. The walls are ornamented with sculpture, in which the Egyptian king Thothmes III. appears, making offerings to a predecessor of the name of Sesortasen or Osortasen¹, who is joined in a triad with the gods Noum or Cnuphis, and Totoun. The names of Amenemhe III., the founder of the Labyrinth and of Sebekatep, or Sebekopth, have also been found here². Directly opposite, on the right bank, stands another temple of larger dimensions, but so decayed and buried in the sand, that its plan has not been traced. It is, however, of equal antiquity, the name of Thothmes III., joined with that of Amunoph III., being found on the sculptures. No spot on the upper course of the Nile exhibits a more impressive or picturesque view. The temples on their opposite eminences appear like the ruins of fortresses, guarding the narrow pass through which the river forces its way. Though now surrounded only by the sands of the Desert, they no doubt mark the site of a populous city, whose buildings have vanished, as its name has disappeared from history³. In the flourishing times of the monarchy of the Pharaohs, it was strongly fortified as being the frontier town of their dominions towards Ethiopia. It was also the highest point on the course of the Nile on which its rise was recorded⁴, as in later times at Elephantine.

The district of Batn-el-Hajar continues to the Second Cataract, or Wadi Halfa, in lat. 22°, anciently called Behni⁵; but as the river approaches this place, the porphyritic and granitic rocks on its banks give place to sandstone, forming hills of a less rugged

¹ Hoskins, p. 289.

² Birch, Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit. 2, 322, N. S.

³ Hoskins, p. 276.

⁴ The inference of Lepsius, that *the place* of the inscriptions which he has copied, marks the *height* of the inundation, appears to me very doubtful.

⁵ Rosellini, Monumenti del Culto, p. 15.

brilliancy of the colors, through so long a series of ages. Champollion and Rosellini, following the footsteps of Belzoni with ampler means, have explored every part of the temple, ascertained the age of its construction, and discovered that it records the victories of Rameses III. over various nations of Africa and Asia. Its importance as an historical document will appear when we come to treat of this sovereign's reign. Smaller excavations of the same kind are found at Ibrim, the Premis of the Greek and Roman geographers, after another day's navigation; one is a chapel of the age of Thothmes I., another of Thothmes III., another of Amunoph II., his successor, and a fourth of Rameses III¹.

After passing Ibrim, the channel of the river is compressed between a range of sandstone hills, which for two miles rise almost perpendicularly, and scarcely allow room to pass between them and its bed. Derri or Derr (anciently *Teiri*), the present capital of Lower Nubia, situated on the left bank, contains an excavated temple dedicated by Rameses the Great (III.) to the gods Pthah and Phre, whose sacred bark appears carried in procession by twelve priests. Amada, about two hours' sail below Derri, has a temple founded by Thothmes III., continued by Amenophis II., and completed by Thothmes IV. Its sculptures are of a high order of merit, and the columns of the pronaos bear a striking resemblance to the early Doric. It is at this point of the Nile's course that the long *Akaba*, or valley of Korosko, leads from the right bank into the heart of the eastern Desert. The caravans, avoiding the circuitous course by which we have followed the Nile through Upper Nubia and Dongola, rejoin it after a desert journey of twelve to fourteen days (250 miles), at the point between Napata and Meroe, where it makes its great deflection to

Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, p. 37. That in honor of Amenophis II. appears to have been sculptured by a prince of the blood royal, who was governor of Nubia.

the southwest¹. Wadi Esseboua, the Valley of Lions, on the right bank, has derived its name from the sphinxes, the remains of a line of sixteen which once led up from the Nile to the temple. It is partly an excavation in the rock, and partly a detached building of the age of Rameses III., dedicated to Amun. Its architecture is of an ordinary kind². The temple of Affedonee or Meharraka appears from its architecture to be of low antiquity; its remains are considerable, but it contains no hieroglyphical inscriptions or sculptures by which its precise age can be determined. Dakkeh, twenty miles lower down, the ancient Pselcis³, was the site of a temple of Thoth, erected by Thothmes III.; but its principal temple was begun by the Ethiopic king Erkamen, the Ergamenes of Diodorus⁴, one of the dynasty who appear to have made themselves independent after the fall of the ancient throne of the Pharaohs. The temple was continued by Ptolemy Euergetes, who reunited Nubia to Egypt. The Libyan chain, bending to the Desert, leaves here a considerable space on the left bank, on which the ruins stand. They are only the central part of a vast square which once occupied the plain. An inscription of the Roman times designates the Great Hermes (Thoth) as sharing in the border land of Egypt and Ethiopia. The central part of Nubia was specially under his protection; the southern under that of Anuke and Sate; the northern, near Philæ, of Kneph and Osiris. Pselcis is the furthest point to the south at which any traces of Greek or Roman dominion have been found on monuments; northward they are abundant. Ghirschéh, or Gerf Hussein, on the right bank, a few miles below Dakkeh, has been partly constructed, partly excavated in the rock: the construction has

¹ See before p. 12. Hoskins, p. 17.

Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 3, pt. 2, 194; *Mon. del Culto*, p. 60.

² Selk, with the article Pselk, was a form of Isis, to whom the city was dedicated.

⁴ *Diod.* 3, 6. He was contemporary with the second Ptolemy.

been destroyed; the excavation appears to have been a sanctuary dedicated by Rameses III. to the honor of the god Pthah, from whom the place was called, like Memphis, *Phthah-hei*¹. The Temple of Dandour is of a very different age, that of the emperor Augustus. Kalabsche, the ancient Talmis, which, like Dandour, stands on the left bank, contains a temple dedicated to the god Mandulis or Malulis, as appears both by a hieroglyphical and a Greek inscription; and its bas-reliefs exhibit his mythological history². It had been founded by Amunoph II., rebuilt by one of the Ptolemies, and repaired by Augustus, Caligula and Trajan. The Libyan chain, which rises directly behind the temple, offered in its sandstone hills inexhaustible materials for building, and ancient quarries may be traced in various parts of it. Kalabsche stands in lat. 23° 30', consequently immediately under the Tropic of Cancer. The temple of Beitoualli, at a short distance from Kalabsche, is filled with memorials of the victories of Rameses II., forming one of the most important documents of the history of his reign. The first portion represents his triumphs over the Ethiopian nations; the others, the tribute brought by them, and his Asiatic victories³. The temple of Beitoualli probably escaped the devastation which fell on the rest of the buildings of Lower Nubia, in the invasion of Cambyses, by the circumstance of its being excavated in the rock. The space between Kalabsche and Beitoualli is covered with heaps of earth and fragments of pottery, mixed with human bones and bandages impregnated with bitumen, the

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, p. 65.

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 312. It contains a monument in the Greek language, supposed to be of the age of Diocletian, in which Sileo, a king of Ethiopia and Nubia, records his victories over the Blemmyes. Mandulis is represented as the son of Horus and Isis, though commonly Isis appears as the mother of Horus.

³ Gallery of Antiquities of the British Museum, p. 94. One of the rooms of the Museum exhibits a colored *facsimile* of the sculptures of this temple, from the drawings of Mr. Hay.

evident traces of a large necropolis. Tafa, the ancient Taphis, contains some temples of the Roman times, and Kardassi, a temple of Isis without any sculptures. That of Deboud (Parembolè), a short distance above the First Cataract, was chiefly built by Atharaman, an Ethiopian king of the same dynasty as Ergamenes, and dedicated to the ram-headed God of Thebes and Meroë.

Such a line of sacred edifices as we have described from the Second Cataract to the First, implies a population very different from the scattered and impoverished tribes that now inhabit the valley of Lower Nubia. Their habitations may easily have disappeared, but the traveller is surprised to find so few traces of their sepulchres. Not many, however, have explored this region; they have gone, till lately, in haste and fear, without time or means to make excavations, and not venturing beyond the immediate neighborhood of the river. An ample field of inquiry remains for any scientific expedition which should be able to explore what lies buried, as well as measure and delineate what stands on the surface. The climate of Nubia is superior to that of Egypt, and its mean temperature ten degrees higher, but its general fertility is less; and Lower Nubia especially, from the near approach of the hills to the river, which prevents the deposit of alluvium, contains less land capable of culture, and is more exposed to the encroachment of the sand¹. The rise of the Nile is in some places as much as thirty feet, but the height of the banks denies the adjacent land the benefit of the inundation, unless powerful wheels be used to raise its waters to a higher level.

Just above the Cataract of Syene, where the Nile is 3000 feet wide, lies the island of Philæ², which might be considered as the

¹ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 1, 117, 223.

² Φιλαι is plural in Greek and Latin, the smaller island being included. The access to the larger is from the southern side. The hieroglyphic name, *Philak* (or *Manlak*), is said to mean boundary land. Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, p. 179.

boundary between Egypt and Ethiopia. It is not above a quarter of a mile long, but is covered with picturesque ruins of temples, almost entirely of the times of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Epiphanes, and Philometor, with additions by the Roman emperors. The small remains of the temple of Athor are of the age of the last of the Pharaohs, Nectanebus. The principal monuments lie at the southern end of the island; a wall, erected on the rocks which rise abruptly from the river, ran round the whole, and made it an *Abaton* or inaccessible sanctuary¹. From the landing-place two parallel colonnades conducted to the chief temple, before which lay two colossal lions of granite in front of a pair of obelisks, forty-four feet in height. The angles of the sanctuary were occupied by two monolithal shrines, in which a sacred hawk used to be kept. One of these is now in the Louvre, the other in the Museum of Florence. Right and left of the entrance are two small buildings, one of which, dedicated to Athor, represents the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, under the form of Horus. Philæ was dedicated to the worship of Osiris, said to be buried here², whose mythic history is displayed in the sculptures which everywhere cover the walls, and especially two secret chambers. A still smaller island, anciently called *Snem* or *Senmut*, now *Beghé*, lies near Philæ. The inscriptions show that it was a place of sanctity in the Pharaonic times. The names of Amunoph III., Rameses the Great, Psammitichus, Apries and Amasis, all appear on its granite rocks³, along with memorials of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors.

¹ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 359. The Egyptians fabled that neither birds flew over it nor fish approached the shore. Senec. N. Q. 4, 2, 7.

² Diod. 1, 22.

³ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, p. 186. The resort of visitors to Philæ was so great in the time of the Ptolemies, that the priests petitioned Ptolemy not to allow public functionaries to come and live at their expense. The obelisk on which this petition was inscribed was brought to England by

The falls begin immediately below Philæ, and extend to Syene and the island of Elephantine. The granite rocks by which they are caused, cross the river and extend into the Desert on either side. They are much higher and more rugged than those of the Second Cataract; rising to the height of forty feet, their fracture exhibits a beautiful rose color, but their bare sides and peaks are brown. There are three principal falls; at the steepest, which is about thirty feet wide, the descent is from ten to twelve feet in 100; yet during the high water it may be shot, though not altogether without danger¹. The entire descent in a space of five miles, is only eighty feet². The description given by the ancients of the deep fall and deafening sound of the waters is an exaggeration, for no change of level can have taken place since the days of Cicero and Seneca³, which could reconcile their accounts with the fact. From them the whole neighborhood obtained the name of *Manebmou*, "the place of pure waters." The Egyptians considered this as in a certain sense the source of the Nile, and in a sculpture of the temple, the river is represented in a human form, crowned with lotus, at the bottom of a grotto, pouring a perennial stream from two urns, which he holds upright in his hands⁴. When the course of the Nile above Egypt was little known, as it would be to the natives of the Delta, the violent agitation of the waters at this place was not unnaturally accounted for by the

Mr. Bankes, and the comparison of its hieroglyphics with those of the Rosetta stone, assisted in the discovery of the phonetic alphabet.

¹ Seneca, N. Q. 4, 2, gives a lively picture of this operation. "*Bini parvula navigia conscendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit; cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens minus temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput rixi, quum jam adploraveris, mersosque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo missi.*"

² Russegger, Reisen, 1, 213.

³ Somn. Scip. 5. Nat. Quæst. 4, 2.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, pl. xxvii. 3.

bursting forth of a subterraneous stream. It was even believed in Lower Egypt, or at least so Herodotus was told by a learned functionary of Sais¹, that the Nile rose here, and flowed half towards Ethiopia and half towards Egypt.

The quarries on either bank have furnished the colossal statues, obelisks and monolithal shrines² which are found throughout Egypt, or as trophies of conquest adorn Rome and Constantinople. The marks of the wedges and tools are still visible; an obelisk, fifty-four feet long, lies wholly detached and ready for transport; others are marked out by a line of holes in which the wedges were to be inserted³. Notwithstanding the many centuries which have elapsed since these quarries were wrought, their fracture still appears fresh and of a much brighter color than the natural rock; so short is the time since the tool of an Egyptian quarryman laid open their surface, compared with that during which their brown sides and peaks have been exposed to the action of the atmosphere. The road which leads from Philæ to Syene on the right bank is about four miles in length, and is bordered on both sides by round masses of the granite rock, piled upon one another. The remains of a large square enclosure of crude brick are supposed to indicate the prisons or barracks, in which the slaves were lodged by whom these quarries were wrought⁴. Inscriptions and tablets in various parts commemorate acts of homage by the Pharaohs and other illustrious persons to the divinities of the Cataract, Kneph or Chnuphis, Sate and Anuke. The island of Elephantine⁵, just opposite to Syene, diversifies by its fertility and verdure the dreary aspect which sand and granite give to the

¹ Her. 2. 28.

² Her. 2, 175.

³ Description de l'Egypte, Ant. vol. 1, p. 140.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, p. 189.

⁵ The ancient name of Elephantine was Ebo. *Eb* is the name of the elephant and of ivory in hieroglyphics. Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 4, 204.

neighborhood of the Cataracts. Two temples which stood upon it, one dedicated by Amunoph II. to Kneph, the other to Amun, have been recently destroyed by the Pacha of Egypt to build warehouses and a barrack. The remains of the Nilometer described by Strabo¹ are still visible. The waters of the Nile were admitted into a receptacle of squared stone, into which a long flight of steps descended; and the walls were graduated so as to mark the progressive rise of the inundation. The measures inscribed upon it are of the Greek and Roman age².

The latitude of Assuan, the ancient Syene, is $24^{\circ} 5' 23''$, and it consequently lies $35' 23''$ north of the true tropic³. The ancients believed that it was immediately under the tropic; that the sun's disc was reflected in a well at noon on the day of the solstice, and that an upright staff cast no shadow⁴. It has been thought that these observations, though untrue for historical times, had been handed down from very remote ages, when the position of the tropic was different. The northern limb of the sun's disc would however be nearly vertical over Syene, though not the centre, and the length of a shadow, being only $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the staff, would be scarcely appreciable. Considering the entire want of accurate astronomical instruments among the Egyptians, an inaccuracy of observation or exaggeration of statement is far more probable than such a change in the inclination of the earth's axis⁵.

¹ Strabo, B. 17, 817. Heliod. *Æth.* 9, 22.

² Hieroglyphics published by the Egyptian Soc., pl. 57-62. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2. 47.

³ Ritter's *Africa*, p. 694, from the observations of the French.

⁴ 'Ἐν Σούμῃ κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ κορυφῆς γίγνεται (Strabo, 2, 133).
'Ἐν Σούμῃ καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ τὸ διασημαῖνον τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς, διότι τῷ τροπικῇ κύκλῳ ὑποκεῖνται οἱ τόποι οὗτοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀσκήτους τοὺς γνώμονας κατὰ μεσημβρίαν. (17, p. 817.)

⁵ Syene is supposed to have been so called from a goddess Suan (opener) answering to the Ilithya of the Greeks. Rosellini, *u.* 3.

It may be convenient to exhibit here a table of the distances in English

At Syene we enter upon Upper Egypt, which continues as far as Hermopolis Magna, in lat. 28° , where Middle Egypt, called in later times the Heptanomis, begins. From Syene to the apex of the Delta the Nile runs with a declivity without falls or rapids, the whole descent to the Mediterranean being only between 500 and 600 feet. The valley through which it flows varies in breadth, as the hills which are parallel to it approach or recede, its average width being seven, its greatest not exceeding eleven miles. A short distance below Syene begins a district of sandstone-rock which continues nearly to Latopolis in lat. 25° . This part of the valley is narrow, and as the Nile can deposit little fertilizing matter, the general aspect of the shores is dreary and barren. The first place at which any remains of antiquity occur is Koum-Ombos, the ancient Ombi, on the right bank. The two temples, of which considerable ruins are standing, of an imposing architecture, and still showing the brilliant colors with which they were adorned, are of the Ptolemaic age; but a fragment of a much earlier foundation has been discovered, a doorway of sandstone, built into a wall of brick. It was part of a temple built by Thothmes III., in honor of the crocodile-headed god Sebak¹. The

miles of the principal places in Egypt. They are taken from Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, 3, 404, and Russegger's Map:—

Syene to Latopolis	100
Latopolis to Thebes	88
Thebes to Keneh, opposite to Tentyra	49
Keneh to Panapolis	83
Panapolis to Lycopolis	85
Lycopolis to Speos Artemidos	80
Speos Artemidos to Minieh	26
Minieh to Benisooef, opposite the Fyoum	85
Benisooef to Cairo	83
Cairo to Rosetta	110

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, 196.

king is represented, on the jambs, holding the measuring reed and chisel, the emblems of a construction, and in the act of dedicating the temple. The crocodile was held in special honor by the people of Ombi, whose feud with the people of Tentyra has been celebrated by Juvenal¹. Crocodile mummies have been found in the adjacent catacombs, confirming the ancient accounts of the veneration in which it was held here; the Roman coins of the Ombite nome also exhibit the crocodile². The river here inclines strongly to the Arabian side, and threatens to undermine and bury in its waters the hill on which the temples stand. Sixteen miles below Ombi³, at Gebel Selsileh, or the Hill of the Chain, the Arabian and Libyan range draw so near to each other, that the river, contracted to about half its previous width, seems to flow between two perpendicular walls of sandstone. This spot was appropriately chosen for the special worship of the Nile, who seems here to occupy the whole breadth of Egypt. Under the name of Hapimou, and the emblem of the crocodile, Rameses II. consecrated a sanctuary to him. On both sides of the river, but especially on the eastern bank, are vast quarries of the beautiful and durable stone of which the temples of Upper Egypt are constructed. The opening of a quarry for such a purpose appears to have been regarded by the Egyptians as a religious act; inscriptions record the event and the edifices for which the stone was wrought, the officers who superintended the works, and the sovereigns who visited this part of Egypt for religious or festive purposes. One excavation in the western rock, of superior dimensions to the rest, with five entrances from the bank of the river, was begun in the reign of Horus of the eighteenth dynasty, and records his expedition into Ethiopia and triumph over its inhabitants. On the internal walls of this gallery, which runs parallel to

¹ Sat. 15.

² Tochon d'Anneçy, *Recherches sur les Médailles des Nomes*, p. 54.

³ Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 2, 283.

the Nile, successive sovereigns and princes of this and the following dynasty have inscribed their names, with acts of adoration. The position of these quarries, so close to the banks of the river, made it easy to transport columns and architraves of any size to the most distant parts of Egypt. The block of a colossal sphinx is still lying on the shore; others are traced for excavation on the rock: and it was hence, no doubt, that the criosphinxes were brought, which form the long *dromos* uniting the temple of Luxor at Thebes with the palace of Karnak. Two monolithal shrines are lying fractured on the ground, one of which bears the date of the twenty-seventh year of Amenophis-Memnon¹.

Edfu, or Apollinopolis Magna, stands on the right bank in lat. 25°, and here the valley begins to expand sufficiently to allow some effect to the inundation. The remains of the principal temple, distant about a third of a mile from the river, give a very perfect idea of the usual construction of an Egyptian temple. Of all the edifices of this class in Egypt it is the best preserved, but its beauty is impaired by the sands which have accumulated against its sides and the heaps of rubbish which hide the columns to two-thirds of their height—the ruins of the huts of mud with which the Arabs have covered the platform of the temple. The whole of the sacred precincts is surrounded by a strong wall 20 feet high, and is entered by a gateway (or *pylon*) which is 50 feet in height, and is flanked by two converging wings, rising to 107 feet². A large square court, surrounded by a colonnade, is in front of the *pronaos* or por-

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, p. 234.

² Writers on Egyptian antiquities frequently give the name of *pylon* to the converging piles which rise on each side the gateway; but πυλών is properly a lofty gate, bearing the same analogy to πύλη, as *portone* in Italian to *porta*. The converging piles are called πτερὰ, wings; and the whole front, including gateway and wings, πρόπυλον. Diodorus, 1, 47, gives the name of πυλών, a *parte potiori*, to the whole front. Russegger (1, 180) gives 90 feet as the height of the converging wings. They contain ten stories, and probably served as lodgings for the priests or servitors of the temple.

tico, which is 53 feet in height, and has a triple row of columns, whose capitals exhibit a rich variety of graceful foliage. The temple is 145 feet wide; and from the entrance to the opposite end 424 feet long, and every part is covered with hieroglyphics. It was dedicated to Hor-hat, the Horus-Apollo of the Greeks; but it is wholly of the Ptolemaic times, its earliest portion having been erected by Ptolemy Philometor. The smaller temple, which had been called a Typhonium, is properly an appendage, in the hieroglyphics *Manmisi*, representing the birth and education of the youthful God, whose parents were adored in the larger edifice¹.

Eilithya (El Kab), a few miles lower down the Nile and on the eastern bank, is remarkable for its hypogæa, which pierce the sandstone rock in every direction and mark the ancient importance of the town. Two of them deserve more especial notice. They are tombs of the family of the sacred scribes and high priest of the temple of Eilithya, whose names have been read *Pipe*, *Sotepau*, and *Ranseni*, and are as old as the reign of Rameses Meiamun. Almost the whole domestic life of the Egyptians is here portrayed, in sculptures and stucco, with colors as vivid as when the artist had just ceased to work upon them. The operations of husbandry, the gathering of the vintage and the making of wine, the capture and preservation of fish, the navigation of the Nile, trades and manufactures, the song and the dance, the preparation of a mummy, are all delineated on these walls. Another tomb belonged to the commander of the fleet in which Amasis, the first of the eighteenth dynasty, ascended the Nile for the subjugation of Ethiopia; and a third records the names of several sovereigns of the same dynasty, whose succession would not otherwise have been known. From this point a valley opens which conducts in a south-eastern direction through the Desert to Berenice on the Red Sea. Eilithya has probably been a seat of the commerce of ancient Egypt; a wall of

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, p. 269; *Mon. Stor.* 3, 1, 215.

unburnt bricks, 27 feet in height, 34 in thickness, and 2000 each way in length, enclosed the ruins of the town, and one of larger extent the temples. The latter, of which the remains were drawn by the French Commission¹, have wholly disappeared under the hands of the present ruler of Egypt, but the fragments are sufficient to show that they belonged to the same epoch as the tombs, and that the tutelary goddess was Suan. The sandstone rock which has hitherto bordered the valley on both sides, is found only on the eastern from a short distance below Edfu; four miles below Eilithya, the limestone makes its appearance. The pyramid of El Koofa, which is about two miles from the river, is built of it².

At Esneh (Latopolis) on the western bank, in lat. 25° 30', the valley of the Nile receives a great expansion and attains the width of between four and five miles. The remains of its temple are magnificent and resemble in style that of Edfu, but are wholly of the Roman times, extending from Claudius to Geta, whose hieroglyphics have been erased by his brother and murderer Caracalla. What now exists is only the pronaos. When the Roman emperors began their work, they appear to have destroyed even the foundations of the temple. A fragment still remains, the jamb of a gateway, converted into a doorsill, of the age of Thotmes II., and a doorway in the pronaos, bearing a dedication by Ptolemy Epiphanes; and it is true generally, that the Ptolemies erected their splendid works only on sites already consecrated to the ancient divinities of the country. Kneph or Chnuphis, Neith or Sate and Hak, their joint offspring, appear to have been the tutelary deities of Edfu. The architectural effect of the temple is imposing, but the sculptures and hieroglyphics are very badly executed, showing the deep decline of art in the imperial times³. Two zodiacs found here, gave rise at their first discovery to inferences respecting the antiquity

¹ Description de l'Égypte, Antiq. vol. 1, 343. 6. 7.

² Vyse on the Pyramids, 3, 85, 1, pl. 66-71

³ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, p. 283.

of Egyptian astronomy, which have been set aside by further investigation. The pronaos of the greater temple, on the ceiling of which one of them is found, was begun by the Emperor Claudius. The smaller temple, sometimes called of Esneh, but which stood at E'Dayr, two miles and three-quarters north of Esneh, lately destroyed¹, contained another zodiac, but was not older than Ptolemy Euergetes. Strabo says that Latopolis derived its name from the worship of Minerva and the fish *Latus*², which accordingly appears among the sculptures of the temple, surrounded by that oval ring or shield which usually marks royalty or divinity³.

The course of the river is again contracted by the rocks of Gebelein or *the two mountains*, which on opposite sides approach so near to it and rise so steeply, that to avoid them the road quits the vicinity of the Nile. With these hills the sandstone wholly disappears⁴, and limestone hills border the valley till it opens into the Delta below Memphis. Its character is consequently changed, the banks slope more gently from the stream, especially on the western side, and afford a wider interval of cultivated land. In a plain of this enlarged valley stands Hermonthis on the western bank. Its temple was built under the reign of the last Cleopatra, the contemporary of Julius Caesar and Antony; and the sculptures appear to allude to the birth of Cæsarion, her son by the former, symbolized as that of the god Harphre, the son of Mandou and Ritho. Its astronomical ceiling can therefore afford no evidence of the state of science under the Pharaohs; it is probably *genethliacal*, *i. e.* refers to the aspect of the heavens at the time of the birth.

A much wider expansion of the valley takes place at the plain

¹ It was destroyed to construct a canal. The larger temple has been cleared and preserved for a cotton warehouse (Lepsius, *Einleitung*, p. 63).

² Strabo, 17, p. 812, 817.

³ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 5, 253.

⁴ On Russegger's Geognostical Chart of Egypt the sandstone is represented as terminating a few miles south of Gebelein.

on which stood THEBES, the city of a hundred gates. Both the chains of hills make a sweep away from the river, approaching and again contracting the valley at Gournah to the north, where the plain of Thebes and the remains of its edifices end. The river is enlarged to the width of a mile and a quarter, and is divided by islands. On the Libyan or western side, the hills, which are 1200 feet high¹, form precipitous rocks, and are penetrated by hypogæa, in which all classes of the Theban population found sepulchres. The Arabian or eastern chain is a succession of hills rising more gradually to the summit; it contains no sepulchral monuments. The ancient city was divided by the river. On the right bank the plain is occupied by two modern villages, Luxor to the south and close to the river; Karnak nearer to the hills and about a mile and a quarter to the north. On the other side of the Nile, Medinet Abou and Gournah stand on the ground which the western half of Thebes anciently occupied. But the monuments of this capital of the Pharaohs, in the times of their most extensive dominion, are so vast and important as to require a more detailed account than can be given of them now, when our object is rather to trace the course of the Nile, and we shall return to Thebes hereafter.

In descending the river from Thebes, the traveller passes, at a little distance from the eastern bank, Medamoot², the site of a town whose ancient name is not ascertained. It contains, along with remains of the Roman and Ptolemaic times, some fragments of the age of Amunoph II. and Rameses II. At Apollinopolis Parva (Koos) on the same bank, the propylon of a temple was till lately seen, nearly buried in the sand, dedicated by Cleopatra (Cocce) and her son Ptolemy to the God Aroeris; but among the ruins a tablet has been found bearing date the sixteenth year of Rameses Meiamun³. Coptos (now Keft, in hieroglyphics Kobto), also on the

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 4, 119. Russegger, Reisen, 2, 1, 114.

² Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 133.

³ Champollion, Lettres d'Égypte, p. 92.

right bank, contains monuments of the Roman times, but none of ancient Egypt. Among the stones which the Christians have employed in the construction of their church, the royal legends of Thothmes III. and Nectanebus have however been discovered¹. From this place a second valley opens to the south-east, leading to the quarries of porphyry in the Arabian Desert and to Cosseir on the Red Sea. Coptos was enriched by the commerce with India carried on by this route, and was a flourishing city till its destruction by Diocletian². The traffic with Cosseir still continues, but it is chiefly carried on from Keneh, a little further to the north. The river, after passing the opening of this lateral valley, bends to the northwest, and follows for some distance the line of its prolongation, but soon recovers its normal direction to the north.

About thirty-eight miles below Thebes, on the left bank, stands Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, whose inhabitants, celebrated for their skill in hunting the crocodile³, were involved in hostility with the people of Ombi, whose devotion to the god Sebak, worshipped under this emblem, has been already noticed⁴. No remains of Egyptian architecture have excited the admiration of travellers more than the temple of Athor at Tentyra⁵. It is the first in tolerable preservation which they meet as they ascend the Nile; it stands remote from the river and the abodes of men, amidst the sands of the Desert, at the foot of the Libyan hills. The majestic

¹ Wilkinson, *u. s.*, 2, 129.

² Gibbon, vol. 2, ch. 13.

³ Pliny, N. H. 8, 25. Ælian, Hist. Anim. 10, 21.

⁴ Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua similtas
Ardeat adhuc Ombos et Tentyra; summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus.—Juv. Sat. 15, 33.

Ombi and Tentyra are not so near as the words of the poet would lead us to suppose; but the Tentyrites had probably exercised their skill in catching crocodiles within the limits of the Ombite nome.

⁵ Tentyra has been explained as *Tei-n-athor*, the abode of Athor (Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. 2, 119).

architecture of its portico, composed of six columns, from which the features of the goddess Athor look down with a mysterious tranquillity, and the supposed primæval antiquity of its zodiac, combined with its situation to produce admiration and awe. Under the influence of such feelings, it was natural that, as it is certainly one of the most impressive of Egyptian monuments, it should be regarded as one of the oldest. This, however, is not the case. The sculpture with which every part is crowded, betrays itself to be of a late age; the Greek inscriptions on the pronaos refer to Tiberius and Hadrian¹, and the hieroglyphic legends on the oldest portions of the walls to the last Cleopatra. Tentyra contains, behind the great temple, a smaller one, dedicated to Isis, and a Typhonium; but they are also of the Roman times. The zodiac is delineated on the ceiling of the pronaos; the conclusion which Visconti drew from the position of the signs, that it must have been constructed between A.D. 12 and A.D. 132, was confirmed by Mr. Hamilton's reading of the name of Tiberius in the Greek inscription², and the hieroglyphical discoveries of Champollion. In an upper apartment a circular planisphere is delineated on the ceiling³, the object of which has not yet been ascertained. Chenoboscion (Quesr-Syad), on the right bank, is remarkable for some very ancient grottos, in which are inscribed the names of several kings of Egypt, earlier than any which remain on obelisks or temples.

Near Diospolis Parva (How), on the left bank, opposite to Chenoboscion, begins the canal or ancient branch of the Nile, called the Bahr-Jusuf, or River of Joseph, which flows between the river and the Libyan hills to the entrance of the Fyourn. One of the first places which it passes is Abydos, or This. If modern discoveries have disproved the high antiquity of Dendera, they have

¹ Letronne's Inscriptions, 1, p. 89.

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 121. Lepsius, *Einreitung*, p. 103.

³ Denon's *Voyage en Egypte*, 1, p. 34, plate 48.

fully confirmed the claims of Abydos. In the times of the native kings of Egypt, it had been the second city of the Thebaid¹, the birthplace of Menes the founder of the monarchy; the origin of its temple was attributed to Memnon, and it was supposed to be the place of sepulture of Osiris. As he was the god of the unseen world, pious votaries desired to rest here under his auspices. It became therefore a celebrated necropolis, and the adjacent Libyan hills are full of sepulchres, some of which date as far back as the time of Sesortasen. Its remains are found at Arabat el Matfoon, buried in sand, which reaches to the capitals and architraves of the columns. Here, in 1818, Mr. Banks discovered a tablet inscribed with the shields of a series of Egyptian kings, which has contributed more than any other monument, except the Rosetta stone, to advance our knowledge of Egyptian history. Abydos contains two edifices; one, called by the ancients the Palace of Memnon², built by the father of Rameses the Great; the other, a temple built or finished by Rameses himself. The royal tablet just mentioned was placed on the wall of one of the side apartments of this temple, and as it terminates with his name, and records his offerings to his predecessors, it is presumed that it was erected in his reign. It unfortunately suffered great mutilation in the interval between its discovery and its final removal by the French Consul Mimaut, on whose death it came into the British Museum³. A road passed by Abydos to the Greater Oasis.

Ekhmin, Chemmis or Panopolis, on the eastern bank, which was anciently inhabited by linen weavers and masons, contains some ruins of the age of Ptolemy Philopater, dedicated to Amun Khem⁴. The Greeks confounded him with their Pan, whose name appears in the inscription on the temple. It is doubtful whether

¹ Strabo, B. 17, p. 813.

² Plin. N. Hist. 5, 11.

³ Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, p. 66.

⁴ Strabo, B. 17, p. 813. Steph. Byz. s. v. Πανόπολις.

anything remains of a temple described by Herodotus¹, dedicated to Perseus, the son of Danae, and said to have been founded by him. E' Syout, the ancient Lycopolis, in lat. 27° 10' 14'', on the western bank, has no conspicuous ruins, but in the excavated chambers of the adjacent rocks mummies of wolves are found, confirming the etymology of the name². The shield of a king preserved here has been read *Rekamai*; he lived probably during the dominion of the Shepherds. Near Manfalout, a little lower down, the eastern and western banks contain grottos which have served as repositories to embalmed dogs, cats and crocodiles. The latter animal was especially worshipped at Athribis on the western side of the river, nearly opposite to Ekhmin. The magnificent portico of Hermopolis Magna, on the western side, was of the Pharaonic times. The remains of Antinoe, built by Hadrian in honor of his favorite, exhibited Roman architecture in singular contrast with the native style of Egypt. This district was more exposed than the Thebaid to the ravages of invading armies, and the material of buildings offered a temptation to burn them into lime. Hermopolis and Antinoe had escaped those perils, but have perished in our own age from the ignorance and cupidity of a semi-barbarous people. A little to the south of Antinoe is a grotto, the tomb of Thoth-otp, of the age of Sesortasen, containing a representation of a colossal statue dragged by the force of men's arms to the place of its erection³.

To the north of Antinoe, on the eastern bank, are the grottos of Benihassan, the Speos Artemidos of the Greeks. The name has been explained by the united French and Tuscan expedition, who found in a desert valley of the Arabian chain, a temple constructed by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and dedicated to

¹ Her. 2, 91.

² See the account of these hypogæa in the *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, tom. 2, ch. 13. Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 1, 81.

³ Minutoli, *Reisen*, Atlas, plate 18.

Pasht, the Bubastis of the Greek writers on Egypt, identified by them with their Artemis¹. The hypogæa near this temple are filled with the mummies of cats and some dogs, and others are buried under the sands of the Desert. The grottos of Benihasan itself, which are above thirty in number, appear to have been the general cemetery of the nome of Hermopolis, to whose inhabitants it was more convenient to transport their dead for interment to the eastern hills, which here approach very near to the river, than to carry them to those on their own side, which recede to a considerable distance from it. This is a singular instance of a religious usage controlled by convenience; for in general the western hills were exclusively appropriated to interments. Two of these hypogæa are especially deserving of notice; one is the tomb of Nevopth, a military chief of the reign of the early king Sesortasen, and of his wife, Rotei. It has in front an architrave excavated from the rock, and supported by two columns of 23 feet in height and slightly fluted with sixteen faces, which are just worked to a sufficient depth in the rock to allow them to be insulated from it. They have no base or capital, but a square abacus is interposed between the architrave and the head of the column, and over the architrave a denteled cornice has been cut, giving to the whole an air of grace and lightness. The chamber within is 30 feet square, and the roof is divided into three vaults of elegant curvature by two architraves, each of which was once supported by a column no longer existing. The vaults are painted in checkers of the most vivid coloring. The walls represent Nevopth himself, engaged in fishing and the chase; or husbandmen in various operations of agriculture, and artisans plying their respective handicrafts. In one compartment we see a procession of three Egyptians and thirty-seven strangers, apparently prisoners, with the date of the sixth year of the reign of Sesortasen II². Adjacent

¹ Herod. 2, 58. Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, p. 78.

Some writers have thought that this was a representation of the arrival

to the tomb of Nevopth, and very similar in construction, is that of Amenheme, of nearly the same age; one of the walls is covered with representations of men in various postures of wrestling. The other grottos exhibit scenes from the domestic and civil life of the Egyptians. The hope expressed by an intelligent English traveller¹, who visited Egypt early in this century, that by their means we might obtain as accurate a knowledge of the domestic antiquities of Egypt, as Herculaneum and Pompeii had given us of Roman life and manners, has been amply fulfilled by the publications of the French Commission, of Rosellini, and of our countryman, Sir Gardner Wilkinson. The grottos of Koumel-Ahmar, nine miles lower down, supposed to stand on the site of Alabastron, are inferior in size and splendor to those of Benihassan, but they contain the names of some of the earliest Egyptian kings². The quarries of the beautiful white or veined alabaster, which the Egyptians employed for their sarcophagi and other works of art, are in the Arabian Desert, near this place³. The ruins of Oxyrrynchos (Behneseh) and Heracleopolis (Anasieh), both on the western bank, and near the Libyan hills, are inconsiderable; nor does the course of the Nile present any remarkable feature till it arrives at Benisooef, opposite to the latter town, in lat. 29°. The Libyan chain of hills here begins to retire from the vicinity of the river, and bends towards the north-west, and again returning towards the east and approaching the river, incloses the ancient province of Arsinoe, the modern Fyoum⁴, in which were

of Jacob and his family in Egypt; but they were not thirty-seven in number, nor were they captives, and they came in wheel-carriages (Gen. xlv. 27, xlv. 21).

¹ Hamilton, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 290.

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt*, 2, 43.

³ Russ-egger, *Reisen*, 21, 298.

⁴ The name is ancient, *Phioum*, signifying in Coptic "the waters," i. e. the Lake of Mœria.

the Lake of Mœris, the Labyrinth, and the city of Crocodilopolis.

The entrance to this insulated region is by a valley about four miles wide, through which the canal or branch of the Nile called the Bahr Jusuf, passes. Its present surface is about 340 square miles; its extent anciently about forty miles in one direction and thirty in another. It is one of the most fertile districts of Egypt¹, though the inferiority of the modern to the ancient system of irrigation has much lessened the extent of productive soil. Besides grain and vegetables, it abounds with groves of dates and fig-trees, and the vine, which is a stranger to the valley of the Nile, thrives in the Fyoun. The basin in which it lies consists of the same limestone rock as the rest of this district, but it is covered by the deposit of the Nile. As it lies higher than Egypt, it must have become fertile at a later period, a rise in the bed of the river by deposition being necessary, before the water could reach it, from the Nile at Heracleopolis. But many circumstances render it probable that the Bahr Jusuf is an ancient branch of the river; no mounds of earth are seen beside it, such as accompany the course of ancient canals, and the windings of its bed indicate a natural rather than an artificial channel². The point at which it originates is about 130 feet higher than the present level of the Nile opposite to the entrance of the Fyoun, and in this way it may have been fertilized in very remote times, though subsequent, as history informs us, to the establishment of the monarchy.

On the side of the Desert the Fyoun was bounded by the natural lake called the Birket-el-Kerun, seven miles broad and about thirty-five miles from S.W. to N.E., which seems to have been the Lake

¹ Strabo, B. 17, p. 809. It produces good olive oil, which the rest of Egypt does not (Jomard, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, 4, 440).

² Linant, *Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris*. Translated in Borrer's *Travels*, p. 553. The author has been long employed as a surveyor by the Pao' a of Egypt, and has examined as an engineer the levels of the Fyoun.

of Möeris¹, as described by Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny. Its waters are brackish, being strongly impregnated with the alkaline salts with which the Desert abounds, and with muriate of lime washed by the rains from the hills which border it. But it is not absolutely salt, and in the season of the inundation the fishermen of the Nile come here to pursue their business. Of its north-western shore very little is known, but it does not appear to contain any antiquities of the Pharaonic times. The present level of its surface is about that of the sea, and from the quality of its waters and the sandy nature of the soil around, Strabo conjectured that it had once been connected with the Mediterranean. Herodotus too represents it as the tradition of the country, that the Lake of Möeris, at its northern extremity, turned westward and had a subterranean outlet into the Syrtes. No such outlet is known; the tradition of Herodotus is probably of the same origin as the hypothesis of Strabo, and if either of them had a foundation in fact, it must have been in geological, not historical times. The present average depth of water is not more than twelve feet, in the deepest part twenty-eight, and the bottom is the limestone rock; but it is probable that in ancient times, when it received larger supplies from the Nile, the water may have stood rather higher than at present². Herodotus, indeed, speaks of two pyramids which stood in the lake, and were fifty fathoms above the water and fifty below it³. This is not only irreconcilable with the actual depth of the Birket-el-Kerun, or any that it can have had in ancient times, but equally with Linant's supposition that the Lake of Möeris was an artificial excavation in the centre of the Fyoun. The only remains that in any way answer to the description of Herodotus are the truncated pyramids of Biahmu, about five miles from Medinet-el-Fyoun. They may have stood formerly in the waters

¹ Herod. 2, 149. Strabo, *u. s.* Pliny, N. H. 36, 12, 75.

² Linant, *ubi supra*. Wilkinson, Mod. Egypt, 2, 345.

³ Her. 2, 149.

of the inundation; indeed their sides bear traces of immersion¹, and thus Herodotus may have been led to describe them as in the lake. They appear also anciently to have served as the pedestals to statues; but at present they are only about thirty feet in height, and from the size of the base, they can never have been fifty fathoms high. Perhaps their truncated form may have led the guides to exaggerate their original height. The Fyoom contains an obelisk, probably the oldest in existence, near Bijij, bearing the shield of Sesortasen²; and the site of the Labyrinth, which had been long a subject of doubt, has been fixed by the researches of the Prussian Expedition where the French commission had placed it, in the neighborhood of the ancient Crocodilopolis. The pyramid and sepulchre of the founder, Amenemhe III., adjoins the Labyrinth. For a fuller account of these remains we must await the publication of the great work which Lepsius is preparing.

Returning to the Nile, opposite to the opening which leads to the Fyoom, we find nothing remarkable on its banks, till approaching Cairo the Pyramids are seen. The first that are passed, in descending the stream, are those of Dashour, on the eastern edge of the Libyan chain, which has again approached and overlooks the valley. From these, the pyramids of Saccara are separated by a short interval. Those of Gizeh and Abousir close the long line of monuments which mark the necropolis of the ancient Memphis, the former by their size and towering height proclaiming their superior dignity as royal sepulchres. Memphis, however, like Thebes, is too important to be treated of incidentally, and its monuments will be reserved to a separate chapter. The hills of Gebel-el-Mokattam correspond on the eastern side to those on which the Pyramids stand. From the quarries of Tourah and Massarah the limestone was obtained for the casing and finer work

¹ Perring in Vyse on the Pyramids, 3, 84.

² Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 342.

of the Pyramids, and the causeway by which the stones were conveyed, may still be traced across the intervening plain.

The double chain of hills, between which the Nile has so long flowed, here terminates. Those on the eastern side turn off towards the head of the Red Sea, the Libyan chain retiring at the same time towards the north-west. The Nile has thus room to expand, its current is weakened, and the divided stream finds its way to the sea 'in sluggish branches. The point of the first separation, the apex of the Delta, was, according to the earliest records, at Cercasoros¹, about ten miles below Memphis, but by a process common to all rivers², this point has gradually advanced, and the Delta now commences at Batn-el-Bakarah, six or seven miles lower. It spreads out to the north, east and west, a boundless plain of alluvial land, without a natural rock, a hill, or any variation of the surface, except where some high mound marks the site of an ancient city. Though *seven* mouths of Nile were reckoned by the ancients, only three branches appear ever to have carried down any great amount of water—the PELUSIAC or eastern arm, the CANOPIC or western, and the SEBENNYTIC, which, continuing in the direction of the undivided stream, may with most propriety be considered as the Nile. The Pelusiatic arm is now become dry; on the eastern side of it, and almost close to the apex of the Delta, stood Heliopolis, the On of Scripture, the Ain Shems, or fountain of the sun, of the modern Arabs. The only remains of this ancient city, where the father-in-law of Joseph filled the office of priest, where Moses perhaps was initiated into the wisdom of the Egyptians³, where in the days of Strabo were still shown the halls in which Plato had studied⁴, is an obelisk of granite, bearing the name of Sesortasen. The place in which it stands is now distant

¹ Herod. 2, 15, 16.

² Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, 2, 133.

³ Gen. xli. 45. Acts vii. 22. Joseph. c. Ap. 1, c. 26.

⁴ Strabo, B. 17, p. 806.

between four and five miles from the river, but it was probably nearer in ancient times. Heliopolis stood at the verge of the Desert, and may have had a considerable mixture of Arabian population¹. Twenty miles lower down, on the same branch, was Bubastus, now Tel Basta, conspicuous for its lofty mounds of brick, raised to protect it from the inundation, and inclosing a space now covered with ruins². These are sufficient to attest its ancient magnificence; the names of Rameses the Great, Osorkon and Amyrtæus have been found here. Pelusium, even in the time of Strabo³, was twenty stadia from the sea; its remains are now more than four times that distance; yet originally it was probably a harbor, and from its position was the key of Egypt on the side of Arabia and Palestine. The soil in which the ruins stand corresponds with the name which the city has borne in Hebrew, Coptic, Greek, and Arabic⁴, all signifying a marsh; and such is the pestilential malaria which it exhales, that no traveller has ventured thoroughly to explore the ruins⁵.

The wide expanse of the Lake of Menzaleh, which extends along the coast from Pelusium to Damietta, has absorbed the ancient Tanitic and Bucolic mouths of the Nile; but the ruins of San, in lat. 31°, identify the site of Tanis, the Zoan⁶ of Scripture, one of the oldest cities of the Delta. Monuments found here show that it existed in the days of Rameses the Great; others bear the names of Menephthah, Sesortasen III., and Tirhakah⁷; the fragments of obelisks and columns, of pottery and glass, show its ancient size

¹ Juba, ap. Plin. N. H. 6, 34. Juba tradit Solis quoque oppidum, quod non procul Memphi in Egypto situm diximus, Arabas conditores habere.

² Herod. 2, 137. Wilkinson, 1, 428.

³ Strabo, 17, p. 803.

⁴ Champollion, *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, 2, 86.

⁵ Wilkinson, 1, 406.

⁶ Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43.

⁷ Wilkinson, 1, 448.

and importance. The present canal of Moueys probably coincides nearly with the Tanitic branch, and the ruins of Attrib, at the point where this canal leaves the Nile, represent the ancient Athribis¹. The Mendesian branch, a derivation from the Sebennytic, has equally been lost in Lake Menzaleh, but the former channel may be traced by soundings through the present shallow waters.

The modern branch of Damietta corresponded in the upper part of its course with the ancient Sebennytic branch, as far as Semenhoud (Sebennytus), a little to the north of Mansoorah; but in its lower part with the Phatnitic or Phatmetic, which though artificial has drawn to itself the greater portion of the water. Where the Sebennytic had its mouth, nearly due north of Memphis, the Lake of Bourlos has collected and obliterated the channel. Busiris stood near the middle of the Delta, on the left bank of the Damietta branch. Its name is preserved in Abousir, a little to the north of Semenhoud. There are some extensive ruins of a temple of Isis at Bah-beit, a little below Semenhoud², which from their size and destination appear to correspond with that which Herodotus describes as existing at Busiris³. The temple stood in the midst of an extensive inclosure of crude brick, 1500 feet long and 1000 broad. It has been of extraordinary magnificence, being entirely built of granite. The remains of the sculpture, which is all of the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, show that it was dedicated to the worship of Isis. Being in true relief, contrary to the usual Egyptian style of art, it seems to betray the hand of a Greek artist.

The Canopic branch, the most westerly, is represented by the first part of the present Rosetta branch as far as the lat. of 31°, where it turned off to the west, and discharged itself into the sea,

¹ Wilkinson, 1, 423.

² Minutoli, Reisen, 301. Wilkinson, 1, 432, 434.

³ The modern Abousir is several miles distant from Bah-beit, but we often find ancient names transferred to places in their neighborhood.

very near the promontory and bay of Aboukir. A shallow lagoon has formed here, as at the other mouths of the Nile, called the Lake of Madieh. The Canopic branch, in the first part of its descent from the apex of the Delta, closely skirted the western Desert. At Teranieh, the ancient Terenuthis, a pass through the hills communicated with the Valley of the Natron Lakes, about thirty miles from the Nile. Continuing to descend the river, we find the site of the ancient Sais on the right bank,—ascertained not only by the modern name of Sa-el-Hadjar, but by ruins corresponding in extent to the important place which this city occupied under the later Pharaohs. They have been raised high above the level of the plain, to avoid the inundation ; and though they now present only a confused mass of ruins of brick, the fragments of granite and marble found among them, and the evident traces of a large inclosure, give reason to conclude that valuable remains lie buried here, and that excavation might bring to light the plan of the celebrated temple of Neith and the sepulchres of the Saitic kings¹. Naucratis, long the Canton of the Greek merchants, the only port which they were permitted to frequent², was a few miles lower down than Sais and on the left bank, but its exact site has not been ascertained. That part of the present Rosetta branch which lies between the ancient course of the Canopic and the sea, represents the Bolbitine mouth, originally an artificial canal, and it appears from Herodotus³ that in his time a branch from the Sebennyitic must have joined the Canopic, passing near Sais. Westward of the Canopic mouth, there was no town of any importance in the Pharaonic times. The lake Mareotis extended parallel to the sea, as far as the Tower of Perseus on the Plinthinetic Bay, about twenty-six

¹ Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 50. Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, 1, 183, 185.

² Her. 2, 179.

³ Her. 2, 17.

miles S.W. of Alexandria, the western limit of Egypt; and it is closely bordered by the sands of the Libyan Desert.

From the western limit of Egypt to Pelusium, the coast, as far as so irregular an outline can be measured, extends about 180 geographical miles; but the space now included between the Rosetta and Damietta branches is probably not equal to more than half the ancient Delta. The coast has that fan-shaped form which the deposits of a great river naturally assume where it meets the sea, being carried out the furthest opposite to the direct line of its course, the lateral and therefore weaker currents depositing their burden nearer the shore. Cape Bourlos, the most projecting point of the low sandy shore, is nearly in the same line with the bisection of the stream at the apex of the Delta. To the operations of the Nile it has been chiefly owing that Egypt presents a coast not only inhospitable, but dangerous to the navigator. He finds himself in shallow water before he has discovered the low alluvial shore, which scarcely lifts itself above the level of the horizon. From Parætonium in Libya to Joppa in Syria, there was not a single good harbor except that of Pharos¹. The influence of the river extends far out into the sea, which is discolored by the great volume of turbid water during the inundation; and the sounding-line, at the distance of seventeen leagues from shore, brings up alluvial mud². The action of the waves upon the sandy shore has formed, and continues to form along the whole coast a rock of gray sandstone, in which the fragments of land and sea shells are blended together³. Where the shore is lowest, the sea, impelled by the north winds, sometimes breaks in, as on the coast of Holland, converts freshwater lakes into salt lagoons, or covers what had been dry land, leaving only a few insulated spots above the water. In the

¹ Diodor. Sic. 1, 31.

² Herod. 2, 5. Bruce, Travels, 1, 6.

³ Russegger, Reisen, 11, p. 363.

early ages of the Church, these islands, like the Desert of the Thebais, afforded a refuge to the holy men, who wished to seclude themselves from the world¹.

We have thus described the course of the Nile from the junction of its principal branches to the sea, and the antiquities which are found along its banks. Those which belong to the history of Ancient Egypt extend for more than 1000 miles from Upper Nubia to the Mediterranean. They have been so minutely specified because they are in fact our documents; and as the historian of other countries enumerates the archives in which his authorities are deposited, the necessary preliminary to Egyptian history is the description of the temples, palaces and sepulchres, on whose walls the names and actions of her sovereigns are inscribed.

Cassianus, quoted by Jablonsky, *Pantheon Ægyptiacum*, lib. 5, 2, p.

CHAPTER II.

THE COUNTRY BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE RED SEA.

ALTHOUGH the nucleus of the population of Egypt and the origin of its national peculiarities are to be sought within its double chain of hills and the extended arms of the Delta, it was not entirely cut off from all that lay beyond these limits. The Red Sea is nowhere more than 150 miles from the valley of the Nile; the Gulf of Suez is only sixty from the most eastern branch of the ancient Nile, and we shall find the sovereigns of Egypt in very early times endeavoring to unite their country with it by means of a canal, and thus place themselves in communication with the Indian Ocean. They early established colonies within the peninsula of Mount Sinai. Wadi Magara, in this district, exhibits names contemporaneous with the erection of the Great Pyramid; Surabit-el-Kadim, on the road from Suez to Sinai, contains hieroglyphical inscriptions and fragments of pottery, showing the existence of a colony or settlement under the 18th dynasty.¹ Copper mixed with iron ore is found in the sandstone which borders the primitive rocks of Sinai; the scorix produced by their smelting yet remain in large heaps,² and to obtain these metals was no doubt the purpose for which this desert region was occupied.

When we ascend beyond the head of the Delta, the space

¹ Laborde, *Petra*, p. 80, Eng. Translation.

² Lepsius's *Journey to Mount Sinai*, p. 14. Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 1, 405.

between the Red Sea and the valley of the Nile is occupied by tertiary limestone hills, the Gebel-el-Mokattam and Gebel-Attaka of modern geography, resting on a cretaceous formation which is found at Suez and on the opposite shore¹. For the space of thirty miles from the river they rise gradually towards the east, and after continuing for some distance at nearly the same level sink again, in a space of fifty miles to the Red Sea. A general line of elevation appears to run north and south through this region, westward of which the country slopes to the Nile and eastward to the sea. It has been caused probably by the intrusion of the plutonic rocks, which everywhere abound². In the latitude of $28^{\circ} 26'$ a primitive region begins, which rises into a mountain of 6000 feet in height³. The same cause appears to have produced the gorges by which the limestone and sandstone hills are penetrated; most of them soon terminate, but there are two which being more prolonged serve as routes of communication with the Red Sea. The most northerly is at Coptos and Kenh, the other opposite to Apollinopolis Magna or Edfu. The routes from both these places to Berenice unite about three days' journey in the Desert⁴, and from their point of junction a branch goes north-westward to Kosseir, the ancient Philoteras, in lat. $26^{\circ} 9'$, and to Myos Hormos, $27^{\circ} 32'$. Berenice is in the lat. of $23^{\circ} 50'$, a little to the south of the promontory of Cape Nose. There is also a route which goes nearly due west from Coptos to Kosseir. This road is almost throughout desert, but not difficult, as the French passed their artillery through it without impediment except at one point. It is bordered by hills of limestone, sand-

¹ Russegger's Reisen, 1, P. 1, 264.

² Russegger's Geognostische Karte. An insulated mass of the granite of the Cataracts is found as far north as $27^{\circ} 10'$.

³ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, pl. 18; Modern Egypt, 2, 383.

⁴ Belzoni, pl. 38.

stone, and further on, at the distance of two days' and a half journey, green breccia. From the latter the Egyptians derived the beautiful material which under the name of *Verde d'Egitto* is so much admired among their remains of art¹. These quarries were opened at a very early period in the history of the monarchy, and continued to be wrought even in the Roman times. The inscriptions go back as far as to the sixth dynasty of Manetho, and record the names of those who directed the workings and the kings under whom they held office. The god in whose honor the more recent *proscynemata* are made is Amun-Khem, answering to the Pan of the Greeks and Romans, to whom deserts especially belonged. The road from Apollinopolis to Berenice presents more remains of antiquity than that from Coptos to Kosseir. At intervals of from seven to twelve miles, inclosures with walls or cisterns occur, which appear to mark the site of the ancient stations of caravans on their way from the Nile to the Red Sea². About thirty miles from the river is a temple in which the figure of an Egyptian king appears, holding captives by the hair as if about to immolate them. Pyramidal masses of masonry are seen on the hills, apparently designed as landmarks through these deserts, in which the wind speedily obliterates all traces of a route. The porphyry and granite which are found towards the western side were quarried for purposes of art³; the mines of emeralds also attracted the ancient Egyptians into these barren regions, and have caused them to be again explored in modern times. They lay out far from the Red Sea, between 24° and 25° N.L. Mount Zabareh was the principal mine, but at Bender-el-

¹ It is composed of rounded fragments of greenstone, gneiss and porphyry, cemented by a slightly calcareous paste. Newbold, *Geology of Egypt*, Proc. of Geol. Soc. 1842, 3, 2, 91 foll.

² Belzoni, 2, 34.

³ There were quarries of granite at Mons Claudianus (now Gebel Fatireh), and of porphyry at Mons Porphyrites (now Gebel Dochan).

Sogheir to the north and Sekket to the south, there are traces of ancient mining operations. The temple at the latter place is indeed of the Ptolemaic times, but it is certain that the mines were known and wrought in those of the Pharaohs, at least as early as Amunoph III. At Wadi Jasoos, to the north of Kosseir, the shields of Sesortasen II. and his predecessor Amenemhe II. occur with a record of victories¹. In the road from Goptos to Kosseir, Mr. Burton and Sir Gardner Wilkinson have copied inscriptions of various sovereigns from the early reign of Papi or Apappus down to Darius, Artaxerxes and Nectanebus, and Lepsius has recently added to their number². There were gold-mines also on the eastern side of the Nile, in the primitive district which lies between the Cataracts and the Red Sea³. The workings belong to the Ptolemaic times, yet they can hardly have been unknown to the Pharaohs⁴.

The general character of this region and its geological structure resembles that of the peninsula of Sinai, and is wholly unlike that of the Libyan Desert on the western side of the Nile. Its surface is varied, and a scanty vegetation in the valleys affords the means of pasturage to a wandering population. As it is Arabian, not African in its features, so its inhabitants have probably in all ages been of the Arabian family. The Desert between Kosseir and Berenice is now occupied by the Ababdeh, who represent the population of the Ptolemaic and Pharaonic times. The tribes who live to the north of these are Arabs of more recent immigration, but probably the successors of others of the same origin. According to the Greek geographers⁵, the coast from the

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1, 45, 231; *Mod. Eg.* 2, 385, 388.

² *Journey to M. Sinai*, p. 5.

³ Wilkinson, *M.* and *C.* 3, 229. Mr. Birch thinks that what Lepsius supposed to be a plan of the tomb of Sethos, is a plan of an ancient gold-mine.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, 2, 389.

⁵ Artemidorus apud Strab. B. 16, p. 768, 775.

Gulf of Suez to Berenice was inhabited by the Troglodytes, a nomadic people, who, as their name indicates, made their dwellings in the excavated rock. Hence we may infer, that they did not extend further than the limestone and sandstone districts of the coast, and they may have belonged to various races, agreeing in this mode of habitation. The practice of circumcision appears to connect them with the Arabic or Ethiopian tribes¹; they were in the lowest state of civilization, characteristic of a people who have not industry or skill to procure themselves habitations, but take up with such as nature or the labor of others has provided. Dwelling promiscuously in caves, they had no distinctions of family, but their wives and children were in common, except those of the chief. Southward of the Troglodytes dwelt on the sea-coast tribes who lived on fish, and others more inland, of whose figure and mode of life strange tales were related by the Greek and Roman writers².

The country between Egypt and the Red Sea was no doubt virtually subject to the Egyptian kings; but, except where its mines and quarries invited a settlement, or traffic rendered a line of communication necessary, it could not repay the expense of a permanent occupation, or reward any attempt to cultivate the soil and civilize the inhabitants.

¹ Her. 2, 104. Strabo, B. 16, p. 775, 786. Herodotus, 4, 183, speaks of Ethiopian Troglodytes.

² Pliny, N. H. 6, 30.

CHAPTER III.

THE WESTERN DESERT.

THE country which borders Egypt on the west, presents even a more striking contrast to the luxuriant fertility and overflowing population of the Valley of the Nile, than the rough and barren region on the east. Since the Libyan Desert has been examined by scientific travellers, it has been divested of many of its fabulous terrors; its hosts of serpents, which by their number and venom could even impede the march of armies¹; its tribes who shrieked like bats, instead of speaking with a human voice²; its pestilential blasts extinguishing life instantaneously wherever they reached; and its whirlwinds of sand, burying armies as they fell. Enough, however, remains to characterize it as one of the most inhospitable regions of the earth, and perhaps the most formidable barrier anywhere interposed to the intercourse of nations. It is not in Africa alone that it produces this effect. Egypt intersects it with a narrow stripe of fertile land, but it immediately reappears in the Desert which separates Egypt from Palestine, and Palestine from the country on the Euphrates; it occupies the coast beyond the Persian Gulf, and only ends on the Indus. Probably among the changes which our globe has undergone, in ages before the existence, or at least the history of man, the Sahara may have formed the bed of the sea, the level of which even now it does not greatly exceed³. As it yields no exhalation, so it receives no rain, and hence appears condemned to perpetual barrenness.

¹ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, p. 765.

² Herod. 4, 183.

³ Russegger, *Reisen*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 279.

The vague descriptions of the ancients had led to the opinion that in the midst of this ocean of sand, verdant spots called Oases appeared, like islands in the sea¹, having escaped by their greater elevation the sand with which the wind had covered all the rest of the cultivated soil. The oases, however, are not elevations, but depressions in the surface. They are composed of sandstone and clay on which the limestone which forms the basis of the western Desert everywhere rests; the limestone rises in mural escarpments around them, and the clay retaining the water, supports a vegetation which made them appear like a paradise to the Desert traveller, and procured them the name of Islands of the Blessed². They serve to keep up communication between Egypt and the countries of western and southern Africa: without such resting-places and supplies of water, even the adventurous caravans could not traverse the Desert. Though it is in general destitute of life and vegetation, it is not a mere plain of sand; it has considerable inequalities and even hills of gravel. The effects of the hot wind³ of the Desert have been much exaggerated. In the summer months, blowing from the south and south-east, over a soil scorched by an almost vertical sun, it acquires an intensity of heat which dries up all moisture, relaxes the muscular power and renders respiration difficult, but does not smite with sudden death as Oriental exaggeration represents. The same wind, sweeping over a surface where nothing breaks its force, raises eddies of sand high in the air⁴, which falls in a heavy shower, inconvenient but not dangerous to the traveller, except as it effaces his track.⁵ The failure of his

¹ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 4, 119.

² Herod. 3, 26.

³ Called in Egypt *Khamsin* (fifty), from the number of days that it is supposed to blow; in the Desert, Simoum, by a corruption of the Arabic *Semen*, poison.

⁴ Bruce, Travels, 6, 458. Compare Burckhardt's Nubia, 1, 207.

⁵ Arrian, Exp. Alex. 3, 3.

supply of water, or the illness of himself or his beast of burden, is the danger which he has most to dread on a journey, where every one is too fully occupied with his own wants to have aid or even sympathy to spare for others.

Herodotus describes a chain of these oases extending from east to west through the Desert of Libya¹. Some of these, as Augila and Fezzan, assume the size of kingdoms, while others are mere halting-places for caravans²; we have here only to speak of those which border on Egypt and are connected with its history. They are five in number. The most northerly, the largest and the most remote from the Nile, is the oasis of Siwah, the ancient Ammonium. It lies nearly in the latitude of Fyoum, and in longitude 26° 20' E. From Lower Egypt it is approached from Terenieh on the Rosetta branch of the Nile, by a route to the W. S. W., which passes the Natron Lakes.³ They are six in number, lying in a valley which runs N. W. about twelve miles in length. They swell with the rains, which fall in the months of December, January and February, and are therefore highest when the Nile is lowest. They thus imbibe saline matter from the sand of the Desert, impregnated with it by the ancient ocean which has covered this part of Africa, since the deposition of the tertiary strata. The heat of summer produces strong evaporation; a crust forms upon the surface and edges of the lakes⁴ containing muriate, carbonate and sulphate of soda, which is collected and carried off to be used in the operations of glass-making and bleaching. The Bahr-bela-Ma or River with no Water, a name given by the Arabs to many valleys which they think have the appearance of ancient

¹ Herod. 4, 181.

² The Coptic *Ouah*, whence Oasis is derived, means *Mansio*. See Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.* s. v.

³ Minutoli, *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*.

⁴ Quo iter est ad Hammonem lacus sunt palustres, qui ita sunt salsi, ut habeant insuper se salem congelatum (Vitruv. 8, 8).

stream-beds, runs parallel to the valley of the Natron Lakes, and is only separated from it by a narrow ridge. The water-worn pebbles which are found on the sides of the hills have suggested the hypothesis, that the Nile may once have found its way to the Mediterranean from above Memphis by this channel; and the agatized wood which is strewed about has been considered an evidence of ancient navigation. Such appearances, however, are very common in other parts of Libya, and there is nothing in the configuration of the country which warrants the supposition of a connexion either with the Nile or the Birket-el-Kerun. The Bahr-be-la-Ma is entirely destitute of that sedimentary deposit which a river flowing through it would have left; the pebbles are found abundantly in the limestone of Lower Egypt and the adjacent Desert, and are derived from its decomposition; the agatized wood has no doubt the same origin as the petrified forest near Cairo, which we shall hereafter describe¹. The road towards Ammonium inclines from the Natron Lakes towards the south; the soil is in some places so salt that it is covered with an incrustation through which the foot of the camel breaks as through a thin coat of ice. Yet it is not all desert; springs occur at intervals which nourish a scanty vegetation and a few groves of palms. The oasis of El-Gerah², distant two days' march from Siwah, consists of a little district four or five miles in circumference, formerly no doubt dependent on the neighboring oasis.

Siwah itself is about six miles in length, and two or three in breadth. The ground is strongly impregnated with salt, which in ancient times Ammonium furnished in the greatest purity for sacrifice and the royal table³; yet the abundance of water maintains a high degree of fertility, especially in the production of

¹ Russegger, *Reisen*, vol. 1, p. 267. Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 1, 300.

² The Umnesogeir of Hornemann and others.

³ Arrian, *Exp. Alex. B.* 3, c. 4.

fruit, and dates form an article of extensive commerce. The present population has been estimated at 8000. The ruins of the temple of Ammon are found at Ummebeda, about two miles from the principal village and fortress. Its style and arrangement bespeak its Egyptian origin and its consecration to the worship of the ram-headed god of Thebes¹, but it is probably not older than the Persian times. The oracle, however, was no doubt of much higher antiquity than the temple; the name was derived from Amun, and the population in the time of Herodotus partly from Egypt and partly from Ethiopia, in both which countries this god was worshipped². Etearchus, the name of the king whom Herodotus mentions, in his account of the expedition of the Nasamonians in search of the sources of the Nile³, appears to be Greek. Danaus founded it, according to one tradition⁴; another made its establishment contemporaneous with that of the most ancient oracle of Greece, the Dodonæan⁵. It could not long remain unknown to the Greeks after the colonization of Cyrene in the seventh century B.C. The fountain of the Sun, of which the ancients from Herodotus downwards have related so many wonders⁶, is near the ruins of the temple, and appears to be a tepid spring, such as are found elsewhere in the oases, which during the day feels colder, and during the night warmer, than the surrounding air. Alexander the Great, in visiting the oracle of Ammon, followed the coast of the Mediterranean as far as Parætonium and then turned inland, but probably returned to the neighborhood of Memphis by the route which has been just described⁷.

¹

.....Stat certior illic

Jupiter, ut memorant; sed non aut fulmina vibrans

Aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus Ammon.

Lucan, Phars. 10, 38.

² Herod. 2, 42. ³ Herod. 2, 32. ⁴ Diod. 17, 50. ⁵ Herod. 2, 54.

⁶ Herod. 4, 181. Comp. Wilkinson's Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 358.

⁷ Arrian, B. 3, c. 4 *ad fin.* It is singular that such a point should have been doubtful. Q. Curtius (4, 33) makes him return by the coast.

Of the oases which lie near to Egypt the most northerly is that of El-Bacharieh, of which the principal village, Zabou, is in lat. $28^{\circ} 21'$, and E. long. $29^{\circ} 10'$. It is about 100 miles distant from Oxyrrhynchus or Bahneseh on the Nile, and has sometimes been called the oasis of Bahneseh. It is also reached by a route from the Fyoun. The soil is good and produces many fruit-trees, but there are no inscriptions or remains of buildings which decisively prove that it was permanently occupied by the Egyptians, even in the Persian times. A triumphal arch, the ruins of an aqueduct and hypogæa containing sarcophagi, mark its occupation by a Roman force. It was necessary for the maintenance of order in Egypt under the Empire, as well as the security of commerce, to take possession of these solitary spots, which would otherwise have become banding-places for the malefactors of the province.

It is in the oasis of El-Bacharieh that the remarkable discovery has been made of the use of Artesian wells by the ancients. Olympiodorus, a native of Egyptian Thebes, who lived about the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, has described them in a manner which cannot be mistaken, in a passage of his history preserved by Photius¹. Their depth, 200 to 500 cubits, far exceeds that of wells of the ordinary construction, and the spontaneous rise of the water in a rushing stream shows that no machinery was employed to pump or lift it. A Frenchman who has established himself in this oasis, to manufacture alum, with the elements of which it abounds, has discovered and re-opened several of them, having a depth of 360 to 480 feet². How long they had been in use before Olympiodorus wrote we do not know. There is no trace of Artesian wells being known to the ancient Egyptians,

¹ "Οτι περὶ τῆς Ὀάσεως πολλὰ παραδοξολογεῖ καὶ τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων ὡς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ τριακοσίους, ἐστ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐς πεντακοσίους πῆχεις ὀρυσσομένα ἀναβλύζουσι τὰ ρεῖθρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ στομίου προχεόμενον. (Phot. Bibl. 80, p. 191, ed. Hoesch.)

² Russegger, Reisen, vol. 2, P. 1, p. 284, 339.

nor to the Greeks and Romans; but the art of boring them has been long known in China¹, and it may have been brought thence, like the culture of the silk-worm, in the imperial times, and introduced into the oases. The water which supplies them is supposed to be derived by infiltration from the Nile².

The largest of all the oases is El-Khargeh, which extends from the latitude of Dendera to that of Edfu, its central part being nearly opposite to Thebes, whence it has been called the oasis of Thebes. In the "Notitia Imperii" its chief town is called Hibe, and from the hieroglyphics its Egyptian name appears to have been Heb. Its nearest point is about ninety miles from the river; it is eighty miles in length, and eight to ten in breadth; the cultivated land in ancient times extended further than at present to the north. The limestone hills, which are higher here than in the oases already described, rise in precipices above it, and the doum palm and the acacia of the Nile grow luxuriantly at the base. A multitude of ruins attest its ancient importance and population, but none of them are of the Pharaonic times. Herodotus calls it the city of Oasis, and says that it was occupied by Samians of the Æschronian tribe³, who had probably settled here in consequence of their friendship with the Cyrenians⁴. It was garrisoned under the Persians, the names of Darius and Amyrtæus having been found here⁵; but the principal buildings which remain are of the Greek, if not the Roman times. The great temple dedicated to Amun is 468 feet in length; its architecture resembles that of Hermonthis and Apollinopolis Magna. Besides its convenience as a station, the alum found in its neighborhood attracted the Egyptians, to whom it was a source of wealth⁶, as well as of essential impor-

¹ Ritter, *Asien*, part 4, vol. 3, p. 416.

² Russegger, *Reisen*, *ubi supra*.

³ Herod. 3, 26.

⁴ Herod. 4, 152.

⁵ Sir G. Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, 2, 367.

⁶ Herod. 2, 180. Amasis gave 1000 talents of alum towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi.

tancc in the processes of art. The oasis of El-Dakkel, sometimes called The Little Oasis, lies to the N.W. of the oasis of Thebes, from which it is separated by a high calcareous ridge. A temple at Ain Amour, on the route between them, shows that it was used by the Egyptians; the oasis itself has tombs and a temple of the Ptolemaic times. Its productions are now chiefly dates, fruits and olives; under the Romans it was celebrated for its wheat. It contains a number of springs, some of them thermal, which are used for irrigation. The oasis of El-Farafreh, which lies nearly north of El-Dakkel, at the distance of about eighty miles, served as an intermediate station both to Ammonium and El-Khargeh.

The absence of all positive traces of establishments in these oases by the Egyptians, under their native rulers, is contrasted with the records which we have found of their earliest kings in the deserts near the head of the Red Sea and on the road to Kosseir. But on the west, Egypt was itself the frontier of civilization; till the settlements of the Phœnicians and Greeks, only barbarous tribes dwelt beyond it in Africa, from whose hostility it had nothing to fear, and who had nothing to communicate which it could not more easily obtain from the interior by the channel of the Nile. The Isthmus of Suez and the ports of the Red Sea, on the contrary, placed it in connexion with the wealth and fertility of Asia. The difficulty of traversing the Sahara must have been almost insurmountable¹ for numerous companies before the introduction of the camel, which never appears in the monuments of the Pharaonic times². Its use had been long known to the Per-

¹ Psammitichus, when he wished to explore the Deserts of Africa, trained youths to endure unusual degrees of thirst; very few of them, however, escaped with life (Athen. 8, p. 345).

² The camels mentioned among Pharaoh's cattle (Exod. ix. 3) had probably been obtained from the Israelites. We have such ample representations of Egyptian life, that if the camel had been naturalized here as a beast of burden, it must have occurred in the paintings.

sians, and by them the oases were first permanently occupied. Cambyzes failed to reach Ammonium, and has been unjustly charged with madness for an attempt, which appears to have been dictated by sound policy. Darius, however, succeeded in establishing his power in the oases : in the time of Herodotus they were the resting-places of a traffic which penetrated Africa nearly from east to west, and under the Ptolemies and the Romans they became military outposts of their empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INUNDATION OF THE NILE, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS AND CLIMATE OF EGYPT.

IF we carry back our thoughts to the commencement of those changes which have given to Egypt its actual form, we see a long rocky valley of sandstone and limestone, terminating in a deep bay, where the Arabian and Libyan chains now give place to the plain of the Delta. Its aspect from this point suggested the earliest geological speculation on record, if we except those which may have taken the form of mythical traditions. "The greater part of Egypt," says Herodotus¹, "appears to me also, as the priests represented, to be acquired land. For the space which lies between the mountains above Memphis seemed to me, like the country about Ilium and Teuthrania and Ephesus and the plain of the Mæander, to have been once a gulf of the sea, if we may compare small things with great. For the rivers which have filled up these places with their deposit are not to be compared in magnitude with any one of the five mouths of the Nile, which is so large and so energetic in its operations, that in the time which has elapsed before I was born it may well have filled up even a much larger gulf than this. That this has been the case with Egypt I believe, not only on the authority of those who have told me so, but because I have myself observed that it projects beyond the adjacent country, and that shells are found upon the hills, and that salt effloresces so as even to injure the pyramids; and that this hill above Memphis is the only one which has sand upon

¹ Herod. 2, 12.

it; and that the soil of Egypt does not resemble that of either of the conterminous countries, Libya or Syria. It is dark and friable, as being the mud and alluvial deposit brought down by the river from Ethiopia¹; whereas the soil of Libya is reddish, with a substratum of sand; that of Arabia and Syria clayey, with a substratum of rock."

Modern science has added little to this simple hypothesis. Borings made in the Delta to the depth of forty-five feet have shown that the soil consists of vegetable matter and an earthy deposit such as the Nile now brings down; but as no marine remains are found in the mud which covers the upper and middle portion of the Delta, it appears that the present alluvium must have been deposited upon a surface previously elevated above the Mediterranean. That Egypt has undergone changes not recorded in history, nor surmised by its ancient inhabitants or visitors, is evident from the phenomena of the petrified forest in the neighborhood of Cairo. The platform on which it lies is considerably above the present level of the Nile, on the side of the Mokattam range. The trees, some of which are from fifty to sixty feet in length, are scattered over a space of three and a half miles wide and four miles long; their substance is in many cases converted into silex, agate and jasper, and they are partially covered with rolled pebbles and sand. It is difficult to account for these appearances without supposing that they have been submerged subsequently to their growth and again elevated to their present position². If the agatized wood in the Bahr-be-la-Ma is of the same origin and was deposited there before the valley of the Nile intervened, we are carried far back into that indefinite antiquity which Herodotus prudently assumes³.

¹ Ἰλόντε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας κατενηνευμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Her. u. s.).

² Newbold, Geology of Egypt. Proc. Geol. Soc. 3, 2, 91 (1842).

³ Εἰ ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ζήτηρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐν τῷ γε δισφυρίῳ ἑτέῳ; 2, 11.

In supposing the alluvial deposit by which the Delta had been formed to have been brought down from Ethiopia, Herodotus was perhaps influenced by an opinion which prevailed among the ancients¹, that as the people of Ethiopia were black, so must the soil be. The deposit of the Nile is composed of clay², lime and silicious sand, but the proportion of these ingredients varies with the nature of the formation over which the river has flowed. In the granitic and sandstone regions of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia, less calcareous and argillaceous matter and a larger proportion of silex is found than in the neighborhood of Cairo and in the Delta. The annual deposit varies in the same situation from an inch to a few lines, and therefore all calculations must be very uncertain which attempt to deduce the antiquity of the country from the rate of increase. The whole amount of the alluvial deposit, however, bears a general proportion to the distance from the sea and the slope of the soil. In Nubia and Upper Egypt cliffs of alluvium are found of the height of forty feet; the average height in Middle Egypt is thirty feet, at the apex of the Delta eighteen. The earthy matters which the water contains are also deposited in different quantities and proportions in the vicinity of the river and at a distance from it³. The largest quantity settles close to the stream, the smallest at the edge of the inundation; and hence a transverse section of the valley exhibits a convex line, gradually rising to the level of the highest Nile, and again declining in the opposite direction. In consequence of this fall from the bank towards the Desert, the limit to which the inundation reaches is gradually extending; the sites of ancient cities disappear beneath an increasing

¹ Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat arena
Usque coloratis devexus amnis ab India.

Virg. Georg. 4, 291.

² According to the analysis of Regnault (Wilkinson, 4, 50. *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, H. N. 20, 77), the proportion of clay (alumen) is 48 in 100.

³ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 4, 50, 108.

accumulation of deposited soil, and even the colossal statues of the plain of Thebes must be ultimately buried. If less land be now under cultivation than in the time of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, it has not been because the Nile is fulfilling the prediction of Herodotus¹ and raising the land by its alluvion above the reach of its own waters, but because there is less security and less encouragement for the labors of the husbandman. Despotism is the Typhon that resists and defeats the benevolent labors of Osiris-Nilus to extend the fertility of Egypt.

Similar effects to those now described are produced by every great river on the country through which it flows; but they are very much increased and modified in Egypt by the periodical inundation of the Nile. This phenomenon was variously explained by the ancients. It was natural that an inhabitant of Greece, accustomed to see the rivers of his own country swollen in summer by the melting of snow upon the mountains, should attribute the rise of the Nile to the same cause. Such was the opinion of Anaxagoras, adopted by Æschylus, Sophocles² and Euripides³, but rejected by Herodotus on the ground that no snow could fall in the climate of Ethiopia⁴. Thales supposed that there was no real increase of the waters of the Nile, but that the Etesian winds, blowing from the north in summer full upon its mouth, prevented their discharge into the sea and threw them back upon the low grounds of Egypt⁵. This is a real cause, but not adequate to explain the whole effect. Democritus and probably Hecateus attributed its rise to its connexion with the ocean, which was conceived to flow round the south of Libya, and thought its waters had been sweetened by long exposure to the sun⁶. Probably some vague

¹ Her. 2, 18. He had overlooked the circumstance that the Nile raises its own bed, as well as its banks, so that the relative proportion is preserved.

² Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 269.

³ Helen. init.

⁴ 2, 22.

⁵ Diodor. 1, 38-40.

⁶ Diodor. 1, 40.

notion of the tides of the ocean was combined in their minds with that of the origin of the Nile, to explain its periodical swelling. Another explanation attributed the increase of the waters to an exudation from the earth, saturated with condensed moisture during the winter, which the summer heat expanded and set free¹. Herodotus himself supposed that he had explained the phenomenon by the remark, that the rivers in Southern Libya were necessarily lowest in winter, when the sun was vertical over those regions, though this offered no solution of the overflow in summer. The true cause, the rainy season in Ethiopia, was first assigned by Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the second century B.C.². It is the progress of the sun from the Equator to the Tropic of Cancer. As he becomes successively vertical over different points northward of the Equator, the air is heated and rarefied, and colder currents set in from the Mediterranean to restore the equilibrium. They deposit none of their moisture in their passage over the heated and level soil of Egypt, but when they reach the lofty mountains of Abessinia, some of which rise to the height of 13,000 feet³, the cold condenses their vapours into torrents of rain, such as are hardly known in any other country. So close, according to Bruce, is the connexion between the sun's position in the ecliptic and the rains of Abessinia, that they usually begin on the very day on which he is vertical over any particular place. While they last, the forenoon of each day is usually clear, but a violent storm comes on between two o'clock and six⁴. The high grounds of Abessinia, in which the Bahr-el-Azrek, the Tacazzè and their tributaries rise, receive a large proportion of this rain, which from the form of the country nearly all drains towards the western side, and is ultimately poured into the channel of the Nile. The Bahr-el-Abiad is also affected by the periodical rains, and begins to rise about

¹ Ephorus, ed. Marx, p. 213.

² Diodor. 1, 41.

³ Rùppell, Reisen.

⁴ Bruce, Travels, vol. 5, p. 332.

twenty days earlier; but as its course is less precipitous, the variation in the volume of its waters is not so great. It is not till the last days of June or the beginning of July that the rise begins to be visible in Egypt. The change is at first scarcely perceptible; in a few days, however, it becomes more rapid; it reaches half its extra height about the middle of August, when the dykes are usually cut¹, and its maximum from the 20th to the 30th of September. It then remains stationary for fourteen days, sinks about the 10th of November to the same height as in the middle of August, and continues to decrease slowly till the 20th of May in the following year, when it reaches its minimum. At this time its depth at Cairo is not more than six feet, and its waters are nearly stagnant throughout the level plains of Lower Egypt. The mean increase in the quantity of water discharged into the sea, when the inundation is at its height, is ninefold; the velocity is increased at the same time, according to observations made at Lycopolis (E' Siout), near the middle of Egypt, to nearly six feet in a second². The rise in the height of the river varies of course in different parts of its channel; at Cairo, where it is most regularly observed, because the amount of tribute paid depends upon it, its highest rise was to twenty-four feet, its lowest to eighteen, according to the register kept by the French for four years while they were in possession of the country³. This quantity appears to have been constant as far back as observations have been recorded. Fifteen or sixteen cubits was the height of a *good Nile* in the time of Herodotus⁴. The statue of the Nile placed by Vespasian in the Temple of Peace, of which a copy is still to be seen in the Vatican, was surrounded by sixteen diminutive figures, emblematic of the number of cubits to which the river should rise⁵. Sixteen cubits is

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 4, 9, note.

² Ritter, *Africa*, p. 849, from Girard.

³ Ritter, *ibid.* p. 838.

⁴ Herod. 2, 13.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 9. Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clement.* 1, p. 291.

assigned by Abdollatiph as the medium between defect and excess. The sixteenth cubit on the Megyas or Nilometer is called "the water of the Sultan," because no tribute is paid if it do not reach this height. Its rise was carefully noted in ancient times on the Niloscopium at Memphis, and the news of its beginning to rise or decline was communicated by letters to different parts of Egypt, that the peasants might be relieved from apprehension and be able to regulate their agricultural operations¹. Sometimes the Nile exceeds its normal height and reaches thirty feet, spreading devastation over the country. Houses are undermined, cattle are drowned, and the stored-up produce of former years swept away. The waters retire more slowly than usual; the labors of the husbandman are delayed, and the following harvest endangered; pestilential diseases arise from the stagnant waters and the unburied remains of animals. If the rise falls short of twenty-four feet, a proportional diminution of the produce of Egypt ensues; but if it be below eighteen feet, dreadful famines ensue, such as the failure of the rice-crop has produced in India, and the population, who in both countries live ordinarily on the smallest quantity of food that can support life, perish by thousands. Diodorus relates that in a famine the people of Egypt consumed human flesh, and the same thing has happened in more recent times².

The mean quantity of water brought down by the Nile, in normal years, as it depends on cosmical causes, probably continues the same from age to age, and the extent of land which it is capable of fertilizing by its overflow tends to increase, till its diffusion

¹ Diod. 1, 36. Description de l'Egypte, vol. 18, p. 595, fol.

² Diod. 1, 84. See an account of a famine caused by a *low Nile* (less than 18 cubits) in the year 1200 A.D., in Abdollatiph's History of Egypt (White's ed. p. 197). Very little rain had fallen in Ethiopia. Volney (1, c. 11) gives an account of a famine in the years 1784-5, the consequence of two low Niles, which reduced the inhabitants to the lowest depth of misery, and drove them in crowds into Palestine and Syria.

is stopped by the Arabian and Libyan hills. Long before the inundation reaches its maximum, the dykes which close the communication between the canals and the Nile are opened, and the water diffuses itself first of all over the lands which lie towards the Desert; gradually as it rises it irrigates the nearer country, but the immediate banks of the river are seldom covered, and serve as a highway for the people while the inundation continues. In the Delta, where the slope is small, the whole country is laid under water during an extraordinary rise, and boats take the place of the ordinary modes of communication. European travellers commonly choose the winter and spring for a journey through Egypt, and therefore do not see the Nile at its height; but those who have resided there through all seasons assure us that the description of Herodotus is still realized, the villages on their elevated sites rising out of a lake, like the Cyclades from the Egean Sea¹. The effects of such a mighty volume of water upon the surface of the country through which it is discharged are great; the bank of sand deposited by one flood is mined and scattered by another; and thus its materials gradually travel onward towards their final resting-place in the sea, or in places which the river subsequently abandons.

Having created the soil of Egypt, the Nile thus renews it from year to year, and maintains it in that state of perpetual fertility which in other countries is the result of the toil and skill of the cultivator². Besides clay, which as already mentioned amounts to 48 parts in 100 of Nile water, it contains nine parts of carbon, 18 of carbonate of lime and 4 of carbonate of magnesia, besides portions of silica and oxide of iron. These ingredients form a

¹ Belzoni, *Researches*, 2, 26. Herod. 2, 97.

² Pliny (N. H. 18, 21) reckons that the soil of Egypt returns 150-fold to the cultivator; but he says the same thing of the soil of Leontini, which, according to Cicero, in the most favorable years produced only tenfold (Verr 3, 47).

compost of such richness that no artificial manure is needed, to enable the same land to produce in succession heavy crops of corn¹. As the inundation spreads, the peasants receive its waters into their fields and confine it there by mounds, till it has at once saturated them with the moisture which must be their sole supply for three quarters of the year, and fully deposited all its earthy particles. The sun and N. W. wind soon evaporate the superfluous moisture from the surface, and the seed scattered upon it or in a shallow furrow was trodden in by the feet of cattle. In the absence of natural springs, the Nile is the great resource of the inhabitants of Egypt for water. In its medium state it is clear, but becomes feculent in its lowest; the first rise of the waters covers it with a greenish vegetable matter, and it then is said to produce an eruptive disease². In the Amenophion at Luxor are two figures of the Nile; one, which represents its ordinary state, is colored blue, the other red³. The red is the symbol of the inundation, the water assuming this color soon after it has begun, owing to a mixture of the red oxide of iron. These changes have been conjecturally attributed to the overflowing of lakes, or the passage of the rivers through strata which they do not ordinarily reach⁴; but their real cause is unknown, and must remain so till the upper course of the Blue and White Rivers is explored. The long continuance of the green fecula indicates that the river is sluggish and stagnant, and is ominous of a low Nile. Even when the water is most turbid it is not unwholesome, and may be easily cleared by filtration; when pure it is said to be delicious to the taste. The Persian kings used it for their own drinking after the

¹ Ποῖα βασιλεία οὕτως γέγονε πολὺ χρυσοῦς; Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Βαβυλῶνος λαβοῦσα χροματίζῃ μετὰλλα ἰργασαμένη, ἢ Πακτωλὸν ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν ψῆγμα καταφέρουσα (sc. γέγονε πολὺ χρυσοῦς). Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσοῦν ἀκρίβηλων καταφέρει, ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον ὥς πᾶσιν ἐφαρκεῖν ἀνθρώποις (Athenæus, 5, 36).

² Volney, 1, 146.

³ Pliny (N. H. 31, 5), after Ctesias, speaks of a red fountain in Ethiopia.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 3, 1, 29.

conquest of Egypt¹; and Pescennius Niger² reproached his soldiers with wanting wine when they had the water of the Nile. A natural filtration appears to be carried on through its sandy banks in the lower part of its course, so that water may be obtained by sinking, but it is brackish³. The inundation not only prepared the fields for harvest, but filled the streams and canals with fish, and revived the various kinds of aquatic plants which require comparatively still waters for their growth.

Both the general aspect of Egypt and the nature of its productions have been determined by its relation to the Nile. There can be no variety of surface in a country which has risen out of the water, and is annually overspread by it. The Delta, whether it be in the condition of a sandy plain, a lake of fresh water, or a carpet of verdure and flowers⁴, has a monotonous character which soon becomes wearisome to the traveller. In Middle and Upper Egypt the view is bounded by the double line of hills; the eastern side has something of grandeur from its height and abruptness; the west is lower and covered with sand, and both are alike destitute of foliage and verdure. The trees which grew in Egypt were not numerous; two species of palm, besides their fruit, furnished materials from different parts of the tree for every kind of work for which solid timber or tough fibre can be employed⁵. The sycamore and various species of acacia also abounded, but no other trees of a large size were indigenous to the country. The products of the fields of Egypt were almost all the results of cultivation.

¹ Athen. 2, 67.

² "Nilum habetis et vinum quaeritis." Hist. Aug. 1, 663, with Casaubon's notes. Clarke's Travels, 5, 183.

³ Herod. 2, 108.

⁴ Volney, Voyage en Egypte et Syrie, vol. 1, p. 7.

⁵ "The inhabitants of Egypt and Arabia feed camels on the date-stone, and from the leaves make couches, baskets, bags, mats and brushes; from the branches, cages for poultry and fences for their gardens; from the fibres of the boughs, thread, ropes and rigging." (Clarke's Travels, 5, 409.

Grain, herbs, and leguminous vegetables were produced in an abundance which no other country could rival; but its native botany was scanty, the yearly renewal of the soil preventing the seeds which had fallen on the surface from vegetating, and culture exterminating all plants which cannot be made serviceable to man. The fragrance of flowers was wanting in its landscapes, for those of Egypt had very little odor¹. The sandy desert which lies beyond the reach of the inundation has a scanty vegetation of its own—stunted shrubs and herbs, which have generally an aromatic smell.

The most characteristic part of the botany of Egypt are the aquatic plants. These are not generally found near the borders of the river itself², which in its upper course is too impetuous to allow of their tranquil growth, and perpetually undermines and carries away its own banks; but in the numerous canals which distribute the water to distant parts, in the ancient channels of the river, now nearly dry, or on the edges of the lakes and marshes. Of these the papyrus and the lotus are identified with the history of Egyptian literature, art and religion. The papyrus was found chiefly in the shallow waters of Lower Egypt, and hence became in hieroglyphics the emblem of that district and of the northern nations who bordered upon it. The lotus, abounding more in Upper Egypt, was employed to denote that kingdom as well as Nubia and the South generally. The papyrus had various economic uses; the root and lower part of the stem were eaten raw or roasted by the inhabitants of the marshes to supply the deficiency of grain³. Its coarser species furnished mats, wrappers and baskets, and the stems bound together made a rude float on which the river might be crossed. But that which has preserved the name of the papyrus in the history of civilization is its use as a

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. 21, 7.

² Irby and Mangles, Travels, p. 161. Plin. N. H. 13, 22.

³ Herod. 2, 92.

writing material in Egypt and throughout the ancient world when Egypt became known to them. The pith being taken out and divided by a pointed instrument into the thin pellicles of which it is composed, was flattened by pressure and the strips glued together¹, other strips being placed at right angles to them, so that a roll of any length might be manufactured. The bulb of the lotus afforded a sweet and wholesome food; the seeds taken from the capsule or *ciborium*² were pounded and baked; its blue and white flowers³ enlivened all the lesser streams and pools, and furnished a graceful ornament to architectural sculpture.

The same causes which made the vegetable productions of Egypt few, limited also the number of the birds and beasts which inhabited it. Its birds are chiefly those which, like the ibis and various species of *anas*, haunt the water or lodge in sandy banks; those which live in trees and thickets found no shelter in its naked plains and hills. All large land animals but those which man had subdued to his own use, must early have disappeared from a region so populous and so level. The crocodile and the hippopotamus were protected by their amphibious habits⁴; the wolf, the hyæna and the jackal found a refuge in the Desert or the mountains, but the larger carnivorous animals, though abounding in Libya, were rarely seen upon the soil of Egypt⁵. The Nile, on the contrary, teemed with fish of various sorts adapted for the sustenance of man, and the inundation diffused an annual supply of them

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. 13, 23; whose account of the manufacture, however, is erroneous, especially in attributing to the Nile water the quality of paste.

² Diod. 1, 34.

³ The *Nymphaea Lotus* and *N. Cœrulea* still grow in Egypt; the *N. Nelumbo*, the sacred lotus, has not been found there. See the Botanical plates to the Description de l'Égypte, pl. 61. Wilkinson (M. and C. 4, 411) says the *N. Lotus* is the sacred emblem.

⁴ At present the crocodile is not seen in Lower Egypt; the hippopotamus only in Southern Nubia. (Russegger, Reisen, 2, 287.)

⁵ Herod. 2, 65. Αἴγυπτος, ἰσθῶσα δμουρος τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἔστί.

through every part of the country¹. The children of Israel longed in the Desert for the fish of Egypt, not less than its cucumbers and melons, its onions and garlic². The occupation of catching and curing fish employed a large number of the people, and forms a prominent subject in those curious pictures of Egyptian life and manners which adorn the walls of the sepulchres.

The species of reptiles and insects of Egypt are not many, but their numbers were immense. Gnats and flies swarmed in the neighborhood of the river³ and the canals. Frogs appeared in such multitudes, when the dry pools were visited by the inundation, that they were ignorantly believed to be generated from the mud⁴; and vermin could only be prevented by the most scrupulous cleanliness from infesting the person. Egypt is not exempt from the devastations of the locust, but they are much less frequent here than in Arabia, Ethiopia or Western Africa⁵. Scarabæi abound; one species (*Ateuchus sacer*) was commonly employed as a symbol of the sun or the world.

The climate of Egypt is very little subject to the variations of more northern regions, or even of those adjacent to it in position, but less uniform in surface, as Syria. The mean annual temperature is rather higher than in neighboring countries under the same latitude, being at Cairo 72°·32 Fahrenheit⁶ (22° above that of London); mean temperature of winter 58°·46, of summer 85°·10. Egypt can scarcely be said to have a winter; it is covered with verdure when countries of our latitude are buried in snow; the trees begin to be clothed with new leaves in February, almost as soon as they are stripped of the old. The sensation of cold, however, is often severe from the great difference of the diurnal and

¹ Herod. 2, 93.

² Numbers, xi. 5. Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, p. 63.

³ Herod. 2, 95.

⁴ Diod. 1, 10. Horapollo, 1, 25.

⁵ Hasselq. Travels in Levant, 446.

⁶ Humboldt in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, 1, 164; Russegger, Reisen, 1, p. 209.

nocturnal temperature. The inundation of the Nile divides the year into three natural portions of four months each, discriminated in their hieroglyphical characters as the season of Vegetation, the season of Ingathering, and the season of the Waters. Wheat is now sown in November and reaped in April; barley, sown about the same time, is ripe a month earlier. Herodotus remarks the great healthiness of Egypt, and attributes it to the absence of those changes of the seasons¹ which are elsewhere so injurious to health. He referred probably to the diseases which in our climates prevail during the transition from winter to summer and from summer to winter. Spring and autumn are not marked in Egypt by such contrasts to the other seasons as in northern latitudes. The inundation leaves no *malaria* behind it; the north winds, which prevail during three-fourths of the year, at once cool and dry the air, and the east and west winds, blowing from Arabia or Libya, arrive in Egypt deprived of moisture and contribute to its desiccation. The Khamsin in the spring brings whirlwinds of sand which are injurious to the eyes, and, like the Seirocco of the shores of the Mediterranean, produces languor and a difficulty of respiration; but its effects are transient. When the inhabitants were described as so healthy, it is impossible that Egypt should have been subject to those visitations of the plague, which now are almost regular. The plague of Athens had not originated in Egypt, but in Ethiopia²; nor does it appear that in the age of the Ptolemies it was more subject to it than other countries of the East. Indeed at the present day it is not indigenous in Egypt, but is brought thither from Syria, Barbary, and above all Constantinople, where filth and fatalism perpetuate the seeds of the disease³. Diseases of the eye, in all stages from inflammation to

¹ Her. 2, 77. Compare Isocrates, *Busiris*, 2, p. 164, edit. Battie.

² Thuc. 2, 48. The Emperor Severus visited Egypt, but was prevented entering Ethiopia by the plague (Dion. Cass. 75, 21).

³ Volney, *Voyage*, 1, 150.

blindness, are now very common in Egypt; and the glare of its dusty plains and its driving sands must at all times have had a tendency to produce them. Eruptive diseases, and especially that dreadful kind of leprosy, *elephantiasis*, were very prevalent in the Roman times¹.

Although we have spoken of Egypt as one country, in reference to its climate and productions, yet in the seven degrees of latitude which intervene between Syene and the sea, great variety must manifest itself, giving to the southern and northern parts the aspect of two different countries. Lower Egypt is a boundless plain, Upper Egypt a narrow valley. Lower Egypt, though it has its peculiar character, in the main resembles the other countries which border the Mediterranean on the south. Upper Egypt seems to belong to Nubia: its temperature ranges seven degrees higher than that of Lower Egypt². Rain is an exceptional phenomenon in the Thebaid, though the arrangements for carrying off water from the temple roofs, and the deep ravines into which the hills are worn, indicate that even within historical times it must have been different in this respect³. The traveller who ascends the Nile, perceives that he is entering a different world when he passes E' Siout and the 27th degree of N. latitude. The Theban or Doum palm, with its divided branches, begins to prevail along with the date-palm, and the sycamore becomes rare. The crocodile is seen in the waters, though of small size compared with the inhabitant of the Nubian rivers, and scarcely formidable to man.

¹ *Ægypti peculiare hoc malum*, Plin. N. H. 26, 5, who has an idle tale, that if kings were attacked with it they washed themselves in human blood as a cure. Lucr. 6, 1112.

² Russegger, *Reisen*, 2, 1, 265. Comp. p. 92.

³ *Οὐ βῆται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ παράπαν* (Her. 3, 10). "Showers fall annually, perhaps on an average four or five in the year, and every eight or ten years heavy rain, which fills the torrent-beds of the mountains. The lions on the cornices have tubes in their mouths to let the rain run off." (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, p. 75.)

The sphere of vegetation is more limited, but its power more vigorous and intense. The flora of the Thebaid approaches that of Nubia and the Desert. The jackal and the hyena abound, being protected from the pursuit of man by the recesses of the hills, which rise close on either side of the stream. Even the mollusks which are found in the Nile and its canals, correspond with those of Nubia and the Blue and White Rivers¹. Had not the barrier of the Cataracts intervened, Ethiopia would have been reckoned to extend to Thebes; and now the Arabic language, with its hoarse gutturals, gives place to the smoother Barabra, above the pass of Gebel-Silsileh.

¹ Russegger, Reisen, 2, 1, 872.

CHAPTER V.

POPULATION AND LANGUAGE.

WE possess means for ascertaining the form, physiognomy and color of the ancient Egyptians, such as no other people has bequeathed to us. We find in Greek, Roman or British sepulchres only the ashes, or at most the skeleton of the occupant; but the Egyptian reappears from his grotto after the lapse of 3000 years with every circumstance of life except life itself. Even had no mummies been preserved, the remains of art, especially the paintings with which the walls are so profusely covered, would have enabled us to represent to ourselves very exactly the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. They are also described to us by the Greek and Latin writers, but these seldom go beyond the color of the face and hair in their ethnographical sketches. The name of Ham, given by the Hebrews to the progenitor of the Egyptian people, as it signifies *adust*, shows that their complexion struck their Asiatic neighbors as darker than their own. Herodotus, speaking of the Colchians¹, indirectly informs us that the Egyptians had curling hair and black complexions. The inference which has been drawn from this, that they were negroes, has been founded on a mistranslation of the word which I have rendered *curling*, as if it meant *woolly*, and a strained sense of *black*. The ancient Egyptians had none of the osteological characters of the true negro of the west coast and the interior of Africa, who often

¹ Αἰὶτος εἰκασα τῆς (that the Colchians were an Egyptian colony) καὶ δεῖ μάλα γχροῖς εἶσι καὶ οὐλότριχες (2, 104). Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Homines Ægyptiī plerumque *subfusculi* sunt et *atrati*." (22, 16, 23.)

appears in the same paintings with the Egyptians themselves, with traits wholly dissimilar. The only approach to the negro physiognomy is in a fulness of the lips¹, which may be remarked in the Sphinx of the Pyramids, the heads of some of the Egyptian sovereigns, and many representations of individuals². The elongation of the eye is said to be a Nubian peculiarity³. No doubt, intermarriages took place between the Egyptians and the Ethiopians that is, the Nubians. Of the two wives of Amenophis I., one who is always represented black⁴ was probably an Ethiopian princess; and if the royal family did not keep their blood pure, the common people would be less likely to do so, especially during the occupation of Egypt by the Ethiopians⁵. The figure of the Egyptians was generally slight, and their average stature, judging from the mummies, did not exceed five feet and a half⁶. The hair of the mummies is sometimes crisp and sometimes flowing; the former seems to have been considered more beautiful and to have been imitated by art, as it is now among the Barabras. The original color of the skin of the mummies is not easily distinguishable⁷; owing to the effect of embalmment; but on the exterior cases, as in the paintings, men are represented of a red-brown, and women of a green-yellow complexion. Both these colors must have been in some degree conventional. Had the ancient Egyptian complexion exactly corresponded to the colors of the paintings, there must have been a difference between the two sexes

¹ Lucian, 8, 15, ed. Bipont., speaking of an Egyptian youth, says *πρὸς τῷ μελάγχρῳ εἶναι καὶ προχειλὸς ἔστι καὶ λεπτὸς ἄγαν τοῖν σκελοῖν*. This is the nearest approach to the negro peculiarities that we find in any description.

² See the heads of Rameses the Great and some others in the British Museum (Gallery of Antiquities, P. 2, pl. 39, 42).

³ Madden, in Pettigrew on Mummies, p. 159.

⁴ Gallery of Antiquities, P. 2, pl. 30.

⁵ Herod. 2, 100.

⁶ Pettigrew on Mummies, *u. s.*

such as we nowhere else meet with; and the men must have resembled the copper-colored Indians, and could never have been described as black or dusky. Their real color was probably that of the Copt and the Barabra at the present day—brown with a tinge of red—a hue sufficiently dark to be called black by the natives of the northern shores of the Mediterranean; darker also than that of the people of Arabia and Palestine¹. The Egyptians may therefore be said to be intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and the Ethiopic type, but a long gradation separates them from the negro. The evidence derived from the examination of the skulls of the mummies approximates the Egyptians rather to the Asiatic than the African type². It has been thought that traces could be discovered of two stocks, one fairer and more nearly allied to the Caucasian, to which the ruling castes belonged, the other darker and more Ethiopic. But whatever elements may have mingled in Egyptian blood in ante-historic times, had been blended in a homogeneous population before the age of the monuments, in which we discover no marks of a distinction of race, except in the case of foreigners, or of the children of Egyptians by Ethiopian women³.

The distinction between the Egyptians and their Syro-Arabian neighbors is more strongly marked in language than in complexion and form. Since the researches of M. Quatremère de Quincy⁴, it has been universally admitted that the Coptic, the language of the native Christian population of Egypt, is in the main the same as

¹ Prichard, *Researches*, 2, chap. 11. At this day an Egyptian is at once recognized in Syria "à sa peau noirâtre" (Volney, *Voyage*, 1, c. 11, p. 114).

² Morton, *Crania Ægyptiaca*.

³ Dr. Morton (*Transactions of American Ethnological Society*, vol. 2) mentions skulls of a *negroid* type in the catacombs, belonging to the offspring of mixed marriages.

⁴ *Recherches Critiques et Historiques sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Égypte*. Paris, 1808.

the old Egyptian spoken under the Romans, the Ptolemies, the Persians and the Pharaohs. As a medium of ordinary communication, this language ceased to be used in the twelfth century; and the last person who could speak it is said to have died A.D. 1633¹; but considerable remains of it still exist in translations of the Scriptures, liturgies, hymns, lives of saints and other religious works. The versions are no doubt considerably older than the Mahometan conquest of Egypt in the seventh century. The alphabet is borrowed from the Greek, with the exception of five letters expressing sounds unknown to the Greeks, and which were furnished by the hieratic character; the oldest known specimen of it is an inscription of the age of Severus². It has two dialects, corresponding to the two great natural and political divisions of Egypt, the Memphitic and the Sahidic or Theban, from the Arabic name for Upper Egypt. The Bashmuric is a variation of the Sahidic. Many Greek, and not a few Arabic and Persian words are intermixed with the language; the Greek are especially abundant in those works which were written in the Memphitic dialect³; but when these are thrown aside (and their foreign aspect readily betrays them), there remains a language having all the marks of originality. Very few of the principal objects of nature and art are the same as in the Syro-Arabian languages, and the structure is characteristically different. Its roots appear to have been generally monosyllabic, and the derivatives have been formed by a very simple system of prefixing, inserting and affixing certain letters, which have usually undergone but little change, not having been incorporated with the root, nor melted down by crasis, nor softened by any euphonic rules. The language has the appearance of having undergone very little cultivation; the derivative and figurative meanings are few, as if it has been fashioned by the use of a

¹ Adelung, *Mithridates*, 3, 78.

² Niebuhr, *Appendix to Gau Monuments of Nubia*.

³ Peyron, *Lex. Copt.* Præf. p. xxx. Priehard, 2, 205.

people whose genius was precise and formal, and never luxuriated in poetic and imaginative literature. The conclusion of an author who has elaborately compared the system of inflexions in the Egyptian and the Syro-Arabian languages, is that both must have separated themselves from some parent tongue, long before this system was established¹. A connexion so remote belongs not to history.

That this is in the main the original language of the native population of Egypt cannot be doubted. There is a vitality in national language which preserves it from extinction, except by the absorption of the race that speak it. Neither the Romans nor the Ptolemies nor the Persians attempted the destruction of Egyptian nationality; the religious persecutions under the Byzantine dominion diminished the numbers of those by whom the ancient language was spoken and confined them to the limits of the Thebaid, but had no tendency to produce any intermixture by which the language could have been changed. The Persians were at first intolerant, and the impatience of the Egyptians under their yoke led them into revolts, in which many perished; but no incorporation of the conquered and conquerors took place. The presumption which hence arises, that the remains of the Coptic literature contain a language essentially the same as that spoken in Egypt since it became known to the Greeks, is confirmed by direct evidence. Herodotus relates, that when Hecataeus was in Egypt he deduced his own descent from a god in the sixteenth degree, and that the priests of Thebes, to whom he made this boast, took him into the inner house of the temple and showed him the wooden statues of 340 high priests in succession, among

¹ Benfey Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm. Bunsen, who has examined the subject of the Egyptian language with great care (*Ägypten's Stelle*, &c. V. 1, B. 1, sect. 4), thinks (see Preface) that it affords proof of a connexion between the oldest population of Egypt and the Caucasian stock.

whom none had been either god or hero, but every one a *piromi* the son of a *piromi*¹. Their argument evidently required that *piromi* should signify *man*, and *rome*, with the article *perome*, is Coptic for *man*. Herodotus (2, 69) says the crocodile was called $\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\alpha$; in hieroglyphics it is *hamso*, in Coptic *amsah*. On the cubit measure, *half* is marked by the hieroglyphic M, the initial of *Met*, Coptic for *half*; fractions by R, the initial of *Re*, Coptic for *part*. Instruction was called by the Egyptians *Sbo*²; which is the Coptic word for *learning*. The water-plants of the Nile were called by the Egyptians, according to St. Jerome³, *achi*; a name preserved in the Alexandrian version of Gen. xli. 2, 18, and Isaiah xix. 7; and this word is Coptic. *Erpis* was an Egyptian word for wine⁴; removing the Greek termination, it is the Coptic *erp*⁵. An Egyptian priest informed Aristides, that the name Canopus was not derived, as the Greeks supposed, from the pilot of Menelaus, but signified in the Egyptian language "golden soil⁶." *Kahi* in Coptic is earth, and *nub* gold. *Chemia*, the native name of Egypt, signified, according to Plutarch⁷, "black," and Amenthes the Egyptian Hades⁸; both these words are found in Coptic in this sense. That many false explanations should have been assigned by Greek and Roman writers to Egyptian words will not surprise any one who has observed how careless they were in regard to foreign languages. The recent discoveries in hieroglyphics have

¹ Her. 2, 143. He was not himself aware of the truth which he has preserved, and renders Πίρωμι by καλὸς κάγαθός.

² Horapollon, 1, 38.

³ St. Jerome ad Esaiam (19, 7). Quum ab eruditis quærerem quid hic sermo (ἡ χεῖ τοῦ χλωρόν) significaret, audiui ab Egyptiis hoc nomine lingua eorum omne quod in palude virens nascitur appellari.

⁴ Eustath. ad Od. i. p. 1633, 5.

⁵ Peyron, Lex. Copt. s. voc.

⁶ Op. ed. Jebb. 2, 370.

⁷ Plut. Is. et Osir. c. 33. Peyron, p. 270.

⁸ Plut. Is. et Osir. . 29. But he is wrong in his etymology when he explains it by τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ δίδοντα. It means the West, the land of darkness (Peyron, p. 35).

extended this proof of the identity of the Coptic with the ancient Egyptian to the Pharaonic times. A great multitude of groups of characters, including the grammatical flexions of the language, have been read by the phonetic alphabet into Coptic words, and in many cases all doubt is precluded by the addition of the object itself. It is true that no single hieroglyphical inscription has yet been read completely into Coptic; but this is not wonderful, since the remains of Coptic literature are imperfect and limited. Even in Egypt, too, unchangeable as it was, language could not remain unaltered for more than 2000 years. In the time of the Ptolemies some words had become obsolete, and a distinction existed between the common and the sacred dialect¹.

As we know nothing of the language spoken along the banks of the Nile in Nubia in primitive times, we cannot from this source obtain any materials for deciding on the origin of the Egyptian people or their affinities with their Ethiopian neighbors. The Pharaohs made so many settlements in Nubia, that a considerable Egyptian population must have been introduced among the native Ethiopian tribes as far south as Argo or even Gebel-el-Birkel. It is not certain whether any tribe now existing can be considered as descendants of these Ethiopians, the population having undergone many changes. Diocletian, finding the country above Syene nearly depopulated, transferred hither the Nobatæ from the "city of Oasis" or El-Khargeh. The Barabras, who under various names inhabit the Nubian valley, and to the southern limit of Dongola cultivate such parts of it as are susceptible of cultivation, would appear to be the descendants of the ancient Ethiopians, if we could rely on the judgment of travellers respecting their physiognomy. Their language, however, has no affinity either to Coptic or Arabic, and the resemblances which have been pointed out to the language of the hill-district of Kordofan², are too slight

¹ Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 14, quoting Manetho.

² Prichard, Researches, 2, 178.

to found an argument of identity of race, especially as the people of Kordofan are negroes, which the Barabras are not. The marked distinction which the ancients always make, between the Egyptians who lived below and the Ethiopians who lived above the Cataracts of Syene, leads to the conclusion that in all historical times Egypt has been inhabited by a distinct race, and that what is said of its being peopled from Meroe is only an hypothesis, grounded on the probability that population would follow the course of the descending river and the extension of the land. Herodotus adopted this view as regards Upper and Lower Egypt¹, but does not carry it above the First Cataract. Diodorus, who is the principal authority for the opinion that Egypt derived everything from Meroe, had seen in Egypt the ambassadors of Ethiopia, and appears readily to have adopted the statements by which they endeavored to establish the higher antiquity of the population, religion and arts of their own country². The monuments of Meroe have been sufficiently examined by Lepsius and his associates to prove that they are all of younger date than those of Egypt, not ascending beyond the times of the Ptolemies and the Romans. This indeed is not decisive of the question of priority in population or religion; but no historical fact confirms the opinion that Egypt was indebted to Ethiopia for its settlement or civilization; whereas we know that the Pharaohs possessed the valley of the Nile, 600 miles above Syene, at least fifteen centuries before Christ.

The high antiquity of civilization in India, and some remarkable coincidences in doctrine and usages between this country and Egypt, have led to the supposition of an early connexion, by which one of them has communicated, if not its population, at least its institutions and opinions to the other. Of such a connexion there is no historic trace. The ancient Egyptians never surmised an

¹ Her. 2, 15. Δοκίω προέσεως τῆς χώρας, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολαμπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας.

² Diod. 3, 11.

Indian origin of their nation; they believed themselves to be in the strictest sense *autochthones*, not only figuratively but literally, natives of the soil¹; nor have the Indians any tradition of having received or sent forth an Egyptian colony. The passages in their sacred books, in which Ethiopia and Egypt were supposed to have been mentioned, are now known to be forgeries by which the Bramins imposed on a too eager and credulous European². After the conquests of Alexander, India became well known to the West; and the resemblance of the Indians of the South to the Ethiopians and those of the North to the Egyptians was noticed³. During the reigns of the Ptolemies an active commerce was carried on between Egypt and India; yet in no author of these times do we find even a tradition of the colonization of one of these countries from the other. The Sophist Philostratus in the beginning of the third century⁴ speaks of the Ethiopians as having once dwelt in India⁵. The Christian chronologers described the Ethiopians as quitting the Indus and establishing themselves on the frontiers of Egypt, and assigned the supposed migration to the reign of Amenophis⁶. The application of the name Ethiopian from early times to the dark nations of the East, as well as those of the valley of the Nile, would naturally give rise to such an hypothesis, especially as

¹ Diodorus Sic. 1, 10.

² Asiatic Researches, vol. 3, p. 46.

³ Arrian, Indica, 6, 2.

⁴ Vit. Apoll. 3, 20. Ἦν τοίνυν χρόνος ὅτε Αἰθιοπες μὲν ᾤκουν ἐνταῦθα γένος Ἰνδικόν, 6, 8. ἀποικοῖ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθιοπες. Αἰθιοπία δ' οὕτω ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Μενέδη τε καὶ Καραδοσκῶντος ᾤριστο Αἴγυπτος.

⁵ Van Bohlen's Indien, v. 1, p. 119. The author is known to have abandoned his opinion of the original connexion between Egypt and India.

⁶ Chron. Gr. ed. Scal. p. 26. Amenophis was supposed to be Memnon, and Memnon son of Aurora a prince coming from the East, and thus the date of the migration was arbitrarily fixed.

the Nile was supposed by some to have its source in India¹, and the name India was used for Ethiopia².

The physiognomy of the two nations, if we compare their monuments, appears to be very different; the Indian is even less Ethiopic than the Egyptian, and in stature and features approaches much nearer to the Caucasian standard. Blumenbach, it is true, pronounced that in all his collection of skulls no two more resembled each other than those of a native of Bengal and a mummy. Independently, however, of their vagueness, osteological resemblances, even if more clearly established than by an insulated fact of this kind, do not deserve that authority in historical inquiries which is often attributed to them. The unity of race, which is all that they can prove, when most perfect, is no proof of historical unity; *that* is determined by causes which leave no trace upon the bony structure. Unity of speech, on the contrary, is essential to historical unity in the first coalescence of a nation, and the strongest presumption of identity or affinity between different nations. Judged by this criterion, no two nations of the ancient world appear to have less relation to each other than the Indians and the Egyptians. The Sanscrit, now the sacred idiom, but once no doubt the vernacular tongue of India, is the most polished and copious language ever spoken by man; the Coptic the most rude of all which were used by the civilized nations of antiquity. The resemblances between their roots are few and slight; their whole genius and almost their whole stock of words are entirely different.

In the institutions and religious systems of Egypt and India there is, on the contrary, a close and most remarkable resemblance. The principle of hereditary caste prevailed with great original strictness in both, and the divisions of society arising from it were

¹ See Joseph. Antiq. 1, 1, referring to Gen. ii. 13 — "the river that boundeth the whole land of Cush"—Γηὼν (Gihon) δὲ Νεῖλον *Ἑλληνες προσαγορεύουσι.

² Virg. Georg. 4, 293, quoted p. 67 note.

nearly the same. Their systems of theology appear to have originated in the same source—the personification of the powers of nature under male and female forms, whose images were multiplied and varied by sculpture and painting. The assignment of animals to each of the gods and their consequent worship, the minuteness of the temple ritual, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the phallic orgies of Osiris and Seeva—are all circumstances which seem strongly to identify the religions of Egypt and India. Yet before we infer that one country was colonized from the other, we must not overlook their differences. The Egyptian and Hindu Pantheons have each a perfectly native character. The ram-headed Kneph or Amun, the hawk-headed Osiris, the ibis-headed Thoth, the jackal-headed Anubis, the scarabæus, the ostrich feather, the hippopotamus, belong as exclusively to Egypt, as the elephant, the peacock and the eagle to the gods of India. The bull, the cow, the lion, the serpent, the lotus, belong alike to the two countries and the two mythologies. The hieroglyphic system of Egypt is clearly indigenous in the valley of the Nile, and no such mode of writing ever prevailed in India. The Egyptians had practised circumcision from time immemorial in common with the Ethiopic tribes, but this rite was unknown in India before the Mahometan conquest. On the other hand, we have reason to conclude that the system of castes is a form naturally assumed by society in an early state¹, and therefore affording no proof of the identity of the nations by whom it was admitted: the doctrine of metempsychosis prevails in a ruder shape among the negroes, who have certainly not learnt it either from the Bramins or the Egyptians. In the fine arts India remained far below Egypt, and it is only in the most barbarous specimens of Egyptian sculpture that any resemblance to the Indian can be

¹ Meiners de Causis Castarum. Reg. Soc. Götting. 10, p. 184. Kenrick's Essay on Primæval History, p. 130.

traced¹. The same practice of excavating temples in the native rock prevailed in both countries; but Aboosimbel and other grotto temples of Nubia existed fourteen centuries before the Christian era. Those of India, Ellora, Kennerly, Ceylon, are not mentioned before the reign of Heliogabalus². They were indeed then old, because they were described as a work of nature; but were they even of equal antiquity with those of Nubia, there would be no ground for concluding that one was copied from the other, since their style and decoration are entirely different. Taking coincidences as well as differences into the account, it appears that there has been some connexion between the civilization of Egypt and India, while the nations themselves have as much claim to be considered distinct as any others of antiquity. We should be quitting altogether the domain of history were we to endeavour to devise an explanation of this connexion. Both of them are in a remarkable degree insulated by their geographical position; both were averse from intercourse with foreigners and from navigation, chained to their native soil by religious prejudices and political institutions. Even the traditions of Egyptian conquest, which is now known to have spread far into Asia, do not extend to India; and the intervening countries were inhabited by nations differing from both in their language and institutions³. We must be content

¹ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, 77.

² See the account of the Embassy of Bardesanes in Ritter's *Indien*, 4, 489, Part 1.

³ Dr. Prichard (*Researches*, 2, p. 214) has pointed out some curious analogies between the Coptic language and those of South Africa, especially the Kafir. Kolben (*Zeega de Orig. et Us. Obeliscorum*, p. 450) found the worship of the *Scarabæus* among the barbarous nations in South Africa.

It may deserve remark, that in Gen. x. 8, Nimrod, the sovereign of Babylon and founder of Nineveh, is said to be a son of Cush, the son of Ham and consequently a brother of Mizraim. The nation which occupied the plain of Shinar, and built there the city of Babylon and tower of Babel, is said (xi. 2) to come from the East; and these conquerors and colonists are

to leave their similarity unexplained, among many other historical phænomena, the origin of which belongs to ages of which no record has been preserved.

clearly distinguished from the children of Shem,—Elam, Assar and Aram. So the original occupation of Southern Arabia is attributed to the sons of Cush (x. 7), though Seba and Havilah, which were in this region, are said to have been occupied by the descendants of Shem (x. 26). Thus Africa, Egypt and Southern Asia, according to the conceptions of this age, were occupied by Cushite nations, and to them the first movements of conquest and migration are attributed. India was not known to the Jews till the Captivity (Esther, i. 1), but no doubt its dark inhabitants would have been classed by them with Cushites, as by the Greeks with Ethiopians. In this early and wide diffusion of a people allied at least in colour to the Egyptians (which is all that the name proves), we have a glimpse of the means by which Egypt may have been brought into relations with India.

CHAPTER VI.

MEMPHIS.—THE PYRAMIDS.

MEMPHIS appears to have been the earliest capital of the united Egyptian monarchy, although the first king of the whole country was a native of Upper Egypt. Driven into the Thebaid by the Shepherd invaders, the Pharaohs, after their expulsion, retained Thebes as their capital, and made more extensive conquests in Ethiopia: As the Ethiopians grew formidable, after the decline of the power of the Rameses, and became invaders in their turn, the Pharaohs fixed themselves again in Lower Egypt. It is the natural site for the capital of a kingdom connected with Syria and Palestine, Asia Minor and Greece, and here accordingly it has remained with little change of place, under the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens and the Turks.

Memphis was situated, according to Strabo¹, three schoenes, between eleven and twelve miles, from the apex of the Delta. At the distance of about ten miles, to the south of the modern capital of Cairo, but on the opposite or western bank, stands the village of Mitrahenny or Mitranieh, in a plain covered with palm-trees, where are found the only remains which identify the site of the ancient Memphis. The name of Memf. which the district bears traditionally among the Copts, confirms the evidence of the ruins and the correspondence of the measures. A circuit of 150 stadia, at least fifteen miles, is attributed to the former capital², but its out-

¹ Lib. 17, p. 807.

² Diod. 1, 50. The mounds which mark the ancient site extend, according to the French Commission, three leagues in circumference. It probably

line cannot now be traced. Its position accords very well with the account of Herodotus¹, that Memphis was in the narrow part of Egypt; for it is just below the great expansion of the valley of the Nile to Fyoom, and above the still wider opening of the Delta. Thus commanding the connexion between the Upper and Lower countries, it was pointed out as a suitable site for the metropolis of the kingdom of Menes².

The founder of this kingdom obtained the ground on which he built his capital, according to Herodotus, by diverting the course of the Nile, which had previously flowed past the foot of the Libyan hills, and compelling it to take a channel which divided the valley more equally³. But as it is not likely that he would turn the whole body of water in a river of such depth and width to found a city on its former bed, we must suppose that in ancient times the first bifurcation of the Nile took place higher up than Cercasorus, where the apex of the Delta stood when the Greeks became acquainted with Egypt, and to the south of Memphis. Appearances now give some color to this supposition. At Kasr-el-Syat, about fourteen miles above Mitrahenny, the Nile makes a bend to the N. W.; and in the low ground between this and the Libyan hills an ancient bed may be traced. The canal, a continuation of the Bahr Jusuf, flows here through a natural depression,

occupied the whole space between the river and the hills, here about three miles.

¹ Herod. 2, 8, 99.

² Diod. 1, 50. Συνέβη τὴν πόλιν, εὐκαίρως κειμένην ἐπὶ τῶν κλείθρων, εἶναι κυριεύουσιν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἄνω χῆσαν ἀναπλεόντων.

³ Τὸν Μῆνα, τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου, οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥεῖν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης· τὸν δὲ Μῆνα ἀνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρᾶναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεύσαι, τὸ μέσον τῶν οὐρέων ῥεῖν. (Her. 2, 99.) This passage has been misunderstood, as if it described the Nile as originally flowing through the Libyan Desert and by the channel of the Bahr-be-la-Ma. See p. 59.

while to the south it is an excavation¹. This bend is the *elbow*, of which Herodotus speaks, where Menes built the dam by which he diverted the river from its western course. If this arm were already nearly dried up in the age of Menes, and the great body of the water were carried down by the Eastern arm, the project of excluding the river altogether, and employing the ground thus gained for the site of a city, will not appear extravagant. It was necessary however to guard this point with great care; the bed of the river would rise, but the land from which it was excluded would not rise, and hence Memphis would be exposed to the same danger, if the embankment gave way, by which New-Orleans is threatened from the Mississippi. Even during the Persian occupation of Egypt this dam was annually repaired². At present the rise of the soil has obliterated its traces. The ancient arm of the Nile, thus excluded, served to feed a lake which protected Memphis on the north and west, as the main stream did on the east³. Some traces of it are said to be still visible.

The motive which led the founder of Memphis to place his capital on the western bank of the Nile may easily be divined. Egypt has never been exposed to invasion from the west. The scattered tribes of the Desert could not be formidable to it in any stage of its power. But on the east it had very dangerous neighbors in the Arabs, the Syrian, Mesopotamian and Persian nations; it was not even beyond the wide-sweeping excursions of the Scythians⁴. It was therefore of the utmost importance to oppose a strong barrier to an invader on that side, and such a barrier the Nile supplied. When the Saracens established themselves in Egypt, the eastern bank was pointed out to them as the proper

¹ Perring in Howard Vyse on the Pyramids, vol. 3, p. 2.

² Herod. 2, 99.

³ Herod. *ibid.* Strabo, p. 807. Browne's Travels, p. 173.

⁴ Herod. 1, 105. Psammitichus prevailed on them to retire by gifts and entreaties.

site of their capital, by the necessity of maintaining their connexion with the country which had been the cradle of the Mahometan religion ; and here Old and New Cairo successively arose, commanding more completely than Memphis the connexion between the Delta and the Upper Country.

The actual remains of Memphis at Mitrahenny are not great, though sufficient to identify it ; but as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Abulfeda wrote, they were very considerable¹. In the description of Abdollatiph, a century earlier, we can distinguish a monolithal shrine, nine cubits in height, seven in depth and eight in breadth, with the remains of a temple in which it stood ; a gateway whose lofty jambs were of a single piece : a statue thirty cubits high of red granite and of perfect symmetry, and two colossal lions couched over against each other². The actual remains begin about a mile from the river, on the bank of which the village of Bedreshein now stands. Between it and Mitrahenny are two long parallel hills, the remains of the immense enclosure of crude brick, which according to the analogy of Thebes and Sais appears to have surrounded the principal edifices of Memphis. Within this enclosure lies a colossal statue of Rameses II. of crystalline limestone, mutilated at the upper and lower extremities, but which when perfect must have been nearly forty-three feet in height³. Its features exactly resemble those of known statues of this king, and all doubt has been removed by the discovery of his name and title, on his girdle and on a scroll which he holds in his hand. We know from Herodotus, that Sesostris, who corresponds most nearly with the Rameses II. and III. of the monuments, erected in front of the temple of Pthah, the chief divinity of Memphis, two colossal statues thirty cubits (forty-five feet) high ; and as we find from the remains of Thebes, that such

¹ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, 2, 119.

² Abdollatiph, by White, p. 121, Appendix.

³ Bonomi, in Trans. of Royal Soc. of Literature, 2, 298, 209

statues did not stand isolated, the temple may be concluded to have been placed near the spot where the colossus now lies. Some other fragments are scattered in the neighborhood, two of red granite, probably of the same king, whose banner and name are still visible on one of them; and a fragment of a block of limestone, on which the god Nilus is sculptured. The excavations of Caviglia and Champollion have also ascertained the existence, to the north of the colossus, of a temple dedicated to Pthah and Athor, *i. e.* Vulcan and Venus, the two chief divinities of Memphis. Of the temple of Apis, and the enclosure in which he was exhibited, which stood near the temple of Pthah, no traces have been discovered. Little indeed has been done towards elucidating the vestiges of this ancient capital, and it is to be feared that the accumulation of the soil will diminish the likelihood of the necessary researches being undertaken.

Were these vestiges, however, even less distinct than they are, the vicinity of a great capital would be sufficiently marked, by the pyramids' which at intervals cover the crests of the Libyan hills, and by the mummy plain of Saccara which lies at their feet, nearly in the line of the ruins of Mitrahenny. The pyramids are best seen in their whole extent and succession from the Hill of Tourah, above Cairo. Looking across the Nile, but a little to the south, are first seen the pyramids of Gizeh, to which from their superior size the name has been often exclusively given; then about seven miles to the south those of Abouseir, followed at shorter interval by those of Saccara and Dashour. These last are the most remote that we can with any probability suppose to have served as cemeteries to Memphis; but the line is continued into the Fyoun by the pyramids of Lisht, Meidoun and Illahoun. The pyramid of Abouroash, about five miles below Gizeh, is the furthest remaining to the north.

¹ Memphis is designated in hieroglyphics "the land of the pyramid." Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 278. Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 173.

The pyramids of Gizeh are about five miles distant from the bank of the Nile. As the traveller approaches them first across the plain and then the sandy valley to which the inundation does not extend, he is usually disappointed by their appearance, which falls short of the conception which their fame had raised. Their height and breadth are lessened by the hills of sand and heaps of rubbish which have accumulated around them. The simplicity and geometrical regularity of their outline is unfavorable to their apparent magnitude; there is nothing near them by which they can be measured; and it is not till, standing at their base, he looks up to their summit, and compares their proportions with his own or those of the human figures around them, that this first error of the judgment is corrected. And when he begins to inquire into their history, and finds that 2300 years ago, their first describer was even more ignorant than ourselves of the time and purpose of their erection, he feels how remote must be their origin, which even then was an insoluble problem. They stand upon a rocky platform of unequal height, but where highest, elevated about 100 feet above the plain, and forming a kind of promontory in the Libyan chain, whose greatest projection is towards the north-east. Such a range of low rock, the first step in the ascent of the Libyan hills, borders the valley of the Nile to the entrance of the Fyoum, and on it all the pyramids which occur in this district are placed. This range of hills rises northward also from the entrance to the Fyoum, so that the pyramid of Meidoun, which is the furthest to the south, is the least elevated above the plain. The First or Great Pyramid is the nearest to the river, and furthest to the north, the Second being placed, about as much more to the west, as the breadth of the First, and the Third in like manner retiring to the west, by somewhat more than the breadth of the Second. The pyramids have been recently explored, more completely than before, by Colonel Howard Vyse, and we are indebted to his liberal-



ity and the intelligence of his engineer, Mr. Perring, for establishing some most important points in Egyptian history.

The GREAT PYRAMID, or that of Cheops, had originally a square base of 764 feet¹ (now reduced to 746), and consequently an area of thirteen acres, and a perpendicular height of 480 feet, now reduced by the dilapidation of the summit to 450 feet. The rock around was carefully levelled to furnish a horizontal base for the structure, yet not throughout the whole area, for a nucleus of the native rock has been discovered in the interior, rising, according to the latest account, to the height of 22 feet. The sides now present the appearance of a series of steps, each course projecting beyond that above it; and by these projections it is easy to reach the top, where is a platform of about 30 feet square. But in its original state the pyramid probably presented a perfectly smooth surface, the spaces between the courses being filled up by the insertion of casing-stones, wrought with the most perfect finish, after they were fixed in their places², so that from top to bottom there was no projection. It appears that not a very long time elapsed before a forcible entrance was made or attempted. A very inconsiderable depth of the Desert sand lies beneath the stones at the base of the northern front; and as these must have been stripped off in the first attempt to find an entrance, it is evident that it was made at so short an interval, that there had not been time for any great accumulation. Though Herodotus does not expressly say that the pyramid was open in his time, it is evident that it was or

¹ Perring says 767·424. He observes that "the proportion that seems to have regulated the exact form of the Great Pyramid and several others was a ratio of height to size of base of 5 to 8; and this gives on a direct section—as half the base : perpendicular height : the apotheme or slant height : the whole base." See Bunsen's *Ægypten's Stelle*, &c. B. 2, p. 365, Germ.

² This was begun at the top. *Ἐξέποιήθη δ' ὦν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα* (Her. 2, 125).

had recently been, since he speaks, not very accurately it is true, of the interior. Strabo¹ describes the entrance as at a moderate elevation, and as made by means of a *moveable* stone. It should seem therefore not to have been permanently open; and when the Caliphs established themselves in Egypt, they entered it by a forced passage².

The original opening (see Pl. I.) is, like that of all the other pyramids, in the northern face, but a little on one side of the centre, about 45 feet from the ground, and in the fifteenth course of stones. A block of unusual size is immediately over it, on which rest four others, meeting so as to form a kind of pointed arch or pediment—an arrangement by which the pressure from above was lessened and the opening preserved from being crushed in. This peculiarity must always have pointed out the entrance when the casing was removed. From this entrance the passage descends at an angle of $26^{\circ} 41'$, as in the other pyramids; it is of the height and width of 3 feet 5 inches, and is roofed with stones finely wrought and fitted together. After a descent of 63 feet it divides, one passage continuing in the same straight line and with the same dimensions, the other ascending towards the centre of the pyramid. The entrance to this upper passage was closed by a block of granite, the position of which was hidden by the roof of the lower passage. To pass round it an entrance has been forced through the masonry of the pyramid. The upper passage thus entered is continued by an ascent, at an angle of $26^{\circ} 18'$, for 125 feet, when it again divides; one branch runs horizontally, with only the descent of a single step, for 110 feet, and terminates in the Queen's Chamber, as it is called, an apartment about 17 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 20 feet high. It is roofed with blocks meeting in a point, which to give them strength have been carried a long way into the masonry and cut so as to have a perpendicular

¹ Lib. 17, p. 808.

² Howard Vyse, 2, 341 note.

bearing. This chamber stands immediately under the apex of the pyramid, and from the careful finish of the slabs with which it is lined, appears to have been intended for the reception of an embalmed body. Nothing however has been found in it; if a sarcophagus should be concealed anywhere, it must be in the floor. Returning to the junction of the passages, a well is to be noticed, just at the point of divergence, which descends partly through the masonry of the pyramid and partly through the natural rock, till it meets the prolongation of the descending passage by which the pyramid was entered. It is 191 feet in depth, perpendicular in the first 26 feet, afterwards more or less inclined; its dimensions are 2 feet 4 inches square, and it can be ascended or descended by means of projections which have been left in it. Though called a well, its purpose appears to have been to afford a means of communication and ventilation, after the passage into the upper part of the pyramid had been closed by the mass of granite before described; and as it has been cut through the masonry, it is evident that it was an afterthought.

The great gallery, leading to the King's Chamber, begins where the horizontal passage to the Queen's Chamber goes off. It continues to ascend at the same angle as before; it is 150 feet long, 28 feet high, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; but this width is lessened by a projecting stone seat or ramp, which runs along each side, 19 inches wide and 2 feet high. Holes are cut in it at intervals, which are supposed to have served for the insertion of the machinery by which the sarcophagus was raised. The side walls are formed of eight assizes of stone, which projecting inward over each other, give the passage the appearance of being arched. A landing-place at the upper end leads into a vestibule, designed to be closed by four portcullises of granite¹. Three had been lowered, the fourth

¹ In the sepulchral mounds of the North of Europe, it was customary to place a shutter, of wood or stone, let down in a groove, between the cen-

remained in its original position, the lower part of the groove never having been cut away to allow of its descent. Beyond these lies the principal apartment of the pyramid, the King's Chamber. It is 34 feet long and 17 feet wide; its height is 19 feet; its position is not exactly in the centre of the pyramid, but a little southward and eastward of the vertical line. The roof is flat, formed of single slabs of granite, and the side walls on which they rest are of the same material. The sarcophagus, also of red granite, but without hieroglyphics or even ornamental carving, stands north and south; its exterior length is 7 feet 6 inches, and its breadth 3 feet 3 inches. No body or any indication of its former presence remains, and the sarcophagus is without a lid.

It was known, from the researches of Mr. Davidson, who was Consul at Algiers in 1764, that ten feet above the King's Chamber, there was a vacant space, thirty-eight feet long and seventeen wide, varying in height from two feet and a half to three feet and a half. Col. Howard Vyse has discovered that there are four more spaces, in the same perpendicular line, of similar dimensions. The four lowest have flat roofs; the highest has its roof formed of blocks, meeting at an angle, and is eight feet and a half in height in the centre. These spaces have been left vacant, evidently with the design of lessening the pressure upon the King's Chamber, and preventing its flat roof from being crushed in. For its ventilation, two small passages were left open, one on the north, the other on the south side, which terminate in the exterior faces of the pyramid. It was on the stones of these chambers that the hieroglyphics were discovered drawn in red ochre, presenting, besides the quarry-marks of the workmen, the shield of the king, and thus establishing the fact of their being used at the time of the erection of the pyramid, notwithstanding their absence from every other part of the structure.

tral chamber and the passage which led to it (*Guide to Northern Archaeology*, p. 101).

If, returning to the point where the upper passage branches off, we continue in the line of the passage of entrance, we find it prolonged for 320 feet from the opening in the side of the pyramid, and with such exactness that the sky is visible from the further end¹. It then runs for 27 feet further in a horizontal direction, and terminates in a subterranean chamber, immediately under the Queen's Chamber, and 90 feet below the base of the pyramid. It is 46 feet in length and 27 in breadth; no sepulchral remains of any kind have been found in it. There is a passage, 2 feet 7 inches high, issuing from it on the southern side, which continues for a little more than 50 feet, but ends in nothing. Col. Vyse sunk through the floor of this chamber to the depth of 36 feet, without any result. As Herodotus² speaks of a communication with the Nile, by means of which its water was introduced, so as to insulate the sepulchral chambers which Cheops constructed for himself, and the excavation of which preceded the erection of the pyramid, it was natural that it should be sought for, in connection with this, the lowest apartment hitherto discovered. It is, however, considerably above the level, even of the High Nile of the present day, and must have been still more beyond the reach of water drawn directly from the river in ancient times, when its own bed was so much lower. From the account of the same author³, it was concluded that the exterior of the Great Pyramid was once covered with a smooth coating from the bottom to the top, such as still remains on some part of the Second. But until recently no trace of this coating could be discovered. Col. Vyse, however, found under the rubbish accumulated at the base, two of the casing-stones in their original position. They are of the limestone of the Mokattam quarries, which, being almost free from fossils, is much fitter for fine work than the stone of the Libyan hills. In perpendicular height they are 4 feet 11 inches, and 8 feet 3 inches long,

¹ Richardson's Travels, 1, 130.

² 2, 124.

³ 2, 125.

the outer face sloping with an angle of $51^{\circ} 50'$. Being inserted in the spaces left between the successive courses of the pyramid, they were shaped to the required angle, and then polished down to an uniform surface. The operation began at the top, as Herodotus asserts, and was carried downwards¹. The joints are scarcely perceptible, and not wider than the thickness of silver paper, and the cement so tenacious, that fragments of the casing-stones still remain in their original position, notwithstanding the lapse of so many centuries, and the violence by which they were detached. All the fine work of the interior passages, where granite is not expressly mentioned, is of the same stone, and finished with the same beautiful exactness. The great mass of the pyramid, however, is not constructed with equal care; the mortar is formed of crushed red brick, gravel and earth of the Nile mixed with lime, and sometimes a liquid *grout* of lime mortar, Desert sand and gravel, has been used. A pavement, with two steps, worked with the greatest exactness, so as to obtain a perfect level for the foundation, extended under, and 33 feet in its widest part around the base.

The loss of the casing-stones, which appear to have been stripped off by the Caliphs, discloses the exterior arrangement. The first assize is laid into the rock; above this are 202 others, varying from 2 feet 2 inches to 4 feet 10 inches in depth, and projecting about a foot, furnishing the means of an easy ascent to the top. Herodotus asserts that none of the stones was less than 30 feet long, but this is by no means true either of the casing or the interior; from 5 feet to 12 is the common range; the longest are the slabs of granite in the King's Chamber, which approach to 20 feet. Two assizes at least have been torn away from the top, which now presents a platform of about 25 feet square.

The manner in which the pyramids were built is not clearly ascertained either from the descriptions of the ancients or by re-

¹ See p. 100 note.

searches into their structure. The stones bear marks of having been raised by machinery, fixed into holes in them which are yet visible, but the width of the projection of each course seems not to suffice for planting on it machines of the necessary strength for lifting such masses¹. The third pyramid (see Pl. I.) has been built in steps or stages diminishing towards the top, the angular spaces being afterwards filled up, so as to complete the pyramidal slope, and perhaps this may have been the mode in which the other pyramids were raised². These successive projections would be "the steps like those of an altar" on which Herodotus³ represents the machinery to have been planted.

The stones used in the construction appear to have been finally prepared on the rock to the north of the pyramid, where are rows of holes, which may have served for inserting the machinery by which they were raised and turned. Diodorus⁴ asserts that no chippings of the stone were to be found, but this is not true. They were thrown over the face of the rock, and remain there in large heaps.

Neither the inscription mentioned by Herodotus⁵, commemorating the sum expended on vegetables for the workmen during the erection of the Great Pyramid, nor those of which Abdollatiph⁶ speaks, now appear upon the surface. Though the casing-stones can be traced in the buildings of Fostat and Cairo, they bear no marks of ever having been inscribed. It is probable, however,

¹ Vyse, 2, 105.

² Bonomi in Gliddon's *Otia Aegyptiaca*, p. 33, 42.

³ Vyse, 2, 45, 73.

⁴ 1, 63. Οὐδὲν ἔχονος οὐτε τοῦ χιόματος (the inclined mound up which he supposed the stones to have been moved) οὐτε τῆς τῶν λίθων ξεστουργίας ἀπολείπεται.

⁵ 2, 125.

⁶ Vyse, 2, 342. "The inscriptions are so numerous, that copies of those alone which are to be seen on the two pyramids would fill ten thousand pages." Several other Arabian writers speak of these inscriptions.

that the *traced* hieroglyphics were then to be seen in greater numbers than now.

Among many exaggerations of which the pyramids have been the subject, one, repeated by several ancient writers¹, represents the shadow as never falling beyond the base. It is true that during a part of the year the shadow at noon does fall within the base, but throughout the whole year, for a longer or shorter time, before or after midday, it falls on the surrounding earth. This carelessness in reporting a fact so notorious may make us distrust their statements respecting Syene, on which such large inferences have been built respecting the antiquity of astronomical observation in Egypt.

Three small pyramids stand near the south-eastern angle of the Great Pyramid, and are mentioned by Herodotus, who tells a marvellous tale of the means by which one of them, the centre of the three, was erected by the daughter of Cheops². The base, according to him, was 150 feet, which corresponds pretty well with the measurement of Col. Vyse, who makes it 172 feet. They have all inclined passages, beginning either at the base, or a little above it, and leading into a subterranean chamber, but nothing has been found in any of them by which the original occupant could be identified. A few casing-stones remain at the base of the central one, and by their resemblance to those which covered the Great Pyramid, may be thought to afford some countenance to the tradition that it was the tomb of the daughter of Cheops³. They are all much degraded, but appear originally to have been about 100 feet in height.

The SECOND PYRAMID stands about 500 feet from the Great Pyramid; its orientation is precisely the same. As the rock rises

¹ Descr. de l'Eg. 9, 451.

² 2, 126. It is marked D in Wilkinson's plan of the Pyramids, M. and G. 3, 398.

³ Vyse, 2, 70.

to the westward, it was necessary to level it for the base, throughout the greater part of its area, but it remains at the south-western and north-western angles, and is stepped up in horizontal layers to correspond with the courses of the masonry. Its dimensions are little inferior to those of the Great Pyramid, the original height being 454 feet, and the length of the sides 707; and from standing on more elevated ground, in some positions it even appears higher. It has had two entrances, one at about the same relative height as that in the Great Pyramid, and descending at the same angle; the other from the pavement at the base¹. The latter becomes first horizontal, and then inclining upwards, again meets the former and proceeds in a horizontal line to the sepulchral chamber, called, from its rediscoverer, Belzoni's, 46 feet in length, 16 in breadth, and 22 in height. It contained a sarcophagus of red granite, imbedded in the floor, rather larger than that in the King's Chamber of the Great Pyramid, being 8 feet 7 inches in length on the outside, and 7 feet within, without sculpture or hieroglyphics. It contained, when rediscovered, no mummy, but some bones which on examination proved to be those of an ox². It appeared, however, from an inscription that the pyramid had been opened by the Caliphs, so that no argument can be drawn, as to its destination, from the state in which Belzoni found it. Both passages were originally closed up with a portcullis, at the point where they take a horizontal direction; and beneath the lower one, beyond this point is a chamber, excavated in the rock, resembling the Queen's Chamber in the Great Pyramid, 34 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and 8 in height, under the centre of its angular ceiling. Its destination is supposed to have been sepulchral, but it contained only some loose stones.

¹ Herodotus does not mention this subterranean entrance of the Second Pyramid, but notices its existence in that near the Labyrinth. 'Οὐδὲ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ἐντὸς γῆν περιήναι (2, 149).

Belzoni, 1, 426.

According to Herodotus, the first course of this pyramid on the outside was variegated Ethiopic stone¹, *i. e.* granite of the Cataracts; and this still remains in loose blocks at the base. From hence to the summit it appears to have been cased with the same fine limestone from Mokattam as the Great Pyramid. The casing still remains, for about 130 to 150 feet from the summit. Its smoothness and projection over the part which has been stripped render the ascent to the summit difficult, but it may be accomplished by means of holes which have been cut or worn in the stones. The masonry of the interior, with the exception of the passages, is less perfect than that of the Great Pyramid, and it even appears that only certain parts are solid, the intermediate spaces being filled up with rubble. There are remains of a building, probably a temple, at a short distance from the eastern face, and a row of excavated tombs in the rock on the western side. On the rock, on the northern side is a row of hieroglyphics of the age of Rameses III.

The THIRD PYRAMID, called by Herodotus that of Mycerinus, is of much smaller dimensions than the others, the base being 354 feet, and the perpendicular height originally 218: its area was about three acres; but it was the most elaborately finished. The site has been made level, not by lowering the rock, but by a subtraction of ten feet in height on the eastern side, composed of two tiers of immense blocks. No tradition existed of its having been opened, nor any vestige of an entrance, till the operations begun by Caviglia and concluded by Col. Vyse in 1837. It then appeared that it had been entered like the rest in the time of the Caliphs². The entrance (Pl. I.) was found on the north side, and 13 feet above the base: the passage descends at an angle of $26^{\circ} 2'$ for 104 feet, 28 of which are lined with granite, when it reaches

¹ 2, 127. Ὑποδαίμης τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου. The granite of the Cataracts is called *pyropæcilus* by Pliny, N. H. 36, 13.

² The irregular lines in the Plate mark the forced entrance, and the interior pyramid, the *supposed* original extent.

an ante-room, the walls of which are panneled with sculptured partitions. Beyond this are the usual portcullises of granite, and a horizontal passage terminating in a large apartment, 46 feet long and 12 broad, lying nearly under the centre of the pyramid. At one end of it is a depression in the floor, designed for the reception of a sarcophagus, but nothing was found in it. Fragments of red granite, however, were strewed about in the chamber¹, which have been taken for the remains of a sarcophagus, broken to pieces by some early violators of the pyramid; but appear to have been rather chippings of the granite portcullis. Two passages led from this room: one, near the top of the side-wall, returns towards the exterior, and probably reached it, but has been closed again by the builders themselves. The pyramid having been enlarged from its original dimensions, by additions in lateral extension as well as height, the mouth of this passage was closed up by the added stone-work, and the lower passage was cut *from within outwards*². The other passage, the entrance of which appears to have been originally concealed in the floor, descends for about 30 feet, and ends in a sepulchral chamber, 21 feet in length, 8 in breadth and 11 in height, lined with granite, in which a sarcophagus of basalt was found. It was without inscriptions or hieroglyphics of any kind, but was sculptured in slender and graceful compartments, and had the deep cornice which is characteristic of the Egyptian style³: with its lid it was a very little smaller than the passages through which it had been introduced. The lid was broken, and found near the entrance of the inclined passage. The mummy had been removed by some previous visitor of the tomb⁴; but in clearing the

¹ Vyse, 2, 81. Perring's note.

² Perring, 2, 79.

³ Vyse, 2, 84. "This chamber is not represented in the Plate.

⁴ Edrisi (A.H. 623) says that "the Red Pyramid had been opened a few years before, and that in the sarcophagus the decayed body of a man had been found, with golden tablets beside him, inscribed with characters which no one could read." (See Vyse, 2, 71.)

rubbish from the larger apartment mentioned before, a portion of a wooden case was found, inscribed with a shield which has been read *Menkera*, and near it some woollen mummy cloth, remains of a skeleton, and the resinous gum in which it had been embalmed. The sarcophagus, which weighed nearly three tons, was with great difficulty got out, and sent to England; but the vessel in which it was embarked was lost off Carthage in 1838. There is yet another sepulchral chamber, into which seven steps descend from the bottom of the last-mentioned inclined passage. It is 17 feet in length, 6 in breadth and height: there are four niches in the wall on one side, and two on the other, designed perhaps for the reception of mummies, which were placed upright in them.

The name of the Red Pyramid, used by the Arabian writers for the Third, is derived from the courses of red granite with which the base was covered, Herodotus says to half its height¹. Diodorus describes the first fifteen courses, and Strabo half the height, as covered with *black* stone², both probably from misunderstanding the vague expression of Herodotus, who merely says *Ethiopic* stone. The casing has been removed from the part above the first twelve courses, and thus the construction of the mass has been more distinctly shown. It was built in steps or stages, gradually diminishing, the angular spaces being afterwards filled up, so as to complete the pyramidal form: The third Pyramid had, like the Second, a temple, at a short distance from its eastern face.

A small pyramid which stands to the south of the Third exhibits the same construction, and apparently has never been reduced to a regular slope, by the filling up of the vacant spaces. This has also been explored by Col. Vyse, and in the sepulchral chamber a

¹ 2, 134.

² Diod. 1, 64. Strabo, 17, 808. If really black and Ethiopic, it must have been of basalt, which, however, is not found among the fragments. Grobert (Denon, vol. 1, 82, 4) speaks of remains of black marble, of which subsequent travellers make no mention.

sarcophagus was found, of small size, with fragments of bones, apparently those of a female; so that this has probably been the tomb of a queen¹. Two other small pyramids stand in the same line to the south of the Third: one of them has been unfinished; the other contained a granite sarcophagus (six feet two inches long) imbedded in the ground, like that in the Second Pyramid, but without hieroglyphics or sculpture; and a shield, with the same characters as the mummy-board of the Third Pyramid, was painted on one of the slabs of the roof. The smaller pyramids of which Diodorus speaks, and which he says were erected for the queens of the three kings by whom the great pyramids were built, are probably those which have been already described, near the First Pyramid. He says their base was 200 feet; and though this does not exactly correspond with their present state, it suits better with them than with the dimensions of those near the Third, whose base scarcely exceeds 100 feet. Thus the whole number of pyramids on the hill of Gizeh amounts to nine. The construction of the smaller ones closely resembles that of the larger; the sepulchral chamber is in the rock, and it is reached by a passage, of which the entrance is near the surface. The late researches of the Prussian Commission, of which Lepsius was the chief, have ascertained the existence of numerous pyramids in the same region of Egypt, the traces of which had escaped all preceding travellers. No detailed account of their discoveries has yet been published, but it is understood that the number amounts to thirty. Thirty-nine had been previously known. Supposing the pyramids to have been all royal sepulchres, it will still be difficult to estimate the number of the kings of Egypt, from Uenephes², who is first mentioned as a builder of pyramids, the third from Menes, to the end of the eighth, the last Memphite dynasty.

The SPHINX is, next to the Pyramids, the most remarkable

object which the hill of Gizeh exhibits¹: It is near the eastern edge of the platform on which they stand, and its head is turned towards the river. It is nearly in a line with the southern side of the Second Pyramid, but on somewhat lower ground, and has been excavated out of one of the faces of the Libyan chain. Its elevation of forty feet above the present level of the soil serves as a measure of the extent of rock which has been cut away to build the Pyramids. Neither Herodotus, nor Diodorus, nor any ancient author before the Roman age, mentions it; and as it is now known from its inscription to be at least as old as the reign of Thothmes IV. we learn the hazard of relying on negative arguments merely, in proof of the non-existence of monuments of antiquity. In its present state, with only the head and shoulders visible above the sand, which is accumulated by the western winds in the hollow space around it, the original form and dimensions of the Sphinx cannot be recognized. But a few years ago, by the exertions of Caviglia, the sand was cleared away, and some important discoveries made. Approaching from the Nile when all was uncovered, a sloping descent cut in the rock for 135 feet ended in a flight of thirteen steps and a level platform, from which another flight of thirty steps descended to the space between the Sphinx's feet. This gradual approach, during which the figure of the Sphinx was kept constantly in the spectator's view, rising above him as he descended, was well adapted to heighten the impression made by its colossal size, its posture of repose, and calm majestic expression of countenance. The height from the platform between the protruded paws and the top of the head is 62 feet²; the paws extend 50 feet and the body is 140 feet long, being excavated from the rock, excepting a portion of the back and the fore-paws which have been cased with hewn stone. The countenance is now so much mutilated

¹ Howard Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. 3, Appendix, p. 109-119.

² Perring (Plates, P. 1, p. 5) says the Sphinx is about 70 feet high.

that the outline of the features can with difficulty be traced; but there is no reason to believe that they exhibited more of the negro conformation than belongs to the Egyptian physiognomy generally. The head has been covered with a cap, the lower part of which remains, and which probably terminated when entire in an erect *uraeus*¹, such as is seen in the figure of the Sphinx on the tablet which represents the offerings of Thothmes and Rameses². It had originally a beard, fragments of which were found below. The space between the protruded paws appears to have served as a temple, in which, at least in later times, sacrifices were performed to the mysterious deity. Immediately under the breast stood a granite tablet, and another of limestone on either side resting against the paws. The first contains a representation of Thothmes IV. or V., offering incense and making a libation to the Sphinx, with a long inscription in hieroglyphics containing the usual pompous ascription of titles to the king³; but nothing, as far as it has been interpreted, which throws any light upon the origin of the Sphinx itself. A shield occurs, however, in the fractured part of the tablet, which appears to be the same as that of the founder of the Second Pyramid, with which by its position the Sphinx is more immediately connected. The side tablets represented a similar act of adoration on the part of Rameses III. No inference however can be drawn from these inscriptions as to the age of the Sphinx, which has no hieroglyphics in any part of it, and from its state of decay, is probably coeval with the pyramids themselves. On the paws are many inscriptions of the Roman times, expressive of acts of adoration to the Sphinx, or to Egyptian deities. The wall of

¹ Vyse, 3, 109.

² Pliny, N. H. 36, 12, 77, speaks of Armais as being interred in the Sphinx. The name of Rameses has undergone a similar change into Armæus, or Armais, in the account which Manetho gave of the expulsion of Egyptus and Danaus. Diodorus, 1, 64, makes Armæus to be the builder of the Great Pyramid

³ Birch in Vyse, 3, 113.

crude brick which surrounded the whole and checked the accumulation of sand was repaired under Antoninus and Verus, and a small building on the steps is inscribed to the honor of the Emperor Severus and his sons¹. No opening has been found anywhere to the interior of the Sphinx, which is probably of solid rock; nor anything which indicates that it was itself a place of sepulture, or had any communication with the Pyramids. Remains of red color it is said may be traced on the features² as well as on the lions which were found in the temple between the paws; but it is doubtful whether these belong to the same age as the Sphinx itself.

The design of carving a rock which broke the view of the Pyramids into a gigantic Sphinx was worthy of the grandeur of Egyptian conceptions in architecture and sculpture. It was probably the work of the same age as the Pyramids themselves. A Sphinx is the representative of the monarch whose name it bears; and as the name of Chafre (Chephren) is found upon the tablet before mentioned³, it is most natural to suppose that it was fashioned in his honor. The Greek mythology has accustomed us to speak of the Sphinx as a female, and the artists who carved in the Roman times those figures of Sphinxes from which antiquaries derived their first ideas of Egyptian antiquities sometimes represented them as female. But in the genuine works of the Pharaonic times, it is most rare to meet with a female Sphinx; and in these exceptional cases, a female sovereign is represented, as in the Sphinx of the Museum at Turin, published by Champollion in his Letter to the Duc de Blacas⁴. The junction of the human head

¹ Severus visited Egypt A. D. 202 (Dion, 75, 13). The name of Geta is effaced from the inscription.

² Rubrica facies monstri colitur (Plin. N. H. 36, 12, 77).

³ Birch in Vyse, 3, 115.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 2, 177. No stress however can be laid on the use of the word *ἀνδρόσφιγγες* by Herodotus, in which the first part (as in *ἀνδρο-*

with the body of a lion denotes the combination of sagacity with strength required in the administration of a king¹. The *pyramidion* of the obelisks usually exhibits the king by whom they were erected in the form of a Sphinx, doing homage to the god to whom they were dedicated.

Besides the monuments already described, the hill of Gizeh is full of tombs of various ages. A few of them only had been examined, as that called Campbell's and the Tomb of Trades, before the Prussian Expedition under Lepsius, by whom more than 100 have been opened. Their walls are covered with paintings and hieroglyphical inscriptions, which give us as clear an insight into the manners and opinions of the Egyptians under the Fourth dynasty as those of Thebes under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth. Hitherto no drawings or detailed descriptions of them have been published, and we only know in general that they prove the high civilization to which Egypt had attained in this early age.

Herodotus² describes the preliminary labor of the people of Egypt, in preparing for the erection of the pyramids, as not less than that of building them. To bring the stones from the Mountain of Mokattam, whence all the finer parts were derived, it was necessary that a causeway should be constructed across the valley and the plain, rising with the gradual slope to the height of the hill on which the pyramids stand. Ten years were occupied in its construction; it was five stadia in length (3000 feet), 60 feet in width, and in its loftiest part 48 feet in height; built of polished stones with figures carved upon them. There must be some mistake as to its greatest height, since it crossed the valley at the foot of the hills, which is from 80 to 100 feet lower than the site of the pyra-

φάνος, ἀνδρόκεμητος and others) denotes *human* not *masculine*, being distinguished from *κρεοσφιγξ*.

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. 5, p. 671 (Potter). Ἀλλῆς μετὰ συντάσεως συμβολὸν ἡ σφίγξ.

² 2, 124.

mid. A causey remains which begins near the Great Pyramid and stretches for a considerable distance across the plain in the direction of the Nile. It can still be traced for 1400 to 1500 feet, being then lost in the alluvial soil which the waters of the inundation have deposited. The polished stones covered with carved figures are no longer to be seen; and hence it has been supposed, that it is not the causey which Herodotus describes, but one constructed by the Caliphs, when they stripped the pyramids, to convey the stones to Cairo. The size of the blocks of which it is composed, however, suits with ancient Egyptian rather than with Saracen workmanship, and the removal of the casing and its figures would be effected when the pyramids underwent a similar operation. It has been erroneously supposed that Diodorus describes the causey as having disappeared in his time: but he is speaking of the mounds which he supposed to have been erected on the hill itself, as vast inclined planes to raise the stones to the upper courses of the pyramids¹. That the present causey points towards Cairo, and not towards the quarries whence the stone was brought, is no proof that it is the work of the Caliphs. To have carried it obliquely across the plain in the direction of the quarries would have increased its length; a line direct from the Great Pyramid to the Nile would be nearly in the direction of Cairo, and the stones might be easily conveyed by water to the commencement of the road. There are no remains of a causey opposite to the Second Pyramid; but that which exists opposite to the Third is pronounced by Sir G. Wilkinson to be certainly of Egyptian, and not Arab workmanship. It is shorter than the North causey, but runs in a parallel direction².

On the Eastern bank of the Nile, and about nine miles S. of Cairo, the traces of another causey may be perceived, which appears to have served for conveying to the Nile the stones which

¹ Diod. 1, 63.

² Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 1, 359.

had been quarried out of the limestone hills of Tourah and Masarah. Tourah is supposed to represent the Troicus pagus of the ancients—a name which they referred to the captives whom Mene-laüs brought with him into Egypt¹. Tourah lies to the north and Masarah to the south. The face of the hill is not cut away according to the more common mode of quarrying, but excavated in spacious chambers, whose openings resemble those of a line of sepulchral grottos. Besides the quarry-marks of the workmen, there are inscriptions recording the sovereigns under whom the quarries were wrought, and the buildings erected or repaired by them. The earliest is that of Amasis of the 17th or 18th dynasty, but it cannot be doubted that the same quarries were wrought for the erection of the pyramids, though no shield corresponding with the names there inscribed has yet been found. The ancient cemetery of the workmen employed in the quarries has also been discovered. It is a sandy hill, between the cultivated land and the desert, extending about two miles from Masarah to beyond Tourah². Above 150 sarcophagi of limestone were found here, and fragments of wooden coffins, in which the bodies had been enclosed. They appear not to have been embalmed, but protected against rapid decay, by being steeped in common salt, and the wrappers in which they were enveloped were not of linen, but of woollen. Other bodies were found in tombs constructed of slabs of stone, and these were wrapped in linen.³

The northernmost of the pyramids is that of Abouroash, about five miles north-west of Gizeh: it is very much degraded and contains nothing of importance. It lies too far from the ruins of Memphis to have been a part of its necropolis, nor is it clear to what ancient city it belonged; but the site of a considerable town may be traced in a sandy plain between it and the Nile.

¹ Strabo, p. 809. *Etjour* in Coptic meant a strong place (see Peyron, *Lex.* 393), connected in root with תור, *túrâis*, *turris*, *Tor*.

² Perring in Howard Vyse, 3, 90.

³ Perring in Vyse, 3, 93.

The Pyramid of Reegah, a little to the south of Gizeh, is also very much ruined. A block has been found in it, inscribed with the name of a king, which has been read *Ousrenre* or *Raseser*, and which has been found at Abouseir and at Wadi-Magara near Mount Sinai¹. But it affords no clue to the age of the pyramid, both because the place of this king is unknown in the chronological series², and because the block itself appears to be a fragment of some older building. The name of *Abouseir*, now borne by a village seven miles south-east of Gizeh, probably represents that of the ancient Busiris, the inhabitants of which, according to Pliny³, used to climb the Gizeh pyramids for the amusement of visitors. But this circumstance proves that Busiris must have stood nearer to them than Abouseir. The pyramids of Abouseir are four in number, besides a fifth unfinished, and stand on an elevation of about eighty feet above the plain, into which two causeys descend. The largest pyramid has been originally 274 feet long and 171 feet high⁴. Their casing-stones have been stripped off, and they are consequently much decayed; and their general structure is loose; but the sepulchral chambers at the base have been constructed with great care, and the roofing blocks are even larger than any at Gizeh. In one of them they were thirty-five feet long and twelve feet thick; in another forty-five, and in another forty-eight; yet these enormous masses had been unable to resist the means of destruction employed by those who had forced an entrance into the pyramids in search of treasure, and broken or carried off the sarcophagi and mummies which they once contained. In the most northern of the Pyramids of Abouseir a royal name has been found, which has been read *Amchura*

¹ Birch in Vyse, 3, 12. Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, B. 2, p. 69, Germ.

² Lepsius and Bunsen suppose him to belong to the third dynasty of Manetho, and to answer to the Raosis of Eratosthenes.

³ N. Hist. 36, 12, 75.

⁴ Perring in Vyse, 3, 12.

by Bunsen and *Shoure* by Birch¹. The same name is found in the sixth place of the upper line of the tablet at Karnak.

At Saccara, two miles further to the south, in the immediate neighborhood of the remains of Memphis, a space of about four miles in length is covered with sepulchral monuments of the most various kinds. In the northern part are many excavated tombs and pits, some of the depth of seventy feet, which have served for the deposit of mummies. In others are found those of oxen, sheep, ibises, and dogs; and jars which have been filled with eggs, beetles and serpents. They have been all ransacked to gratify curiosity or avarice, and the plain is strewed with the relics of the dead, and the fragments of the wood and linen in which they have been enclosed. The same plain contains also eleven stone pyramids, from their size the next in importance to those of Gizeh. That which is called the Great Pyramid of Saccara is not built with a regular slope from the base to the summit, but consists of six stages or degrees, each retiring within the other, and diminishing in height as well as breadth, the lowest being thirty-seven feet high, the uppermost twenty-nine. The face of each story makes an angle of $72^{\circ} 36'$ with the horizon. The present height above the base is 196 feet; much of the lower part has been carried away, but it seems originally to have covered an area of more than 15,000 square yards. It is not built in horizontal courses, but a pyramidal nucleus of rubble is enclosed by a series of inclined walls, about nine feet thick, eleven in number on each side of the central mass, with an additional one on the north and south sides. These walls are composed of rudely squared stones, set to the angle of the face. Instead of corresponding exactly with the cardinal points, like all the other pyramids of Egypt, it deviates $4^{\circ} 35'$ to the east of north: it has four entrances, and contains hierogly-

¹ Birch in Vyse, 3, p. 22. Bunsen, *u. s.* p. 78. He supposes him to be the same as the Biures of Eratosthenes.

phics in some of its chambers. Its principal internal peculiarity is, that immediately under the centre of the pyramid there is an excavation seventy-seven feet in depth, twenty-four by twenty-three in width, entirely in the rock. Its upper end was originally covered in by a ceiling of wood,—a material, the use of which is peculiar to this pyramid: this has perished, and its roof is now the rubble-work of the nucleus, which hangs together by the tenacity of the mortar. The bottom of this excavation is floored with blocks of granite, and beneath is an apartment ten feet long and five feet high, the opening into which had been carefully closed with a stopper of granite of four tons weight. The purpose of its construction does not appear from its contents. Its position renders it wholly unfit for an oracle, the conjecture of Minutoli, who first in modern times opened this pyramid¹; nor is it much more probable that it was intended as a treasury. As everything else connected with these structures has a reference to interment, this chamber was probably designed for the deposit of a mummy, though no trace of one has been found. Passages leading to apartments open at different points from the deep excavation, the arrangement of which could not be intelligibly described. The doorway of one of them is bordered with hieroglyphics in relief, among which we find the standard, but not the name, of a king, unknown from any other source². The sides of these apartments had been ornamented with rows of convex pieces of bluish green porcelain inscribed on the back with hieroglyphics. Other passages, leading from these apartments, were found nearly filled with broken vases of marble and alabaster, fragments of sarcophagi, and stars, which had probably been the ornaments of ceilings. In a gallery connected with another entrance, and which appeared not to have been ransacked, like the rest of the pyramid, thirty mummies of an inferior description were found, not enclosed either in coffins or sarcophagi, but in wrappers of coarse linen with pitch

¹ Reisen, 232, 408. Taf. 26–28.

² Perring in Vyse, 3, 41

and bitumen, and only three or four having any painted decorations. Even when Minutoli entered the pyramid in 1821, the only relique which he could find of mummies of an elaborate kind, was a skull strongly gilded and two gilded soles of the foot. It is probably of much later construction than the pyramids of Gizeh, and if destined for a royal sepulchre has been used for very miscellaneous interments'. Some of the adjacent tombs contain the shields of kings of the third dynasty, the *Tetkera* of Lepsius and Bunsen, and the *Raseser* whose name has been found at Abouseir. Another pyramid at Saccara, called by the Arabs the *Throne of Pharaoh*, is composed of very large stones, but is only two stories high and has obtained its name from its broad top and small elevation. It was not opened before the Prussian Expedition. This and three other of the pyramids of Saccara stand in a transverse valley which leads through the Libyan chain into the Fyoun. The pyramids of Dashour², the next in order to the south, and about three miles from Saccara, are not further from the probable limits of ancient Memphis in one direction than Gizeh in the other, and may therefore have belonged to it. They may also have been the necropolis of the town of Acanthus, the ruins of which are about three miles distant. The *Acacia* (*Mimosa Nilotica*), from which it derived its Greek name, still grows abundantly in this district. The pyramids are four in number, two of stone and two of brick—a material not elsewhere employed for this purpose, except at Illahoun and Howara in the Fyoun. To the northernmost of the brick pyramids a temple and portico have been prefixed, as to those of Meroe, inscribed with hieroglyphics of which fragments are found, though the buildings themselves can only be traced in their foundations. The bricks, which are crude, are about sixteen inches long, eight wide, and four and a half to five and a half thick, some with and some without straw, and the whole mass has been laid with such skill, that in the course of

¹ Perring, 3, 38. Bunsen, 2, 351.

² Perring, in *Vjsa*, 3, 56.

ages not a single brick has slipped from its place. This is the more remarkable, as the pyramid is literally built on the sand. The sand of the Desert has been collected, laid perfectly level and confined by walls, and on this foundation the building has been raised. The exterior has been cased with blocks of the Mokattam stone, not inferior in size or finish to those employed in the Great Pyramid. On some of the blocks sculptures have been found representing funereal offerings, and from the style it is inferred that this pyramid belongs to a considerably later age than those of Gizeh; and the same inference may be more decisively drawn from the occurrence among the fragments of hieratic characters, which were not used for inscriptions till a comparatively late period. From the excellence of the brickwork it has been conjectured that this is the pyramid which Herodotus mentions (2, 136) as being built by Asychis, a successor of Mycerinus, with a boastful inscription, challenging for his work a comparison with the pyramids of stone. No name has been found in any of the inscriptions by which the builder or his age can be fixed, nor is it known whether any chambers exist in the interior. The northern stone pyramid of Dashour had a base of 720 feet, only forty less than the Great Pyramid, but its height was only 342. It had three subterranean chambers, one beyond another, exhibiting a peculiarity of construction. The stones which line the sides project before each other as they rise towards the ceiling, so that one of the chambers which at the floor is twenty-seven feet by twelve, is narrowed at the roof to one foot and two inches. The southern stone pyramid is remarkable for being built in two inclinations, consequently with an obtuse angle at about half the height, giving it the appearance of a truncated pyramid supporting a pointed one. A subterranean chamber eighty feet in height is contracted in the manner just described from twenty feet by sixteen at the bottom, to about a foot at top. Some hieroglyphics have been found traced on the side of the northern entrance, but their meaning is

doubtful, and they throw no light on the original construction.

The pyramids of Lisht, about nine miles south of Dashour, with their tombs and mummy pits, represent probably the necropolis of the town of Peme, which stood in this part of Egypt, and of which the name is preserved in Bemha. They are in a state of ruin, so as scarcely to have kept the pyramidal form. At Meydoo¹, twelve miles south of Lisht, is a pyramid resembling in external form the Great Pyramid of Saccara, but consisting only of three stages. Its internal structure is unknown. From hence the range of the Libyan hills trends away to the entrance of the Fyoun. The pyramid of Illahoun stands just where the narrow valley begins by which the Bahr Jusuf passes into the Fyoun, and on the northern side of it. In its present state it is 130 feet in height, about 40 feet being a nucleus of native rock. The interior, which is of brick, is strengthened by diagonal walls of stone, and it has been cased on the outside with stone. Nothing has been found in it, by which any light can be thrown on the circumstances of its erection. The pyramids of Howara and Biahmu have been mentioned in the account of the Fyoun.

No reasonable doubt can any longer exist respecting the destination of these groups of pyramids. Not only is it evident that they have been places of interment, the only rational purpose that was ever assigned to them, but where any inscriptions have been found, they concur with tradition in showing them to have been the sepulchres of kings. Further, these inscriptions belong to the earliest dynasties of Egypt, to the kings whom Manetho places before the invasion of the Shepherds, and of whom, besides the founders of Memphis, five dynasties are expressly called Memphite. Around the larger structures which received the bodies of the kings are grouped smaller pyramids in which queens were deposited, and the chief officers of state and religion were buried in excavations, near

¹ Perring, 3, 78, 81.

the remains of their masters. The animals whom the Egyptians most revered had also a place assigned them near the highest personages of the land, as we find that at the Labyrinth the bodies of the kings and the sacred crocodiles rested together in the subterraneous chambers¹.

This mode of interment was confined, with trifling exceptions, to the vicinity of Memphis and the Fyoun. There is a pyramid of stone at El Koofa, between Esneh and Edfu in Upper Egypt, and some of brick among the sepulchres in the western hills at Thebes; they were also the ordinary mode of interment in Meroe, but none of the monuments of that country belong to the Pharaonic times.

¹ Herod. 2, 148.

CHAPTER VII.

THEBES.

THE Nile, which just before has flowed in an unbroken stream more majestic¹ than in any other part of Egypt, divides itself as it passes Thebes into several channels separated by islands. They contain no ancient buildings, nor does the Nile leave on them any fertilizing deposit; but they probably existed in the times of the splendor of the city and facilitated communication between the opposite banks. Both the Libyan chain, which is here the more abrupt, and the Arabian recede; the plain of Thebes lies between them, above five miles in length and three in breadth, the widest expansion of fertile land in Upper Egypt and the fittest site for a great capital². The Libyan hills return towards the river at the northern end, and at Qoorneh are almost close to it. The inundation spreads far over the plain on both sides, but especially on the west, and for many weeks insulates the colossal statues of Amenophis. Its depositions have permanently raised the soil, so that the base of every monument within its reach is buried in an alluvial deposit.

¹ Descr. de l'Egypte Antiq. 2, 2.

² The name *Thebes* is said to be derived from the Coptic *Tape*. Lepsius, Lettre à Rosellini, p. 33. Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 136. The resemblance to the Bœotian city is probably accidental, Θήβη being a purely Greek word signifying a *hill*, an etymology well suited to the locality of the original Thebes, the Cadmea. Varro R. Rust, 3, 1. "Lingua prisca et in Græcia Æoles Bœotii sine afflatu vocant *Tebas*, et in Sabinis, quo & Græcia venerunt Pelasgi, etiam nunc ita dicunt."

An excavation made at the foot of one of the colossal sphinxes, at Karnak, where there was no building, and consequently no accumulation of fallen materials, shows a deposit from the Nile of eighteen feet¹; at this depth is found the layer of rubbish which serves universally as a foundation for the ancient buildings in Thebes, and elsewhere near the banks of the river². Beneath this again lies an alluvial deposit of unknown depth. The rate of deposition varies, diminishing as the stream descends from the cataracts to the sea; at Thebes it can be fixed with tolerable approximation. There is an inscription of the age of the emperor Antoninus³, on the pedestal of the statue of the vocal Memnon, and the soil has risen seven feet⁴ since it was written, *i. e.*, in about 1700 years. Assuming the secular increase of five inches to be uniform, and there is no known reason for its being otherwise, we should be carried back to about 2250 years before Christ for the time when the substructions were laid, which must have been the first step towards the building of Thebes. The time of the erection of the obelisk of Luxor was fixed by the calculations of the French Commission, on the same grounds, to the beginning of the 14th century B. C., a date which corresponds very well with the age of Rameses II. whose name the central line bears. How long the valley of the Nile had been peopled before the foundation of the earliest buildings of Thebes is entirely uncertain, and even the inferences which have been drawn from the accumulation of the soil cannot be received with confidence, without more accurate and continued investigations.

The existing monuments of Thebes are partly on the eastern, partly on the western side of the river; as no continuous wall can

¹ Ritter, *Africa*, p. 843, quoting Girard.

Descr. 2, p. 171, note 2.

² *Descr. de l'Eg. Ant.* 2, 213, 14.

³ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1, 9.

be traced on either side, its extent cannot be exactly ascertained. The French Commission estimated its circuit at about eight miles¹, including the breadth of the river. Sir Gardner Wilkinson makes the length five miles and a quarter, the breadth three². Memphis was nearly of the same size as Thebes according to Diodorus³. The principal traces of habitations are on the eastern bank, which was peculiarly the city of the ram-headed god Ammon or Kneph, whom the Greeks called Jupiter. Hence the names of No Ammon given to it by the Hebrews, and Diospolis by the Greeks. The western bank was probably less populous, though the remains of temples and palaces show that it was not merely the cemetery of the metropolis. In the Ptolemaic times it bore the name of Memnoneia, and then appears to have been less esteemed as a residence than Diospolis⁴, and occupied by those whose trades were offensive to the rest of the community.

Beginning our survey on the western side, where the hills approach the Nile at Qoorneh, the northern limit of the plain, we find, at the distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the river, raised on an artificial elevation, the remains of an edifice built by Setei-Menephthah⁵ and Rameses II., to which Champollion has given the name of *Menephtheion*⁶. It was approached by a dromos of 128 feet in length and two pylons, and appears to have comprised both a temple and a palace. The pillars belonged to the oldest style of Egyptian architecture, with the exception of the

¹ More than 14,000 and less than 15,000 metres. Descr. 3, 234.

² Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 165, note.

³ 1, 45. The circumference of Memphis exceeded by ten stadia that of Thebes (ib. 52).

⁴ Peyron, Papyri Græci, 2, 41.

⁵ Champollion, Lettres, 380. Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, 2, 128. Descr. de l'Eg. 2, 354.

⁶ Wilkinson says, begun by *Osirei*. This difference is owing to Champollion's considering the epithet "Men-Pthah," "established by Pthah," as the name, and a different reading of the first character.

protodoric of Benihassan. Its dimensions are small compared with other Theban edifices, but the basreliefs, both of Setei-Menephthah who founded, and Rameses who completed it, are remarkable for their fineness.

Following the edge of the cultivated land, in which many fragments are buried by the deposit of the inundation, we reach, at the distance of about a mile, another palace, the most remarkable of all on the western bank, the Memnonium of Strabo, the tomb of Osymandyas of Diodorus, named by Champollion the *Rameseion*, from the evidence which its own sculptures furnish. It is one of the most extensive as well as the most beautiful of the Theban monuments, and its remains are still so considerable, that we can ascertain the general distribution of its parts. It stands on the first rise of the hills from the plain, and flights of steps from one court to another are adapted to the different levels of the ground. Two pyramidal towers form the entrance, beyond which is an hypæthral court of the breadth of eighteen and length of 140 feet, surrounded by a double colonnade. On the left of the steps leading to the second court is still seen the pedestal of the enormous granite statue of Rameses, the largest according to Diodorus of all that existed in Egypt. The court around is filled with its fragments; the foot, of which parts still remain, must have been eleven feet long and four feet ten inches broad; the breadth across the shoulders twenty-two feet four inches; the height has been calculated at fifty-four feet, and the weight at $887\frac{1}{4}$ tons¹. The labor and skill necessary for extracting such a mass from the quarry, polishing it to the most perfect smoothness, and transporting it from Syene, fill us with astonishment; we might have supposed that refined mechanical science was required for its erection, had not its overthrow, which

¹ Wilk. Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 144. Descr. de l'Eg. 2, 243. It is described by Diodorus, 1, 47. The decisive correction of Salmasius (see Wessling), *ῥεπρὸν* for *Μέμνωνος*, has been overlooked by succeeding writers, who still speak of "Memnon of Syene" as the artist.

was certainly the work of barbarians, been a task of nearly equal difficulty. The interior face of the wall of the pylon represents the wars of Rameses III.; other sculptures of the same events are found on the walls of the second court, which is of rather smaller dimensions than the first. In one of them he is seen, making war against a city surrounded by a river; and this circumstance, mentioned by Diodorus¹, serves to identify these remains with his monument of Osymandyas. The Osiride pillars of the second court are no doubt the "monolithical figures, sixteen cubits in height, supplying the place of columns," of which the same author speaks². At the foot of the steps which led from this court to the hall beyond it were two sitting statues of the king. The head of one of these, of red granite, known by the name of the *young Memnon*, was removed with great labor and ingenuity by Belzoni³, and is now a principal ornament of the British Museum⁴, and one of the most perfect specimens of genuine Egyptian art. The height of the whole statue, which was entire in Norden's time, was rather more than twenty-two feet⁵. Beyond this are the remains of a hall 133 feet broad by 100 long, supported by forty-eight columns, twelve of which are thirty-two feet and a half in height and twenty-one feet three inches in circumference. The dedication of this hall, according to Champollion, declares that it was used for public assemblies, or panegyries. On different parts of the columns and the walls are represented acts of homage by the king to the principal deities of the Theban Pantheon, and the gracious promises which they make him in return. In another sculpture, the two chief divinities of Egypt invest him with the emblems of military

¹ 1, 48. This identification has been questioned by the late eminent French philologer and antiquary Letronne; but as it appears to me, on insufficient grounds.

² 1, 47.

³ Belzoni, *Researches*, &c. 1, 63, 68, 205.

⁴ *Gallery of Antiquities*, by Birch and Bonomi, p. 104.

⁵ *Descr. de l'Eg. Antiq.* 2, 253.

and civil dominion, the scimitar, the scourge and the *pedum*. Beneath, the twenty-three sons of Rameses appear in procession, bearing the emblems of their respective high offices in the state, their names being inscribed above them. Nine smaller apartments, two of them still preserved and supported by columns, lay behind the hall. On the jambs of the first of the smaller rooms are sculptured Thoth, the inventor of letters, and the goddess Saf, his companion¹, with the title of "Lady of Letters" and "President of the Hall of Books²," accompanied, the former with an emblem of the sense of sight, the latter of hearing. There can be little doubt that this was the Sacred Library of which Diodorus speaks, inscribed "Dispensary of the Mind³." It had an astronomical ceiling, in which the twelve Egyptian months are represented, with an inscription from which important inferences have been drawn respecting the chronology of Rameses III.'s reign. On the walls is a procession of priests, carrying the sacred arks; and in the next apartment, the last that now remains, the king makes offerings to various divinities. The circle of 365 cubits, each answering to a day of the year, with the rising and setting of the stars and the indications which they afforded, had been carried off by the Persians, and could only be described from rumor by Diodorus, or Hecataeus of Abdera whom he followed. He can hardly have found a place within the present building, in which there is no trace of the name of Osymandyas, and it may possibly be an exaggerated description of an astronomical ceiling. The Prussians have discovered not one, but a multitude of sepulchres, excavated in the rock under that part of the edifice which is nearest to the hills, and a great number of brick vaults, of the age of the Rameses, also destined to sepulchral uses⁴. If this were the residence of the king, he must have contented himself with apartments of very

¹ Wilk. M. and G. 5, 51.

² Champollion, *Lettres*, p. 295, 9.

³ Diod. 1, 49. *Περὶ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης*

⁴ Letter of Lepsius to Letronne, *Rev. Arch.* Jan. 1845.

moderate number and dimension for his private use, those of greater size and splendor being evidently designed for public solemnities. The whole area was enclosed by a brick wall, composed of double arches, within which, besides fragments of other temples, there are ranges of low vaults. To the northwest of these remains, at El-Assaseef, almost enclosed among the Libyan hills, stands a very ancient temple, founded by a sovereign, whose singular inscriptions, exhibiting a mixture of masculine and feminine forms, leave it doubtful whether they proceeded from a queen exercising kingly prerogatives, or a king consort speaking in the name of his wife. They are preceded by a dromos of not less than 1600 feet in length, and in which more than 200 sphinxes formerly stood. Not much remains, but some polygonal columns are still seen, according in their archaic form with the high antiquity of the inscriptions, which belong to the early part of the eighteenth dynasty². The whole neighborhood is filled with tombs, some excavated, some of brick, and the north-western extremity of the building approaches so nearly to the Valley of the Royal Sepulchres, that some subterraneous communication has been surmised to exist between them.

Returning to the edge of the plain, we find, at about the distance of one-third of a mile to the south, the ruins of a palace or temple which has been called the *Amenophion*, as having been built by Amunoph III., the Memnon of the Greeks. It was dedicated to Sokaris-Osiris³, whose name appears on the fragments still existing, along with that of Amun-re. The ground on which it stood is called the *Kom-el-Hettan*, or Mountain of Sandstone,

¹ Descr. de l'Eg. Ant. 2, 268.

² Champ. Lettres, p. 292 foll. Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 195. Descr. de l'Eg. Ant. 2, 341.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. III. 1, 222. Pliny, N.H. 36, 11, represents the vocal Memnon as placed in the Temple of Serapis. He was not one of the old Egyptian gods, but he corresponded nearly in his attributes with Sokaris.

from the accumulation of rubbish which its fall has produced. In the direction of the river and separated from the ruins by a space of 1200 feet, are the two colossal statues, called by the natives *Tama* and *Chama*¹, of which the most northern is the vocal Memnon. They tower above the plain, apparently unconnected with any building. But such a state of insulation would not agree with the practice of the Egyptians, and it appears from inspection that they are exactly in the line of the front of the Amenophion; the fragments of two statues of gritstone and another colossus of crystalline limestone are found in the intermediate space². Hence it is probable that the vocal Memnon and its companion formed the commencement of a dromos, extending to the palace of the king whose name they bear.

These statues, including the pedestal, are sixty feet in height; the pedestal is thirteen feet, but more than half of it is buried in the alluvial soil. The material is a coarse hard breccia, in which agotized pebbles or chalcedonies are intermixed, found above the limestone in the Mokattam hills at Gebel-Ahmar³. The southern is formed of one entire block; but the northern had been already broken in the time of Strabo⁴, either by an earthquake in the year 27 B.C. or by the Persians⁵, and in this state it remained till after the age of Domitian, when Juvenal refers to its mutilated state⁶. It was subsequently repaired, probably in the age of Severus, by

¹ They are also called by the Arabs *Salamat*, "the greeting," as if in allusion to the tale of Memnon's saluting Aurora.

² Wilkinson, M. Eg. and Thebes, 2, p. 163. See also his great Map of Thebes.

³ Russegger, Reisen, 2, 1, p. 140. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 4to. 2, 456.

⁴ Lib. 17, p. 816.

⁵ Pausan. Att. 1, p. 31. An inscription on the left leg asserts the mutilation by Cambysea.

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.

Sat. 15, 5.

five separate pieces of sandstone; but there is no inscription to record by whom the reparation was made. The lower part of the body, the arms which are resting on the knees, and the legs and feet, are of the original material. A line of hieroglyphics at the back contains the name of the king Amunoph; on the right side, attached to the throne on which he sits, stands his mother, *Mautevva*; on the left, his wife, *Taia*; and the traces of a smaller figure of the queen are also seen between his feet. The thrones are ornamented with figures of the god Nilus, who is binding up the stalks of water-plants. Though the material, from its irregular structure, was even more difficult to work than granite, it is evident from the remains that it had a most perfect polish.

That the northern statue was the vocal Memnon is attested by a multitude of inscriptions on the legs, some in the Greek, some in the Latin language. They are chiefly of the time of Adrian, who with his empress Sabina visited the statue; some few of that of Nero, Vespasian and Domitian; one on the pedestal, of the thirteenth consulship of Antoninus¹. The sound was commonly heard at the first hour of the day, sometimes a little later; a few, among whom were Vibius Maximus and two other præfects of Egypt, were honored with its repetition²; while others came three times before their curiosity was gratified. The Sophist Callistratus adds a circumstance, no doubt of his own invention, that at sunset the statue uttered a mournful sound, as a farewell to the light³. How the effect was produced we can only conjecture. It resembled, according to Pausanias, the breaking of an overstretched musical string; according to Strabo, the noise produced by a slight blow;

¹ The fullest collection of the inscriptions has been made by Latronne, *La Statue vocale de Memnon*. Paris, 1833.

² Desc. de l'Eg. 2, 215, 218, 221, 227.

³ Statuæ ap. Philostr. Ed. Lips. 1709, p. 891.

⁴ Ψόφος ὡς ἐν πληγῇς οὐ μεγάλης ἀποτελείται. Strab., u. c.

a. Inscription quoted by Sir G. Wilkinson assimilates it to the sound of brass. This was confirmed by a curious experiment¹. He ascended the statue and struck with a small hammer a sonorous block which lies in its lap, and inquiring of the Arabs who stood below what they heard, they replied, "You are striking brass." The French commission, having observed that about the hour of sunrise sounds issued from the ruins of Thebes, conjectured that they might be produced by the sudden change of temperature in the stone; but the fact must be better ascertained before an explanation can be built upon it. If fraud were practised, it belonged to the times when the Egyptian character had been debased by conquest and oppression, and the diffusion of its corrupt superstition through the Roman empire had degraded its ministers into jugglers. There is no proof that the statue was supposed to utter any sounds, even in the Ptolemaic times². The name of Memnon might be affixed to it from its dark colour—from the tradition of Ethiopian conquest—an historical fact attested by the names of Sabaco and Tirhakah inscribed at Thebes—or from the title Meiamoun, borne by several sovereigns of the same dynasty.

Still keeping to the south-west, at the distance of about one-third of a mile from Kom-el-Hettan, the traveller reaches the high mound of ruins on which stands the village of Medinet Aboo, the site of the largest of the western temples of Thebes. There remain two distinct masses of building. That which is furthest from

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 4to. 2, 446.

² Eusebius (*Χρον. Λόγ. πρ.* p. 16. ed. Scal.) says, "Amenophis, who is thought to be Memnon and the speaking stone." But it is evident that he or Africanus mixes his own remarks with what he found in Manetho, inserting the ministry of Joseph, the Exodus, and the capture of Jerusalem by the Assyrians. Syncellus, on the authority of Polyænus, says that Cambyses broke it, thinking there was magic (*γοητεία*) in it, which seems to imply that even then the statue was vocal. But this is not confirmed by any other author. Sync. Chron. 151.

the Libyan hills is a temple of small dimensions, consisting of a sanctuary surrounded with galleries and eight apartments. It was begun by Thothmes I. and carried on by several of his successors of the same name. In front of this building, towards the river, are additions of the most various ages; the enclosure and the propylæa bear the name of Antoninus Pius; a lofty pylon beyond it exhibits the offerings of Ptolemy Soter II¹. Nectanebus, the last king of the last independent dynasty of Egypt, appears on the bas-reliefs of a small chapel, nearly leveled; and the name of Tirhakah, though chiseled out when the Saitic dynasty was established, after the expulsion of the Ethiopian, may still be traced on an elder building which adjoins it. The name of *Thothmeseion* has been given to this edifice, in honor of its founder. Rameses (III.) IV. united it, by a pylon and dromos, to the far more splendid palace which he erected, nearer to the foot of the hills, not in the same line, but a little to the south, and which Champollion calls the Southern Rameseion. The part which is nearest to the Thothmeseion has been called by the French Commission, the Pavilion². It is of a character different from any of the other remains of Egyptian architecture³, is of two stories, with windows more numerous and larger than are commonly seen in other monuments; and the walls of the apartments are decorated with representations of the private life of the king in his harem and the amusements of his hours of relaxation. The exterior walls exhibit Rameses in the attitude of a conqueror, smiting the chiefs of the foreign nations, leading them into the presence of the god Amunre, or receiving from him a commission to go and make war upon them. The dromos which succeeds to the pavilion is 265 feet in length; the pylon at the end is covered with sculptures relating

¹ Champ. Lettres, 322.

² Antiquités, 2, 58.

³ Henry, Eg. Pharaon, 2, 227. It is composed of three pieces, of which the axis is the same, but the size regularly diminishes; so that the section resembles that of an eye-glass with its three tubes drawn out.

to the coronation of Rameses and his victories over the nations of the South. Beyond is a hypæthral court, 135 feet long by 110 feet broad, adorned with Osiride pillars twenty-three feet in height; both sides of the towers of the pylon exhibit the wars of Rameses with an Asiatic nation. Through a second pylon a second court is entered, of rather inferior dimensions, but remarkable for the massive proportions of its columns, which have only three diameters, their height being twenty-four feet and their circumference nearly twenty-three. The spaces of intercolumniation are unequal, and the cornice, which is double the architrave, is heavy. All beyond this hall is a mass of ruin. The walls, internal and external, are covered with sculpture. The architrave represents the dedication of the palace; the north-east wall, the coronation of the king and religious processions. The triumphs of the king are continued; heaps of the hands and other members of his conquered enemies are thrown down before him, and their number counted and inscribed. In one of the battle-pieces a lion is represented as running by the side of the king. This circumstance, and one or two others mentioned by Diodorus as to be seen in the tomb of Osymandyas, do not at present appear in the sculptures of the building which we have identified with it; his authorities therefore had probably blended in one description their recollections of two distinct buildings. The western wall is covered with a record of the offerings made by Rameses in the different months of the year¹.

To the south-west of this temple is a low plain, whose limits are marked by high mounds of sand and alluvial soil. It is 7300 feet in length and 3000 in breadth, consequently exceeding seven-fold the area of the Champ de Mars at Paris². The French Commission have described it under the name of a hippodrome; Champollion considers it as a fortification; Minutoli and Wilkinson as

¹ Champollion, *Lettres*, 361.

² *Description de l'Égypte Ant.* 2, 138

a receptacle of water, and the latter specifically as the lake on which was performed the ceremony of conveying the embalmed body in a boat, so frequently represented in the funeral solemnities of the tombs. For this last purpose it appears far too large.

The whole sweep of the Libyan hills from Qoorneh to Medinet Aboo is full of sepulchres¹, chiefly excavations in the rock, which is calcareous, of a fine grain and moderate hardness. They appear to have been made expressly for sepulchral purposes, and not to be old quarries, converted into sepulchres². In the quarries of Silsileh and Mokattam no graves have ever been found. This was the Necropolis of the whole city, no tombs existing on the eastern side. For a space of five miles and to the height of from 300 to 400 feet, the face of the hills is pierced with rectangular openings, from which passages lead into the heart of the rock, sometimes horizontally, sometimes with an inclination and interposed staircases and landings. These terminate in chambers, succeeded by other passages and other chambers; or are interrupted by pits, from twenty to forty-five feet deep, communicating by apertures in their bottom or sides with chambers and pits beyond. Their length varies; the whole extent of the tomb of Petamunop is 320 feet in a straight line, and 862, reckoning in the cross-passages and returns; its area is 22,217 square feet, or an acre and a quarter of ground³. The most magnificent have an open vestibule before the entrance, and the entrance itself is adorned with sculpture; others open at once from the face of the hill. Where the loose nature of the soil threatened a fall, they are arched with rude brick. The sides of the passages and chambers are often covered with sculptures and paintings, to receive which they have been elaborately prepared. As pebbles and fossils sometimes occur, they have been taken out with the greatest care and the space filled up with another stone or cement. In general the

¹ Descr. de l'Eg. Ant. 3, 8.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 119.

³ Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. 2, 220.

sculpture does not project from the surface of the wall; in a few instances figures have been carved in high relief, but they are usually in niches towards the end of the galleries. Commonly the walls are smooth, without any attempt to imitate by carving the members of architecture. They were covered with a fine stucco, on which the designer drew his figures in red, and the painter laid on his colors like an illuminator. They are usually divided into rectangular spaces, ornamented with chequers, arabesques and various graceful patterns, in which far more freedom is shown than in the religious buildings¹. The subjects are infinitely varied; scenes of every-day life are perhaps the most numerous in the tombs of private individuals; but acts of adoration to the gods, funeral ceremonies, historical events, are all delineated, besides a profusion of mystical groups, whose meaning cannot be expounded till their legends have been more fully interpreted. The minuteness and delicacy of the hieroglyphic characters is astonishing; it has been calculated that there are 1200 on a space of between forty and fifty feet².

The sepulchres at Qoorneh being excavated in a looser stratum than those which are more remote and higher up, have fallen into great decay; but as they were generally unsculptured, they probably were not occupied by the wealthier classes³. The hills above the Meneptheion and northern Rameseion abound with the sepulchres of priests and individuals of the higher ranks, who selected the firm strata which they offer, and adorned the walls with a variety of paintings and sculptures which make them inferior only to the tombs of the kings. This distinction generally prevails, that the tombs of the higher classes occur in the most solid part of the rock, but we can trace no strict separation of castes; nor any gradual extension in chronological order, the two extremities of the hills, at Qoorneh and beyond Medinet Aboo, having been

¹ Descr. de l'Eg. Ant. 3, 40.

² Descr. Ant. 3, 43.

³ Belzoni, 1 350, 261

occupied apparently as early as the central portion. Besides the excavated sepulchres, many are found constructed of brick, and some pyramids of the same material. The mummies are piled on each other in the pits, or laid down in rows, but never erect against the walls. The tombs of the lower orders contain mummies of bulls, cows, rams, jackals, cats, crocodiles, fishes, ibises, and other birds held sacred by the Egyptians¹, and a small valley in the south-west has received the name of The Apes' Burial-place, from the multitude of embalmed *cynocephali* which have been found there.

The Royal Sepulchres are chiefly in a valley which bears the Arabic name of Bab-el-Melook, 'Gate of the Kings'. It is not far from the Thothmeseion already described, but is usually approached by a circuitous and more level route from Qoorneh, from which it is distant about two miles. Before reaching it, another valley branches off at a short distance to the right, called the Western Valley, which contains, besides the tomb of Amunoph III. near the entrance, those of several kings of a foreign dynasty; and another, the remotest, of a predecessor of Rameses II., whose name is uncertain². Immense heaps of rubbish have accumulated, and make research difficult; it is here perhaps that we have to look for the tombs of Amunoph I. and II., and the four Thothmes, the predecessors of Amunoph III. in the eighteenth dynasty.

The Bab-el-Melook is well adapted by solitude and seclusion to be the burial-place of kings. It is enclosed by perpendicular scarps of limestone rock, equally devoid of the traces of animal and vegetable life, and appears originally to have been a basin among the hills, without any outlet. A narrow passage has been cut through the rock at the lower end, whence the name of *gate* has been derived. It divides itself into branches nearly at right angles to the

¹ Belzoni, I, 261.

Bab in Coptic signifies *antrum*, *spelunca*. See Peyron *s. voc.*

² Champollion (Lettres, 247) calls him *Skai*; Wilkinson, *Oessa* or *Kesa*.

principal valley, and twenty tombs at least have been ascertained to exist in it. The ancients, who describe these excavations under the name of *Syringes* or tunnels, reckon them originally at forty-seven¹; seventeen were known in the days of the first Ptolemy, and of these fourteen have been identified by the inscriptions, in which Greeks and Romans have recorded their visits; Strabo speaks of forty; twenty-one have been numbered by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. They are all of monarchs of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, which were Theban. No order is observed in their distribution through the valley; each monarch appears to have selected the spot which pleased him, and prepared his own tomb, as at Memphis he raised his own pyramid. It has been observed that the most spacious and highly-finished are those of monarchs who enjoyed a long reign and could devote many years to the excavation and ornament of their future resting-place; and after all death generally overtook them before their work was finished; for only those of Amunoph III., Rameses Meiamun and Rameses III. are complete in all their parts.

The sepulchre of Rameses I.² (Ramesu) consists of two long corridors without sculpture, and a chamber containing a sarcophagus. The entrance is nearly choked with ruins. That of Setei-Menephthah, the builder of the Menephtheion of Qoorneh, discovered by Belzoni, is adjacent to it, and is the most splendid of them all, being 320 feet in length—not all in the same line or on the same level, but descending by steps and inclined passages to 180 feet. At the distance of about 100 feet from the entrance, Belzoni's further progress appeared to be stopped by a pit 30 feet deep and 14 feet by 12 wide. A small aperture, visible on the opposite side, suggested the idea that there might be something beyond, and on trial an entrance was obtained into a corridor succeeded by other stairs and passages, and ending in a coved saloon 37

¹ Diod. 1, 46. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 816. Belzoni himself discovered six.

² Marked 16 in Wilkinson's Survey.

feet by 27, filled with paintings, in the centre of which stood the beautiful sarcophagus of alabaster which is now in the museum of Sir J. Soane. It was entire, but Belzoni was not the first who had made a forcible entry into the tomb; the mummy was gone, and the cover of the sarcophagus broken to pieces. Immediately under the place on which it stood was an inclined passage, with a staircase, the entrance concealed by the pavement, extending 300 feet further through the rock. One of the apartments contains an astronomical ceiling in which the firmament is a brilliant azure and the stars white¹. All the walls of the passages and chambers, as far as the saloon of the sarcophagus, are so covered with figures and hieroglyphics, that hardly a foot square is left vacant. Their subjects are very various, but none relating to the occupations of common life; the most remarkable is the procession of the four nations, who were supposed to be prisoners made by Necho in his warlike expeditions, when the sarcophagus was referred to his son Psammuthis or Psammis, but more probably explained by Champollion of the different nations of the earth.

The tomb which the inscriptions of the Roman times call that of Memnon is really that of Rameses (V.) Meiamun², or his successor, as Champollion asserts. Everything, according to this author, refers to the soul of the defunct king, which being mystically identified with the Sun, is represented as passing successively through the twelve hours of the day and of the night. The same idea is astronomically exhibited on one of the ceilings. A female figure, bent so that the body, legs and arms occupy three sides, is a symbol of the heavens; twelve divisions in the upper and as many in the lower part represent the day and night. During the day the Sun is accompanied by various divinities, changing in each horary division; at night his bark is towed by them. Adjoining to these are tables of the influence of the stars on different parts

¹ Belzoni, *Researches*, New Plates, III.

² No. 9 in Wilkinson's *Survey*.

of the body, during each of the twenty-four hours¹. The hall which precedes that in which the sarcophagus is found, is consecrated to the four genii of *Amenthe*, the Egyptian Hades. In the most complete tombs it exhibits the appearance of the king before the forty-two judges or assessors of Osiris. In that of Rameses V. there are forty-two columns of hieroglyphics, containing the laudatory sentences which the judges pronounce², with a picture of the constellations and their influences on different parts of the human body for every day of the year. The tomb called the Harpers³, as being that whence Bruce derived the picture of two harpers playing⁴, belongs to Rameses IV., and is remarkable for the number of scenes and objects of domestic life painted on the walls. In the small apartments of this tomb are pits, in which the chief officers of the king may have been deposited, the subjects on the walls referring to their several functions, as cook, armor-bearer, superintendent of the royal boats, &c.⁵.

A separate place of interment was allotted to the queens. It lies about 3000 feet to the north-west of the temple of Medinet Aboo. They are the consorts of the kings who were buried in the Bab-el-Melook; twenty-four have been counted, and about twelve are known to have been those of queens, but the sculptures are much destroyed, with the exception of those of Taia, queen of Amunoph III. They are supposed to be what Diodorus calls the Tombs of the *Pallaces*, or concubines of the Theban Jupiter, their position corresponding pretty nearly with the distance of ten stadia⁶ from the tomb of Osymandyas. The confusion of characters seems strange, but may be accounted for from a circumstance mentioned by Champollion⁷, that they all bear the title of *Wife of Amun*.

We return to the eastern bank of the river, the true Diospolis,

¹ Champ. Lettres, 239.

² Champ. Lettres, 242.

³ No. 11 in Wilkinson's Survey.

⁴ Travels, vol. 2, p. 29.

⁵ Wilkinson, Mod. Egypt and Thebes, 2, 206. Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 4, 162.

Diod. 1, 47.

⁷ Lettres, p. 286. Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 307.

where the two villages of Luxor (El-Uksor) and Karnak contain monuments of Egyptian grandeur, even more remarkable than those which we have already described. The ruins of Luxor stand close to the river; a stone jetty, prolonged by an addition of brick, served at once as a landing-place and a protection against the encroachments of the current. The entrance to the ruins is at the point the most remote from the river, looking to the north-east, and the most conspicuous object on approaching was the pair of obelisks sixty and seventy feet in height, erected by Rameses II. One still remains; the other has been removed to France, and set up in the Place de la Concorde. The architect had endeavored to hide their inequality by placing them on unequal bases, and advancing the smaller somewhat nearer to the eye. The hieroglyphic characters are wrought with the highest degree of perfection, their depth in many instances exceeds two inches, and the Arabs contrive to climb them¹, placing their feet in the excavated part. Behind these obelisks are two sitting monolithical statues of the same king, of the red granite of Syene; including their cubical bases, they were thirty-nine feet above the level of the ancient soil, but are now buried in deposits of earth and rubbish from the bust downwards. The pylon, fifty-one feet in height, and the pyramidal wings contain representations of the battles of Rameses in the fifth year of his reign, and therefore of the same campaign which is recorded on the walls of the temple at Aboosimbel². The court to which this pylon gives entrance is 190 feet long and 170 broad, and surrounded by a peristyle of double columns. A pylon, built by Amunoph III., opposite to that of Rameses, opens upon a colonnade, which leads to a second court of somewhat smaller dimensions, terminating in a portico with a quadruple row of eight

¹ According to Champollion, the original part is brick, joined with a cement of extraordinary hardness; the reparations, stone taken from buildings of no very high antiquity.

² Champollion, *Lettres*, 217.

columns. Beyond this are a multitude of apartments; among them may be distinguished a sanctuary and a chamber, on the walls of which are represented the birth of Amunoph and his presentation to the tutelary god. Everything southward of the second pylon is the work of Amunoph, and this edifice might properly be called the *Amenophion* of Eastern Thebes¹.

Returning to the north-east entrance, we find an interval of about 6000 feet to the remains of Karnak. The space, right and left, appears to have been covered with buildings, and a dromos bordered with *andro-sphinxes*², to have connected the two quarters in which the sacred edifices were placed. If they extended through the whole space, they must have amounted to 600; but at present they remain only at the end nearest to Karnak, where the dromos divided, one part turning to the right, the other, with only a slight deviation, to the left. If we follow the former, we find, at the distance of about 600 feet, the commencement of another dromos of *crio-sphinxes*, the largest which exist among the ruins of Thebes. The head is that of a ram, the body of a lion; the fore-paws are protruded, the body rests upon the hind-paws; a drapery in numerous folds descends from the back of the head over the shoulders and the breast. There must have been between sixty and seventy in a double row, at the distance of eleven feet, between this point and the south-western entrance of the palace of Karnak. This stupendous mass of buildings stands within a circuit wall of brick, 1800 feet long and somewhat less broad. Its principal approach seems to have been by the dromos which we have just described. Five lofty pylones and four spacious courts intervene, between the end of the dromos and the main body of the building; the first gateway of the pylon is entirely of granite, beautifully wrought; on the outer side were two colossi of granite, on the inner two of crystalline limestone.

¹ Champollion, Lettres, p. 208.

² See p. 115, note 4.

For some reason not easily divined, the pylons have not been placed in the same line, which must have detracted from the effect which their number and size would otherwise have produced. From the last court the palace is entered nearly in the middle; the portions which lie on the right and left are of very different character, that to the right being occupied by a multitude of smaller apartments, while the left contains only two, the hypostyle hall and the grand court in front of it. These smaller apartments, however, were the nucleus of the whole pile, according to an analogy elsewhere observed in the great Egyptian buildings, which expanded themselves from a centre by subsequent additions, and were not planned from the first in their actual order and relation.

In the court first entered are two obelisks of Thothmes I., one erect and perfect, the other broken to pieces; in the next to the right, two formerly stood, and one still remains, ninety-two feet in height,—the loftiest known, except that of St. John Lateran at Rome. To this succeeds the sanctuary, approached by a granite gateway, and composed itself of the same material. Around it are a multitude of small apartments of doubtful use, and behind, some columns, which both by their polygonal form and the shield of Sesortasen I. mark this as the earliest portion of the building. The most important additions in this portion of the enclosure were made by Thothmes III. In one of the chambers built by him, he is represented sacrificing to his ancestors, the kings of Thebes. This document, called the Karnak Tablet, and hereafter to be more fully explained, is one of the most important records of Egyptian chronology¹.

If we return to the point at which we entered this pile of buildings, and take the opposite direction, we pass from the court in which stands the obelisk of Thothmes, by a gateway bearing the victories of Rameses III., into the hypostyle hall,

¹ Hieroglyphics of the Egyptian Society, No. 96.

which next to the pyramids is the most impressive and wonderful of all the remains of ancient Egypt¹. Its dimensions, 170 feet by 329, are such, that according to the observation of the French Commission, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris might stand within it and not touch the walls². The columns of the central row, twelve in number, are sixty-six feet in height without the pedestal or abacus. They are composed of assizes, each three feet two inches in height, and are eleven feet in diameter, equalling therefore in their solidity the dimensions of the *hollow* columns of Trajan and the Place Vendôme. It would require six men with extended arms to embrace their circumference. On either side are seven rows, containing 122 columns, forty-one feet nine inches in height, and nine feet in diameter. Above the capitals is an abacus, four feet in height, on which the architraves of the ceiling rested; those of the central avenue were of course the widest, and as the space between the columns was seventeen feet, and the architrave extended from centre to centre, their width could never be less than twenty-eight feet. The shorter columns have a cornice above the architrave, to bring them somewhat nearer to an equality with those of the central row; but even this has not sufficed; and above the cornice a kind of *attic* has been constructed of upright stones, reaching to the same height as the architrave of the loftier pillars, and supporting the stones of the ceiling. Light and air were admitted into the hall through openings above the side rows, which thus answer to the clerestory of a Gothic middle aisle. The whole height from the floor to the ceiling is eighty feet.

¹ "Aucun peuple ancien ni moderne n'a conçu l'art d'architecture sur une échelle aussi sublime, aussi grandiose, que le firent les vieux Egyptiens; et l'imagination qui en Europe s'élance bien au-dessus de nos portiques, s'arrête et tombe impuissante au pied des 140 colonnes, de la salle hypostyle de Karnak." Champollion, *Lettres*, p. 98.

² *Descr. de l'Eg. Ant.* 2, 436.

The destination of this magnificent hall, built by Setei Menephthah, is uncertain; most probably it served for the celebration of the *panegyries* or public religious assemblies, which were periodically held in Egypt, or for the administration of justice. Champollion even thinks that the hieroglyphic character for panegyry is a section of one of these hypostyle halls or *manoskhs*¹. Such a grove of columns, however impressive by their architectural effect, must have interfered greatly with the purposes of sight and hearing; and of the apparent area, a very large proportion must have been occupied by the bases of the pillars. Though so much of the imposts has fallen, a great number of the columns are still left standing. But the water of the inundation penetrates by infiltration to their bases, and loosens the soil; they lose their perpendicular position, and one after another falls prostrate. The walls have been adorned with historical bas-reliefs both within and without, partly by Setei, the founder, partly by his son Rameses II. The latter added to the hypostyle hall a vast open court, on the north-west side and towards the river, 275 feet by 329, having a covered corridor on either side, and a double row of columns down the centre². The passage from the hall into this court was by a lofty pylon and propyla, the lintels which covered the entrance between them being forty feet ten inches in length. But the symmetry of the court is greatly injured by a temple built by Rameses III., which interrupts the line of the southern colonnade, projects fifty-four feet into the area, and is continued for about double that length on the outside. The principal gateway towards the river is exactly opposite to that which communicates with the hypostyle hall; there are others on the eastern and western sides. On one of these, the nearest to the grand hall, are seen the names of the cities and nations conquered by Sheshonk in his expedition.

¹ Lettres, 273.

² Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, p. 247, and his Map of Thebes.

An avenue of criosphinxes led up to the principal gateway, and two granite statues, probably of Rameses II., stood immediately before it.

Besides the buildings we have now described, the wall of enclosure comprised others of inferior magnitude. The dromos which unites Luxor with Karnak divides itself into two branches, and in our survey we followed that which led to the south. The eastern branch, which is almost in a line with Luxor, led through a dromos of rams¹, majestically couched upon their pedestals. Judging from those which remain, there must have been a double row of fifty-eight in a space of about 500 feet. At the end of the dromos stands a gateway, the loftiest of all that remain in Egypt, sixty-four feet in height, not flanked as usual by pyramidal propyla, but standing alone, like the triumphal arches of the Romans. This deviation from the established practice of the Egyptians² might alone have excited a suspicion that it was the work of later times; the inscriptions prove that it was constructed by Ptolemy Euergetes I. It now stands completely insulated, but apparently in the line of the brick wall which enclosed the whole area. Another dromos behind the gateway conducts to a temple founded by Rameses IV. and continued by Rameses VIII. and others. There was within the enclosure a lake, and exterior to it, on the east, south and west, ruins of a number of temples, some of the Pharaonic, others of the Ptolemaic age. Remains of a Ptolemaic³ temple are found at Medamoud to the north of Karnak, where the Arabian chain, returning to the river, terminates the plain of Thebes on the eastern side; but it is not probable that it was ever included within the limits of the ancient city.

¹ Deser. de l'Eg. 2, 509, not *criosphinxes*, as Sir G. Wilkinson says. The σφίγξ (σφίγγω, to grasp and pierce) must have the body and claws of a lion.

² There is a similar instance at Denderah; but Denderah is not of the age of the Pharaohs.

³ Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 133, mentions some blocks of the

Besides the spaces which we have described as covered with ruins, many others bear evident marks of having been once occupied with buildings. They may be traced by the coarse grass called *halfeh*, the *Poa cynosuroides* of botanists, which flourishes in a soil composed of rubbish¹. But nowhere has the antiquary been able to discover any remains of the hundred gates which Homer attributes to Thebes, through each of which issued two hundred men with horses and chariots². That these are meant of the gates of a city, not of the pylones of the palaces and temples, nor of the royal stables³, is evident; the exaggeration may be regarded as a proof how little the Greeks knew, in the Homeric age, of Egypt, and what scope was thus afforded to the imagination of the poet.

age of Amunoph II. and Rameses II. found here, but they may have been transported.

¹ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 246.

² *Il.* 4. 381.

..... Θήβας

Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα ὁδοῖς ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,

Αἱ δ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἐκάστην

Ἀνέρες ἑξοιχναῖσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχλοισιν.

³ *Diod.* 1, 45. Τοὺς ἵππωνας ἑκατὸν γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν παραποταμίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Μέρφως ἔχει Θηβῶν τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἐκάστου δεχομένου ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἵππους, ὧν ἔτι νῦν τὰ θεμέλια δείκνυσθαι. It is hardly necessary to observe that no trace is to be found of the wonderful tunnel of which Pliny speaks, 36, 20. "Legitur et pensilis hortus; imo vero totum oppidum Ægyptiæ Thebæ, exercitus armatos subter educere solitis regibus, nullo oppidanorum sentiente."

CHAPTER VIII.

AMOUNT OF POPULATION.

IN a country which had been so accurately measured as Egypt in the time of Sesostris¹, we cannot doubt that exact returns of the population had been made. Amasis towards the end of the monarchy compelled every man to appear before a magistrate and declare his mode of life, and this if fully carried out must have afforded an estimate of the number of adult males. The results, however, have not been recorded in ancient authors, nor discovered on monuments. Herodotus gives no account of the population; Diodorus² says that in ancient times it had amounted to seven millions and was not less in his own. Agrippa, in the speech attributed to him by Josephus³, estimates the inhabitants of Egypt at seven millions and a half, besides Alexandria which contained 300,000 more. As his object was to dissuade the Jews from entering into a contest with the Romans, who had so easily conquered Egypt, he would rather overrate than underrate its population. No satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from the statement of Herodotus, that in the time of Amasis there were 20,000 inhabited towns, or of Diodorus, who says that 18,000 were entered in the registers⁴. The numbers are startling from their magnitude, and we are not informed of the amount of population in each inhabited place. The estimates of modern writers, made before Egypt

¹ Herod. 2, 109, 177.

² 1, 31.

³ Jos. Bell, Jud. 2, 16.

⁴ Her. 2, 177. Diod. u. s. Theocritus (17, 85) increases the numbers of Herodotus by more than one-third, for the glory of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

had been surveyed and measured, varied from the four millions of De Pauw to the twenty-seven millions of Goguet¹.

Jomard, availing himself of the great map prepared by the engineers attached to the French Expedition, has endeavored to solve this problem on statistical principles². He traced on this map the sites of the ancient cities of Egypt, which amount to 200 whose names are ascertained. To Thebes he allots 700,000 inhabitants; to Memphis and Heliopolis together 400,000; to forty-seven chief towns of nomes 470,000, and to 150 other towns 750,000. Following a proportion which has been observed to prevail in other countries, he assumes that the small towns of 1000 inhabitants were three times as numerous as the larger; the villages of 500, nine times as numerous as the small towns; the hamlets of 200, thirty times as numerous as the villages, and hence obtains a total of 5,420,000. By means of the same map he has estimated the extent of land capable of culture in ancient Egypt, and finds that the population of each square league was 2077 (not including in this average the dense population of the great cities), while that of France in 1818 was only 1082 in the same area³.

Tacitus relates that when Germanicus visited Thebes he was shown the monuments of the reign of Rameses-Sesostris, and informed by the priests that Egypt had formerly contained 700,000 men of the military age⁴. We are not told what was the military age in this country; at Athens it extended from eighteen to sixty; at Rome from seventeen to sixty. We may assume it at eighteen to sixty in Egypt, with whose customs those of Athens had a close

¹ *Origin of Laws*, vol. 2, p. 12, Eng. Tr.

² *Description de l'Égypte*, *Ant. Mem.* vol. 9, 103 foll.

³ Jomard, *u. s.* p. 199.

⁴ "Jussus à senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat, habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari." *Ann.* 2, 60. *Comp.* Strabo, 17, p. 816, who is evidently less accurate, as he speaks of obelisks in the Theban sepulchres.

analogy. Now the analysis of the census of 1821 shows that in a population of 20,160 persons, the males from eighteen to sixty were 4644¹. This is more than one-fifth, and estimated by these data the whole population of Egypt would be scarcely 3,500,000. If we assume eighteen to forty as the military age, we shall have a free population of 4,500,000, and slaves may have swelled the amount to more than five millions.

The great works undertaken by the Egyptian monarchs lead us to form an exaggerated conception of the population. They imply two things: a large amount of disposable labor, that is, of labor not essential to procuring the means of subsistence, and the power to compel the employment of it upon unproductive objects². In no country of the ancient world was subsistence so easily obtained as in Egypt³; in none was less required for the mere support of life. According to Diodorus, twenty drachmæ sufficed for the annual maintenance of a child till he grew up⁴. The climate was salubrious, and the human species increased rapidly⁵; yet these alone would not have produced such a numerous population, but for the cheapness of food. Left to themselves, the people might have spent in inactivity the leisure which the facility of acquiring subsistence gave them; but the absolute power of the king and the priests enabled them to exact their labor for the execution of public works,

¹ See Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2, 387; 3, 459. At Athens the period of *foreign* service began at twenty and ended at forty; at Rome foreign service ended at forty-six.

² Arist. Pol. 5, 9, 4.

³ Her. 2, 14.

⁴ Diod. 1, 80. I presume this to be the annual cost, though the words of Diodorus may seem to imply the *entire* cost. Ἀνυποδέτων τῶν πλείστων καὶ γυνῶν τρεφομένων διὰ τὴν ἐκράσιαν τῶν τόπων τὴν πᾶσαν διαπάειν οἱ γονεῖς ἄχρις ἂν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέκνον οὐ πλείω ποιοῦσι δραχμῶν εἴκοσι.

⁵ Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 7, 5, says that births of five children at once were common in Egypt, which Trognus increased to seven. Plin. 7, 3. Strabo, 16, 695. These statements may be received as evidence of the reputation for fecundity which the Egyptian women enjoyed.

designed for the honor of the sovereign or of religion. Another cause of the proneness to believe that the population of ancient Egypt exceeded anything that has been known in modern countries, is the opinion that large tracts formerly susceptible of cultivation have been covered by the Desert sand. It has been already observed that this opinion is incorrect, and that in fact, by the operations of the Nile, the extent of productive soil is constantly on the increase¹.

The population of modern Egypt was estimated two centuries ago at four millions, probably on no very accurate grounds. It was computed from measurement and taxation by Jomard at two millions and a half², during the French occupation of the country. Sir G. Wilkinson reduces its present amount to 1,800,000³; a sufficient proof, that under the government of Mahomed Ali, though order has been enforced and commerce increased, no real improvement has taken place in the general condition of the people.

¹ See p. 67 of this vol.

² Jomard *u. s.* p. 132.

³ *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 1, 256.

than an enlarged copy of the hoe, the curved side, turned downwards, having become the share, resembling in form the coulter of a modern plough, the handle having been lengthened into a pole, and two curved pieces of wood added at the point of junction, by which it was guided. It is doubtful if metal were ever used for the share; no such instrument has been found in Egypt, but from its color in some of the paintings, Rosellini infers that brass has been used. The parts of the plough were merely tied together in some representations, and the whole structure of the instrument shows how light was the duty which it had to perform. The ploughmen only in a few instances appear to be using their strength to force the share deep into the soil. A sower followed the plough, carrying a bag or satchel of matting, from which he scattered the seed broadcast. It does not appear that the ground was subsequently harrowed to cover it in; Herodotus speaks of the employment of swine for this purpose; Diodorus with more probability describes cattle as being used¹, and he is confirmed by the monuments, in which flocks of goats appear in fields which have been just turned up by the hoe or the plough². The oxen or cows by whom the plough was drawn were sometimes yoked by the neck and sometimes by the horns. From the time of the scattering of the seed till harvest, it seems to have been left to the genial influences of the sun and air, which ripened wheat in about five months, barley in four; at least the Egyptian monuments exhibit no traces of those labors which the Roman agriculturist had to undergo³, in order to secure his crop. When ripe,

¹ Diod. 1, 36. Τὸ σπέρμα βαλόντας ἐπαγεῖν τὰ βοσκήματα. He appears to have thought that the ploughing was dispensed with altogether.

² Rosellini, *u. s.*

³ Subit aspera silva,
Lappæque tribulique, interque nitentia culta
Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.
Quod nisi et assiduis terram insectabere rastris,

the corn was reaped with the sickle, the grain trampled out by oxen, winnowed by being thrown into the air from baskets, and stored up in granaries. The form of one of these is exhibited in a painting of the tomb of Rotei at Benihasan. It consists of a double range of structures resembling ovens, built of brick with an opening in the top and a shutter in the side. A flight of stairs gives access to the top of these receptacles, into which the grain, measured and noted, is poured till they are full. The mode of emptying them was to open the shutter in the side, which discharged all above it, after which it was easy for men to enter, and throw out through the opening the contents of the lower part¹. In another representation from a tomb at Thebes, the opening of the oven-shaped receptacle is at the bottom. In a tomb at Kum-el-Ahmar we see the sheaves of corn thrown into a hollow conical receptacle. Besides wheat and barley, the monuments show, that the *dhorra* (*Holcus sorghum*) was also grown extensively in Egypt, and Rosellini mentions that among the various seeds which he has found in the Theban tombs, some have been recognised by a skilful botanist as unquestionably belonging to this plant². The grain was obtained, not by treading out, but by drawing the head through a set of spikes which entirely separated it. Whether this were the *olyra* or *zea* on which Herodotus represents the Egyptians as living, while they despised wheat and barley as ignoble food³, or the *rye* which is mentioned in the book of Exodus as destroyed by the hail, is uncertain⁴. There must be some exagge-

Et sonitu terrebis aves, et ruris opaci
 Falce premes umbras, votisque vocaveris imbrem,
 Heu magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum.

Virg. Georg. 1, 152.

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 328, tab. xxxv. Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 136

² Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 397. Rosellini, M. Civ. 1, 364.

³ Herod. 2, 36.

⁴ The Hebrew word כִּסְמֶת *Kusemeth* (Exod. ix. 32) is rendered by the

ration in the statement of Herodotus respecting the contempt of wheat and barley by the Egyptians, seeing in what large quantities they were grown.

Nature has not only given to the soil and climate of Egypt an uncommon aptitude for the production of crops of grain, but has placed it in the neighborhood of countries to which the same advantage has been denied. On the West it is bordered by sandy deserts; on the East by a rocky region equally incapable of culture. Palestine is not a corn country, except in its most northern district, Galilee; and the sands of the Arabian Desert intervene between it and the fertile plains of Mesopotamia. To Egypt therefore the inhabitants even of distant countries naturally came¹, when visited by famine, to supply themselves from its superabundant produce, which not being perishable, might be stored up for many years. The long ranges of granaries were, no doubt, intended to receive more than one harvest.

Another object of cultivation in Egypt was flax, which was grown chiefly in the Delta, in the neighborhood of Tanis, Pelusium, and Buto; but also at Tentyra in Upper Egypt; it was a source of great wealth to the country, though the fibre had less strength than that produced in some other regions². It was plucked up by the hand, the linseed stripped off and then steeped and heckled. These operations are represented in the paintings at Benihasan and elsewhere, with very little variation from modern practice. The cultivation of cotton is not represented on any monument, a circumstance which would conclude strongly against the

Septuagint here *ὄλυρα*, in Is. xxviii. 25, ζεία. It is supposed to be the grain which furnished the *far* or *adorea* of the Latins; Pliny, 18, 11. *Far in Egypto ex olyra conficitur.*

¹ Gen. xii. 10; xxvi. 1; xlii. 57. "All countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn, because the famine was sore in all lands." Πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλίαντα κάρποι Νῆες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, μέγιστον πλοῦτον. Bacchyl. Fr. 27.

² Pliny, 19, 1. *Ægyptio lino minimum firmitatis, plurimum lucri.*

opinion that the byssus of Herodotus was cotton cloth, even had not the examination of the mummy bandages proved that they are linen. Rosellini, however, says that he has found the cotton seed in an *unopened* tomb, and we know from Pliny that it was cultivated in Upper Egypt in his time, and that the priests made their garments from it¹.

The culture of the esculent plants and roots which formed a large part of the diet of the Egyptians, must also have been a principal feature in their husbandry. Of these the ancients particularly mention the leguminous class, the bean², the vetch, the lentil, to the growth of which the climate and soil were so favourable that they appeared above ground on the third day after sowing, with the exception of the bean³. Cucurbitaceous plants, such as the cucumber⁴, gourd and melon⁵, so grateful and salutary in hot climates, grew also in Egypt in great abundance; and it was equally celebrated for the excellence of its onions, leeks and garlic, which with us serve only as the condiment of food, but in Egypt supplied a considerable nutriment to the body of the people, their flavour being much milder than when grown in northern climates. The lands nearest to the Nile, or to the canals which did not require the inundation to fill them, would naturally be appropriated to this kind of cultivation, which demands a frequent supply of water during the growth of the crop. A very simple mode of raising it by the bucket and pole is figured in one of the tombs, by a succession of which with reservoirs it might be labo-

¹ Pliny, *u. s.* Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 1, 360.

² Herodotus (2, 37) says the bean was not much cultivated. The ancients use *faba* and *κίβανος* of the seed of the lotus. *Diod.* 1, 34.

³ Pliny, 18, 10, 2.

⁴ According to Herodotus, an inscription on the Great Pyramid recorded the amount of money spent in food of this description, radishes, leeks and onions; and the account, if not historical, is at least characteristic of Egyptian customs.

⁵ Numbers *xl.* 5.

riously brought to the needful elevation¹; but before the Greek and Roman times the use of water-wheels was not known². The language of Moses in Deut. xi. 10, "the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs," is supposed to allude to the use of a water-wheel of which the moving force was supplied by the foot; but we find no trace in the monuments of this or any other hydraulic mechanism.

An important supplement to the cereal food of the Egyptians was found in the lotus and the papyrus, which though spontaneous products were multiplied and improved by culture³. The *ciborium* or capsule of the lotus contained a number of seeds resembling beans; these ground and kneaded with water or milk⁴ furnished a bread, which, if eaten warm, was very wholesome. The root of the same plant was sweet, and was eaten by the ancient Egyptians, as it still is in the districts which do not produce corn. The root and lower part of the stalk of the papyrus was either chewed raw or boiled or roasted.

Herodotus says that the inhabitants of the corn-growing region (ἡ σπειρομένη Αἴγυπτος) used wine made from barley, because there were no vines in their country⁵. The same soil seldom serves for

¹ Rosellini, M. Civ. tav. xl. 2.

² The wheel which was in use in the time of Diodorus was the *κλίνης*, or spiral, of Archimedes (1, 34); one of these, which raised water from the Nile to supply the garrison of the Memphite Babylon, was worked by 150 men. Strabo, 17, 807.

³ Her. 2, 92. Theophr. H. Plant. 4, 9. The Greeks despised the Egyptians as eaters of the papyrus. Βόβλον δὲ καρπὸς οὐ κρατεῖ στάχυν. Æsch. Suppl. 768.

⁴ Pliny, 22, 28 (21).

⁵ 2, 77. St. Cyril, quoted by Rosellini, observes that no wine or corn was produced in the marshy districts of Egypt. He adds, "alii hæc aridam terram arabilem et fecundissimam et vitium sunt cultores studiosissimos." But eight centuries had intervened between the two writers.

grain and for vineyards, which thrive best on the sides of hills¹; and in later times it was in the district of Fyoun, on the borders of the lake Mareotis and at Plinthine, at the extremities of the cultivated land, that wine was grown². The monuments prove, however, that from the earliest times its cultivation and manufacture have been known in Egypt, in accordance with the accounts in Scripture³. In one of the oldest tombs, that of Eimai at Gizeh, the whole process is represented. The vines appear to have been supported by notched poles, and trained upon espaliers; elsewhere they are seen in low bushes, such as the vine countries of Europe exhibit⁴. The fruit is gathered in baskets and conveyed to a large vat, where it is trodden by men who take hold of a rope fixed above them, by which they raise themselves a little to increase the force of their treading. In another representation the grapes, already deprived of their first running, are enclosed in a bag of matting, which is then violently twisted by sticks inserted in the ends, so that the juice streams through the interstices. Here, too, we see that everything in Egypt was accomplished by mere manual force, without any mechanical contrivance. The must was then placed in vessels to ferment, and finally the wine poured off into the oblong jars in which it was preserved. These, like the Roman amphoræ, had sometimes a pointed foot, so that they would not stand of themselves, but were preserved upright in wooden frames. Both red and white wines were made in Egypt, and the group of characters which represents wine is followed sometimes by others which apparently discriminate the quality, but the meaning of which is unknown.

¹ apertos

Bacchus amat colles.—Virg. Georg. 2, 113.

² Strabo, 17, 799. Athen. Ep. 1, p. 33. Wilkinson, M. and C. 4, 121. The wine of Coptos in Upper Egypt was very thin. Athen. u. a.

³ Gen. xl. 10. Numb. xx. 5.

⁴ Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 147.

Lower Egypt contained extensive marsh-districts which were unfitted for cultivation, but from their luxuriant herbage well-adapted for the pasturage of cattle. The districts in which this was carried on lay remote from the civilization of the *cultivated* Egypt, and the herdsmen were a rude and lawless race¹. They dwelt in huts constructed of reeds, and used the roots of the lotus for bread. To this cause, rather than the remembrance of the evils inflicted on Egypt by Asiatic nomads, that prejudice against the feeders of cattle is probably to be attributed, which shows itself in the history of Joseph. In the portion of Lower Egypt, eastward of the Pelusiatic branch, the country of Goshen appears to have lain, which was assigned to the Israelites as the most suitable to the pasturage of their cattle². The higher parts of the Nile, that is Middle and Upper Egypt, can have afforded little scope for pasturage; but the representations in the tombs of Gizeh and Kuml-Ahmar prove that the care and tending of cattle was carried on in these districts also. Even the necessities of agriculture must have led to the maintenance of oxen and cows in the cultivated Egypt, no other animal being used in ploughing and treading out the grain. The Nile supplied by its main stream and its canals ready means of conveyance; but where water-carriage was impracticable and human power not available, cattle were employed in draught. Cows are represented drawing the slide or low cart on which the mummy was conveyed to the tomb, and the blocks of stone which were brought from the quarries of Mokattam for the repair of the Memphion temple are drawn by three pair of oxen. Herds of wild cattle may also have been found in the desert regions on the eastern side of the Nile, which contain spots producing pasture; for among the pictures in the tombs of Upper Egypt is a representation of a

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 802. Diod. 1, 43.

² Gen. xlvii. 6. "In the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell." *The best of the land* must here be understood as "best adapted for their purpose."

hunter who is shooting them with arrows, and another catching them with a noose¹. The monuments give ample evidence of the care with which the domesticated cattle were tended. Large yards were attached to the farm-houses, provided with sheds for sheltering them, and rings to which they were tied while feeding². During the inundation it was necessary to withdraw them from the fields and collect them in the villages and towns which usually stood on elevated ground; if overtaken by the waters they were rescued in boats. They were branded with their owner's mark and numbered; when sick, medicine was administered to them by a person who bears the title of *attendant*³. Such was the spontaneous luxuriance of vegetation after the waters had retired, that if the land were left unsown it produced an abundant crop of natural herbage. The culture of artificial grasses could not be unknown to a people whose soil and climate were so well suited to their production.

Egypt was especially favorable to the growth of sheep, the ewes according to the ancients bringing forth lambs and yielding wool twice in the year⁴. The flesh of the sheep was little esteemed, and was forbidden food in the Theban nome, as the ram was sacred to the great god of Thebes. No example of its slaughter for food or sacrifice appears in the paintings, though that of oxen is so common⁵. Upper garments of wool⁶ were generally worn by the Egyptians and even by the priests, though religious motives forbade their being carried into a temple or used in interments; but the

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 18, from Beni Hassan, Ibid. 15.

² Wilkinson M. and C. 2, 134, from Alabastron.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 270, Tav. xxxi. The word is *Renen*. See the Lexicon in Bunsen, 1, p. 579.

⁴ Diod. 1, 87.

⁵ According to Strabo (17, p. 803), it was only in the temple of Serapis at the Natron Lakes, that sheep in his time were offered in sacrifice. This district was hardly in Egypt. Comp. Her. 2, 18.

⁶ Herod. 2, 42. 2, 81. Yates, *Texturum antiquorum*, p. 23. Pliny N. H. 8, 78.

wool of Egypt was coarse and of a short staple. Large flocks of goats were also kept, which are represented in the paintings as browsing upon the branches of the thorny *Mimosa* which grows very abundantly in Egypt¹. Besides these we find from the paintings that the ibex, oryx and others of the antelope tribe were tamed, and notwithstanding the wildness which they naturally exhibit, as completely domesticated as the sheep or the goat². From the same sources we learn how important a place the breeding and care of cattle held in the economical system of the Egyptians. The kings had herds on their own demesnes, for in the tomb of Menophres at Saccara³, two bulls are represented with the inscription *royal house*, with the number on one 86, on the other 43. In the tomb of Ranni, a military man, at Eilethya⁴, is represented a visit of inspection paid by a proprietor to his farm. He is distinguished by an ornamented collar and a long garment, and has in one hand a sceptre or mace, in the other the staff which among the Egyptians marked the higher classes. Two servants follow him, one carrying his bow and quiver and a stool, the other his slippers. Before him goes a writer with a roll and writing instruments; two herdsmen bring in the cattle, one of whom throws himself prostrate before his master, and the other is evidently repeating to the writer the tale of cattle, sheep, goats and swine which are under his charge. An inscription above records the numbers of each—cattle 122; rams 300; goats 1200; swine 1500. In a tomb near the Pyramids, 860 asses, 974 sheep, 834 oxen, 220 cows, and 2234 goats are numbered as the property of the occupant⁵. The minuteness of these registers in such a place is a singular proof how far the Egyptians carried the notion that the tomb should be the counterpart of the house; the record of his own wealth while living was to be kept under the cognizance of its inhabitant.

¹ Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 1, 260.

² Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 4, 140.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 1, 250.

⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 1, 262, *Tav.* xxx.

⁵ Champollion-Figeac. *L'Univers*, p. 185.

The ass was the ordinary beast of burden in Egypt; the horse never appears in use either for husbandry or draught or riding; its sole employment was in the war-chariot, either in actual service, or in the processions in which the king appeared in military state¹. The wagons which Joseph sent to bring his father down into Egypt do not appear to have been drawn by horses²; the sight of a wheel-carriage, unknown among the patriarchs, was sufficient of itself to convince him that the narrative of his sons was true. That the horse was at this time bred in Egypt is however implied in the same history; as the intensity of the famine increased, the people brought "their horses and their flocks and their herds and their asses³" to exchange for food; and when the Israelites quitted the land, Pharaoh pursued them with a large body of chariots. Egypt was probably the country from which neighboring nations gradually learnt the use of war-chariots and purchased war-horses; for if Arabia in this age produced a breed of horses, it does not appear that then or since it has ever broken them to harness. We know that when the Jews, contrary to the injunction of their legislator, began to multiply horses, Egypt was the source from which they derived them⁴. The earliest mention of Egypt in Grecian literature is in reference to the multitude of its war-chariots⁵, and Diodorus is probably correct when he says that the horses were kept in numerous stables along the banks of the Nile, from Memphis to Thebes. That we never see them in the landscapes which mingle Egyptian scenery with the occupations of Egyptian life may be owing to this circumstance. They were not turned out to graze, but fed, as the Arab horses are now, on barley and straw. But though Egypt, by its abundance of food, was well

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 179, gives a drawing from a tomb at Thebes, of a plaustrum drawn by oxen, in which an Ethiopian princess rides. It is very like a chariot, but closed at the sides, and shaded by an umbrella.

² Gen. xlv. 27.

³ Gen. xlvii. 17.

⁴ Deut. xvii. 16; 1 Kings, x. 28.

⁵ Hom. Il. i. 381.

adapted for their maintenance and multiplication, it is not the country in which we should expect to find a native breed of horses, for it is not productive of the food on which they would subsist in the wild state, and the fierce animals of the adjoining deserts would speedily have destroyed them. If the race was introduced from Arabia by the Shepherds, it was multiplied and prepared for war-chariots by the Egyptians. Their forms are light, and their action very spirited. What was their prevailing color it is difficult to say; in the paintings they are always red, but so are the men, whose real color was dark. It is remarkable that in the hieroglyphical inscriptions the mares are called by the Semitic name of *Ses*¹ (Heb. *Sus*), the horses by the name of *htar* (Copt. *hto*, *htor*). War-chariots are the most costly of all the varieties of military force; and that the Egyptians should have maintained so large a body of them, for no other purpose than war and state, gives a high idea of the ancient wealth of the monarchy. They do not appear, however, in any monument prior to the eighteenth dynasty.

The art of horticulture is closely connected with that of agriculture, and indeed in Egypt, from the large quantity of vegetable food that was raised and the system of minute irrigation that prevailed, the distinction between the culture of the field and the garden was less than in other countries. The land was watered "as a garden of herbs". We see in one representation men carrying water in earthen jars to be poured upon the beds, in another raising it by a bucket tied to a beam, to the other end of which a large stone is appended². Fruits of various kinds, the date, the pomegranate, the fig, the sycamore, the perseæ, are recognised in the paintings, and some of them have been found in the tombs. The paintings refute the statement of Diodorus³, that the Perseæ was introduced into Egypt from Ethiopia by Cambyses. Others said from Persia; and both appear to be founded on false etymo-

¹ Hierogl. of Egyptian Society, Pl. 42. l. 51. a. 19. k.

² Deut. xi. 10.

³ Rosellini. M. Civ. xl.

⁴ 1, 34.

logy. Other fruits, as the peach and the almond, are described as growing in Egypt by ancient authorities. Of all these none was so important in Egyptian economy as the date, which is an article of food, not of luxury, in the countries in which it is produced¹. Oriental exaggeration reckoned up 360 uses to which different parts of the tree might be applied². The ancient Egyptians derived from it uses not less various, as appears from the numerous articles found in the tombs³; and a wine was extracted from the fruit, which was used in the process of embalming, and probably also as a beverage. The fruit produced in the Delta was of inferior quality⁴; the best grew in the Thebaid. Both the *Doum* palm (*Cucifera Thebaica*), of which the stem divides, and the *Dachel* (*Palma dactylifera*) which grows up with a single trunk, are found, distinctly characterized, in the paintings of the tombs⁵.

Horticulture among the Egyptians, however, was not merely an economical, but an *æsthetic* art. A garden laid out with walks, shaded with trees and refreshed by canals and reservoirs of water, appears to have been the usual appendage to a house of the higher order, and a painting of a royal garden has been fortunately preserved in a tomb at Thebes, belonging to a military chief in the reign of Amunoph II.⁶ The river, or a large canal, runs beside it, and the broad walk which intervenes between it and the entrance is planted with a row of trees. A flight of steps leads from the bank to the lofty gateway, which bears a hieroglyphic inscription and the shield of the king. The centre of the garden itself is occu-

¹ Gentium aliquibus panis; plurimis etiam quadrupedum cibus. Plin. 13, 6.

² Strabo, 16, 742. Dr. Clarke, Travels, 5, 409. See p. 74 of this volume.

³ Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 180.

⁴ Strabo, 17, p. 818. Though it requires a plentiful supply of water and by its presence marks those spots in the Desert in which water is found, it thrives best in a sandy and saline soil.

⁵ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 386, xl. 2, 8.

⁶ Mon. Civ. 2, 386, Tav. lxix. Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 141, where a vignette is given.

pied by a vineyard, enclosed by a wall, in which vines covered with ripe fruit are trained on a trellis-work. Within the wall which surrounds the whole garden, the two species of palm before-mentioned are planted in symmetrical alternation, trees of a different growth and thicker foliage being placed between them. A row of the Dachel palm also surrounds the enclosure of the vineyard. There are four reservoirs of water symmetrically disposed, in which waterfowl are playing, and the lotus grows beside them. Opposite to the entrance and beyond the vineyard is a summer-house of three stories, with windows opening on the garden, in the apartments of which are flower-stands with vases, and altars or tables on which fresh-gathered flowers are laid as if for offerings. No great variety of flowers was cultivated in the Egyptian gardens¹. The lotus and papyrus appear again and again in the form of wreaths, nosegays, offerings upon altars, ornaments of sculpture and painting. Beside two of the reservoirs are painted wooden arbors. From other paintings we find that the reservoirs were also fish-ponds; in one of these an Egyptian is represented seated in his chair, angling beside a pond; his dress and posture sufficiently indicating that he pursues an amusement, not an occupation². Such were the gardens of pleasure in which the kings and great men of Egypt took delight in the days of the splendor and luxury of the Theban monarchy. They were probably the model of the gardens of Solomon, who is represented as saying (Eccl. ii. 5), "I made me gardens and orchards: I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit: I made me pools of water to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees." They were artificial and formal; but a garden which is an appendage to a palace, naturally imitates the stateliness and regularity of architecture rather than the freedom and variety of nature. The taste for landscape gardening is of very recent growth.

¹ Comp. Plin. 21, 7. In Egypto minime odorati flores, quia nebulosus et roscidus aer est a Nilo flumine.

² Wilkinson, 3, 52.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHASE.—FISHERIES.

THE nature of the country in Egypt seems not to have allowed of the formation of parks or *paradises*, which the Persian monarchs planted with all kinds of trees and stocked them with wild animals for the chase¹. The Egyptians may, however, have brought the game which they had taken alive in the open country into preserves, where they were kept till needed for food. Egypt did not abound with wild animals². It is probable that the hills on the Arabian, not on the Libyan side of the Nile, are the scene of those hunting-pieces which are found in the tombs both of Lower Egypt and the Thebaid; one of the most remarkable of these is in the tomb of Rotei at Benihassan³. We learn from it that it was the custom of the Egyptians, as of the Greeks and Romans, when a herd of wild animals harbored in a spot which might be easily enclosed, to carry a line of nets supported on poles around it, in which they might be entangled when they endeavored to escape⁴. Being roused from their haunts by the dogs and hunters, they were pierced by the arrows of the sportsmen, or pulled down by the dogs. Among the animals represented in the tombs are not only wild cattle, antelopes, oryxes, and hares, but foxes, porcupines, hyænas, wolves and jackals, showing that a large tract of country had been enclosed by the net, and that the objects of the chase

¹ Xenoph. Hell. 4, 1, 8, 14. Curt. 8, 1, 11. (2. Ed. Zumpt.)

² See p. 76 of this volume.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 191, Tav. xv.

⁴ Virg. Æn. 4, 121. Saltus indagine cingunt

were not merely the animals suitable for food. The painter has also in one instance indulged his imagination by introducing some which belong only to a mythical zoology¹. We know from the accounts of Herodotus, that the Egyptians, like other ancient nations, believed in the existence of animals which have no prototype in nature, and the desert is the appropriate haunt of such fantastic creations. The dogs are of various breeds, grayhounds to run down the feebler and swifter animals, and those of greater strength and fierceness to attack the wolf or the bull². Amidst all the neglect of perspective which characterizes Egyptian art, there is wonderful spirit and character in the drawing of the dogs and the animals which they are attacking, abundantly proving, that the stiffness and monotony complained of in the treatment of religious subjects, did not arise from want of talent in the artists, but from the restraint imposed by authority and tradition. In this mode of hunting, the sportsman generally appears on foot; at other times, when the chase is in more open ground, he is mounted in his chariot, the game being driven by the attendants and the dogs within reach of the arrows.

To a people who lived so much upon and in the river as the ancient Egyptians, the hippopotamus and the crocodile must have been objects of hostility. Both of them no doubt were found in ancient times through the whole course of the Nile³, though now the hippopotamus is not seen except by accident below the Second Cataract, and the crocodile rarely below 27° N.L.⁴. No representation of the chase of the hippopotamus has been found in Lower Egypt, but in the tombs of the Thebaid it is not uncommon. If

¹ Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 1, 191, xxiii. 2, 4, 5. One has the head of a serpent, another of a hawk on the body of a quadruped. The third has the head of a bird, and is winged.

² Wilkinson (*M. and C.* 3, 16) gives a drawing from Beni Hassan, in which a tamed lion appears to be used in hunting.

³ Diod. 1, 35.

⁴ See p. 79 of this volume.

discovered on land, where it did much mischief in the fields and plantations near the bank, it was assailed with barbed weapons; if in the water it was attacked from boats, and the lances had ropes fastened to them, so that like a harpooned whale it was tracked beneath the surface, and when it rose again to breathe was pierced with new weapons till it was exhausted by loss of blood¹. Its flesh was tough and indigestible, but its skin was valuable from its excessive hardness, as a covering for shields and for the thongs of whips². The flesh of the crocodile was equally worthless, but it was pursued in most parts of Egypt for its voracity and in others from a religious feeling, while in some parts, as at Ombi, in the neighborhood of Thebes and on the Lake Moëris, it was tamed and worshipped. Herodotus³ describes a mode of catching it by a hook baited with the back of a young pig; Diodorus by nets: the Tentyrites encountered it in the water and thrust a piece of wood into its open jaws which prevented them from closing. In a painting at Kum-el-Ahmar it is represented as being speared from a boat⁴, and it was sometimes killed by blows on the head from heavy bars of iron.

The chase of wild animals can never in a country like Egypt supply any important part of the sustenance of the people. It was otherwise with the arts of fishing and fowling. Many of the inhabitants of the marshy districts of the Delta in which grain could not be raised lived wholly upon fish⁵, which they caught and dried in the sun; but throughout Egypt fishing was a profitable branch of industry and a productive source of food⁶. The paintings represent the various modes of catching them, with the line, the net and the barbed spear, as well as the processes of drying and salting⁷. The fish were caught in the greatest numbers,

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 71.

² Wilkinson, 3, 69.

³ Herod. 2, 68.

⁴ Rosellini, M. Civ. 1, 24.

⁵ Herod. 2, 92.

⁶ Isaiah xix. 8.

⁷ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 221, xxv. Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 53.

not in the branches of the river, but in the pools and lakes which were dry during the low state of the Nile, and filled as the inundation proceeded. This remark of Herodotus, however, must be considered as applicable to the smaller kinds of fish, which even now swarm in such places; the larger must have been taken chiefly in the rivers or those lakes which have at all times of the year a communication with the Nile. The fishery of the Lake Moëris and the canals which connected it with the river was the most productive; during the time that the water flowed inward, it produced under the Persian kings a talent of silver (£250 if an Attic talent is meant) daily for the royal treasury; during the remainder of the year, a third part or twenty minæ. By placing nets at the openings of the dams by which the water flowed from the Nile or into it, the Egyptian fishermen would have the same advantage as ours by placing their nets in the mouths of tide-rivers¹. The simple apparatus of the fisherman is nearly the same in all countries, and that represented in the Egyptian monuments hardly differs from our own.²

Fish are among the least changeable part of the zoology of a country, and those for which the Nile was celebrated in ancient times are now easily recognised among its inhabitants. The genus *Silurus* was the most abundant; *Perca*, *Cyprinus*, *Labrus* and *Salmo* are also found³. The general character is sufficiently distinct in the paintings, but the Egyptian artists have not given the figures either of their fish or their birds with such minute accuracy as to enable the zoologist to determine their species. They are said by

¹ Our version of Isaiah xix. 10, speaks of "*sluices* and ponds for fish," as if artificially constructed, but this is scarcely a correct translation. See Gesenius *ad loc.*

² See the description given by Abdollatiph of the fishing as practised under the Caliphs, quoted by Rosellini, M. C. 1, p. 280.

³ Clot Bey (Russegger, Reisen, vol. 1, p. 300) reckons fifty-two species of fish inhabiting the Nile. Their real number is probably not ascertained.

those who have eaten them to be rather insipid¹; and as affording an attenuating diet they were forbidden to the priests; but they are well suited to a hot climate, the languid appetite in the height of summer relishing no other kind of animal food²; and the Israelites in the Desert, "when their soul was dried away," regretted the fish as well as the vegetables of Egypt³. When salted they were exported, at least in later times, to foreign countries. Sea-fishing appears not to have been practised by the Egyptians; their religious prejudices kept them from venturing on the element which represented Typhon; and the shallow and muddy waters of the coast are not suited to this occupation, which is not much carried on at the present day.

The great extent of marsh in Egypt and the long continuance of the inundation caused it to abound in waterfowl beyond most other countries. The paintings represent the modes in which they were taken and preserved for food. Most commonly they were enclosed in a net which was let down over the space in which the birds were known to be, and suddenly drawn together. Frequently the sportsman is represented as going in his boat of papyrus among the aquatic plants in which the birds harbored, and knocking them down by the throwstick⁴. In other instances they are caught in traps, and it is evident that the use of decoy-birds was not unknown to the Egyptians. Most of those which are represented as being taken for food are of the duck and goose tribe. The quail is also mentioned by Herodotus⁵ as being first slightly salted and then used without cooking. These birds came in vast flocks from the sea, and furnished the criminals who were banished to Rhinocolura, on the coast between Egypt and Palestine, with a

¹ Athenæus, 7, 312, says on the contrary, *φίσει δ Νεῖλος γίνη πολλά ἰχθύων καὶ πάντα ἡδίστα.*

² Harmer's Oba. on Scripture, 2, 327.

³ Numbers xi. 5.

⁴ Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 39.

⁵ 2, 77.

considerable portion of their food¹. They abound also in the Desert of Sinai².

An important branch of rural economy in Egypt was the hatching of poultry by artificial heat. It is not mentioned by Herodotus, nor does it appear in the paintings; and it is described by Diodorus, as an example of a practice recently added to those which had been perfected by long experience and handed down by tradition³. Indeed it is doubtful whether our domestic fowl was known in Egypt before the Persian Conquest. It cannot be identified on the monuments, though there is a hieroglyphic character commonly called a chicken. The modern Egyptians hatch eggs by the regulated heat of ovens; the ancients buried them in the ground, covered up with dung⁴.

¹ Diod. 1, 60.

² Lepsius, Tour to Mount Sinai.

³ Diod. 1, 74.

⁴ Ar. Hist. An. 6, 2. Εκπέττεται τὰ ὡὰ ἐπωαζόντων τῶν δρνίθων· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόματα ἐν τῇ γῇ ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, κατορυπτόντων εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ κόπρῳ. Hist. Aug. Script. Saturninus, 8.

CHAPTER XL.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE.

THE sea was regarded by the Egyptians with the dislike and apprehension natural to a people whose original dwelling was inland, and who were not compelled to become familiar with its dangers in order to supply themselves with food. They looked upon it also with horror; as first corrupting and then swallowing up the sweet waters of their beneficent Nile; and gave it the name of the principle of evil¹. In their early history we find no traces of maritime navigation; they avoided the sea themselves and discountenanced the visits of foreign vessels. This was a prudent precaution; for the earliest navigators, Phœnicians, Carians, Greeks, were all pirates and kidnappers². The distant military enterprises of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties led to the construction of fleets, both on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. If the Shepherds, who held Lower Egypt so long under their sway, immediately previous to these dynasties, were Phœnicians, they must have been acquainted with maritime navigation, though Phœnicia itself had not yet attained that rank as a maritime state which it afterwards assumed. At no period however was Egypt a great naval power. Inland navigation, on the contrary, was one of the most characteristic features of Egyptian life. The waters of the Nile in their lowest season are never so shallow as not to be able to carry the vessels of light draught with which it was navigated.

¹ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* p. 363.

² Hom *Od.* γ. 71, δ. 459. Thuc. i. 6, 7. Joel, 3, 6. Her. 2, 54.

The inundation answered the same purpose as spring-tides in our rivers, and extended the benefit of water-conveyance far beyond the ordinary limits. Whatever might be the object for which change of place was desired, the Nile furnished the means of its accomplishment. The gentle and equable fall of the river, which does not much exceed two feet in a mile¹ in its medium state, makes it not difficult to ascend against the stream by oars or towing, and as the N.W. winds blow steadily during the inundation, they counteract the effect of the increased current. In Egypt the Nile has no rocks in its bed, and though a sudden squall may drive a sailing vessel on a shoal or against the bank, the shock is not dangerous from the softness of the mud. The shrines of the gods were conveyed by water in solemn procession and in richly ornamented barges from their chief temple to the lesser sanctuaries of the nome. Royal personages and eminent functionaries travelled in the same way, and with equal splendor, from one part of the kingdom to another. Egyptian pilgrims to oracles and other holy spots did not toil along rocky or sandy roads, but embarked on boats, floated down the Nile, with music and dancing, and halting at each town on the bank, summoned the inhabitants to join them in their festivities². The dead were conveyed to their last resting-place across the same stream, which during life was for ever before their eyes, and the scene of so much of their occupation and amusement.

Herodotus has described only one kind of Egyptian vessel, the large *Bari*³, which was employed for the transport of goods. It was built of the Sont (Acanthe), the hardest wood that Egypt afforded, and without ribs, tree-nails of great length supplying their

¹ Russegger, *Reisen*, ii. 1, 545, gives it 2·3 Paris F. in a geographical mile.

² Her. 2, 60.

³ 2, 96. The name is generally derived from *bai*, in Coptic a palm-branch, but this tree was not used for ships. The Coptic *phai* or *baï*, "to carry," seems a more probable etymology.

place; the seams were caulked with papyrus, and the sails were made of the same material. These arks floated down the stream, and were towed up if the wind were not strong enough to impel them against it. They were very numerous, and the tonnage of the largest amounted to several thousand talents¹. The smallest vessels were made, like a canoe or pirogue, from a single trunk²; others again were constructed with ribs and a keel, which is usually very shallow, to allow of the easy extrication of the vessel if it should take the ground; and both the bow and the stern were high out of the water. The sails, which were square, were either of papyrus or canvas, and were hoisted or lowered by means of rings, blocks being apparently unknown to the ancient Egyptians. The mast, which is single, might be struck to prevent the action of the wind upon it as the vessel floated down the stream. We sometimes see as many as forty rowers sitting or standing in a large river-boat, but they are always ranged on the same level. When their number was so large, a man standing near the midship gave the time for the stroke. The steering was performed by one or more large oars at the stern, and a man stationed at the bow sounded with a long pole³.

As the Nile had no bridges, communication between its opposite banks must have been kept up by means of boats in the ordinary state of the river; and during the inundation, when the whole country, with the exception of the banks, is under water, this mode must have superseded all others. For ordinary purposes the Egyptians used boats of a very simple construction, narrow and sharp like a bean-shell (*phaselus*), made of papyrus rendered water-tight by bitumen⁴, or paddled themselves in large vessels of

¹ The talent was probably 75lb.

² Rosellini, M. C. 2, p. 41.

³ Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 195-209.

⁴ Rosellini, M. Civ. 6, 1. Plin. N. H. 13, 22. Comp. Exod. ii. 3. Lucan, 4, 136. In Minutoli's Travels, plate 25, the Barabras of Elephantine are represented crossing the river astride on floats of reed.

earthenware¹. The tombs of Benihassan contain representations of boats of larger size, in one of which Amenemha, the tenant of the tomb, is conveying the females of his family upon the Nile. It has a partial covering, like that of a gondola or a modern Egyptian *cangia*². The tomb of Rameses IV. at Thebes gives an idea of the splendor of these barges when used for the conveyance of royal personages. The whole body, the pavilion, the masts and the rudder, are painted of the color of gold, the sails are fringed, and chequered in various brilliant colors, and the figure of the vulture and the phoenix are embroidered upon them. The eye of Osiris is painted on the prow or the rudder, the handles of which represent the royal emblems of the Uræus and the *pschent*, or the head of a divinity³.

All that has been written on the subject of the commercial voyages of the Egyptians in the times of the Pharaohs is entirely conjectural; neither history nor the monuments afford us any evidence of their existence. We have seen⁴ that as early as the fourth dynasty they had communication with the Red Sea, at Suez and Kosseir, and under the eighteenth an attempt at least was made to carry a canal from Lower Egypt to the head of the Gulf. By these channels they might receive the productions of Arabia and India; but it does not appear that they ever made voyages to these countries in the times of their native princes. They received no doubt by land the productions of the nations which surrounded

¹ Juvenal, 15, 129, makes them *row* and *sail* in such boats.

Parvula *fictilibus* solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere *testæ*.

² The enclosed chamber was called by the Greeks *θάλαμος*, and such boats *σκάφαι θαλαμνοί*, Strabo, 17, 800. In such a vessel Cæsar would have ascended the Nile with Cleopatra to the Cataract, if his army had not refused to follow. Suet. Cæs. 52.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* tav. 107–110. Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 3, 209.

⁴ Chap. II. of this volume.

them, but even in this traffic Egypt seems to have been passive. The Midianites who were carrying spicery and balm and myrrh exchanged them probably for the corn and the manufactures of Egypt. Abounding as it did both in the productions of the soil and in those of industry and art, and placed between countries which neither grew corn nor excelled in manufactures, it could not fail to attract a large inland commerce, from Arabia and Palestine, Libya and Ethiopia. We do not however find that the Egyptians quitted their own country to engage in this commerce; and with the exception of the short period, during which Greek and Roman habits prevailed, such has always been their relation to their neighbors. Like India and China, Egypt has been sought by more enterprising commercial nations; but its natives have seldom been seen in foreign harbors or caravans. Their characteristic has been patient, sedentary industry employed in agriculture and manufactures. The productions of the East have been deposited in Egypt, and from thence distributed over the West; but strangers have brought them and strangers have carried them away.

CHAPTER XII.

MECHANICAL AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

OF the perfection to which the finer kinds of mechanical art had arrived in Egypt, the remains which have been brought to light from the catacombs and which fill our Museums, afford the most satisfactory proof. The polishing and engraving of precious stones must have been practised in very early times¹, since the signet of Taia, the queen of Amenophis III., is still in existence in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican². The skilful engraving of the Jews at the time of their Exodus³, must have been learnt during their residence in Egypt, if it be not rather attributable to Egyptian artists who had followed the people in their migration. Their ornaments and articles of household luxury prove that they were acquainted with the art of enamelling and with the manufacture of glass in all its varieties. Their porcelain, which more nearly resembles glass in its quality than the substance which we call porcelain, is remarkable for the brilliancy of its colors and the delicacy with which they are blended. Their common pottery was inferior, both in fineness of material and tastefulness of design, to the Greek and Etruscan, yet some of their vases have considerable elegance.

¹ I do not mention the supposed seal of Cheops (Shufu), said to be in the possession of Dr. Abbot at Cairo, nor the collar of Menes. The former I am convinced is a forgery; the latter certainly not contemporary with Menes, though it may be made up, in some measure, of genuine Egyptian work. See an engraving of it in *M. Prisse d'Avennes, Suite des Monumens, &c.*, pl. 47.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii, 1, 261.

³ *Exod.* xxviii. 15.

We find vases figured on the walls of a tomb of the age of Amunoph I., and they exhibit those graceful decorative borders, the invention of which has generally been attributed to the Greeks. The manufacture of porcelain, glass and pottery could not be carried on without a knowledge of the properties of the metallic oxides by which they are colored. This involves an acquaintance with chemistry, an art which appears to have derived its name from the native name of Egypt (*Chemî*), and to have been preserved in that country through all the changes of empire and diffused in the Middle Ages by the Arabian Conquest. We are led to the same inference by the skill in dyeing and printing which the ancient Egyptians possessed. Their linen was celebrated in the earliest times¹; it was not only dyed but richly embroidered, and rivalled the productions of the Babylonian needle. The specimens which have come down to us are almost entirely mummy-cloths, and cannot therefore be expected to represent the fineness of the most perfect manufacture, in which kings and great men were clad. The linen corslet which Amasis (about the middle of the sixth century B. C.) sent to the shrine of Minerva at Lindus, had according to Herodotus² 360, according to Pliny³ 365 threads twisted together, in each single thread of which it was composed; and though these astronomical numbers may excite suspicion as to their literal truth, there can be no reasonable doubt of the wonderful fineness with which the threads were spun. The corslet sent to the Lacedæmonians⁴ had figures worked in it of gold and cotton. Cotton appears to have been of later cultivation in Egypt, the mummy-bandages being all of linen, as their examination by Bauer's powerful microscope has shown⁵. In Pliny's time, however, cotton

¹ Prov. vii. 16. ἱνὸν the word here used for *linen*, is the *δδρν* of the Greeks.

² 3, 47.

³ 19, 1.

⁴ Herod. ii. s.

⁵ Her. 2, 86. See Thomson, in *Philos. Mag.* Nov. 1834. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 3, 115.

had become much more common, and he describes the cloth made from it under the name of *lina xylina*¹. It had probably been introduced from Ethiopia, for a late traveller² informs us that it grows wild on the banks of the White River above Khartoum.

The machinery for spinning and weaving used by the Egyptians appears from the paintings to have been very rude; yet we know from the cotton fabrics of India that the dexterity acquired by long traditionary practice may rival the perfection of machinery. In the grottos of Benihasan, both men and women are represented spinning³. The operation is performed by the spindle, which is of the same form as the women of Egypt use at the present day. To obtain the advantage of a longer cast, the spinner is raised upon a stool, or the thread is passed over a forked stick. Some are drawing a single thread from the tow; others uniting two or more threads into one. The processes of weaving are represented on the same monuments, with cloths of a plain and also of a checked pattern. Both the horizontal and the perpendicular loom were in use, and the weaver sometimes pushed the woof upwards, sometimes downwards, not always in the latter direction, as the words of Herodotus seem to imply⁴. The shuttle, properly speaking, does not appear to have been used, and instead of it a stick, hooked at each end, was employed to pass the thread of the woof. The use of treadles also was unknown, and the threads of the warp are kept apart by sticks⁵. Both sexes are engaged in weaving, but the women who are so employed are evidently of a low class and working at a trade. Rosellini observes that he has not in a single instance found the mistress of the house or her daughters engaged

¹ Pliny, u. s. Jul. Poll. 7. 75. Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, 1, 261, 468.

² Werne, *Expedition to discover the Sources of the true Nile*.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 16.

⁴ Her. 2, 35. Ὑφαίνουσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω.

⁵ Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 3, 134.

at the loom, a strong contrast to the manners of Greece, and one of those which induced Herodotus to say that the Egyptian customs were the opposite of those of the rest of the world.¹

Various processes of metallurgy are represented in the tombs and grottos. Egypt, the soil of which belongs to a very late formation, does not itself produce any metals; but copper and gold were found in the primitive regions near the Red Sea². Gold-dust was brought by caravans from the interior of Africa; silver and gold in ingots and rings are among the tribute paid by African and Asiatic nations. Iron ore is found in the same region near Mount Sinai, which abounded in copper³; these mines were wrought in the times of the kings who erected the Pyramids, and Col. Howard Vyse has found a piece of iron in an internal joint of the Great Pyramid, where it could only have been placed at the time of its erection⁴. Herodotus supposed that a large quantity of iron was employed in building the Pyramid, and therefore must have had evidence of its use⁵, and he says also that an iron instrument was employed in embalmment⁶. The difficulty of working granite, even with tools of the best-tempered steel, is so great that it appears incredible that any combination of copper should have the hardness requisite for this purpose. The weapons represented in the tomb of Rameses IV. have a blue color like that of steel⁷. These considerations leave no doubt of the use of iron from very early times in Egypt. There is still a difficulty in explaining the almost entire absence of

¹ Her. ii. s.

² See Chapter II. of this volume.

³ Lepsius, Journey to Mount Sinai.

⁴ The Catalogue of Passalacqua (Nos. 547, 548) contains arrows pointed with iron from the catacombs of Thebes, and other instruments of the same metal.

⁵ Her. 2, 125. Having mentioned that 1600 talents of silver were expended in onions and other vegetables for the workmen, he says, Κόσα εἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδωκεῖν ἔστι δὲ τὰ σιδηρὸν τῶν ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία, καὶ ἰσθῆρα τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις;

⁶ 2, 86.

⁷ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. tav. cxxi.

iron tools and instruments among the remains of Egyptian antiquity—a difficulty not wholly removed by the circumstance that this metal is very easily destroyed by oxidation. It probably became more scarce in later times in consequence of the loss of the metal-liferous region near Mount Sinai, which the Egyptians do not seem to have possessed after the nineteenth dynasty.

The traces of ancient operations at Syene show, that in order to detach the shaft of an obelisk, the Egyptian quarry-men made a groove through the entire length, into which wedges of dry wood were inserted. These being wetted, expanded themselves so powerfully, yet so uniformly, that the whole was separated in one piece. If metal wedges had been employed, it would hardly have been possible to strike them along a line of 100 feet, without the risk of fracturing the stone. The pickaxe and the chisel must have been used, with an incalculable amount of labor, to detach the mass of rock required for a shrine or a colossal statue. M. de Rozière thought that he could detect at Syene the exact space of 500 square feet, from which the colossus of the Rameseion in Western Thebes had been hewn.

The remains of Egyptian carpentry comprehend every article of domestic luxury. Their tools were nearly the same as the modern artificer employs, though less perfect as mechanical instruments, and leaving more to his acquired dexterity. The saw, of which the Greeks attribute the invention to Dædalus, appears in some of the oldest Egyptian tombs. The hatchet and the adze are used for splitting and finishing; in the use of the latter, which has a bent handle, the Egyptian workman must have had great skill, as it supplied the place both of the plane and the lathe, neither of which were known. With these they fashioned the legs of a couch or the pole and wheels of a chariot¹. Chariots were exported; and if we may trust the numbers in 1 Kings x. 29, the price of one in the time of Solomon was 600 shekels of silver, which reckoning the

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 44.

shekel at two shillings, would be sixty pounds; a great price certainly for a work so simple compared with a modern carriage, unless we suppose that as royal chariots they were elaborately painted or covered with plates of metal.

For the coarser kinds of carpentry the wood of the sycamore was chiefly used, which is soft but durable. The acacia furnished those articles in which hardness and polish are required, as the shafts of military weapons or the handles of tools, as well as various kinds of furniture. For articles of luxury, as the splendid chairs or thrones on which the Theban monarchs are seated, they employed foreign woods, whose origin is the evidence of an extensive commerce—the ebony of Ethiopia, the mahogany (*Swietenia febrifuga*) of India, the firs and junipers of Syria, the cedar of Lebanon¹. The arts of veneering and inlaying with the more precious woods were also known. Ivory was wrought into various objects of taste, as boxes and caskets; the tusks of the elephant appear among the articles of tribute which the African nations bring to the Egyptian sovereigns. The accuracy of the workmanship is not less remarkable than the variety of the material; with wooden pegs for nails they were able to join their work together with entire compactness².

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 31.

² Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 2, 167.

CHAPTER XIII.

MILITARY EQUIPMENT, ARMOUR AND WARFARE.

IN the division of the Egyptian people into castes, military service was the duty of the two classes of Calasirians and Hermotybians, whose relation to the rest of the community will be considered when we come to treat of the Constitution and Laws of Egypt. They were distributed in the time of Herodotus chiefly through the nomes of Lower Egypt. Their numbers (410,000 men) exceeded the ordinary demands of the government for permanent duty, and it is probable that from time to time enrolments took place, either of those who had arrived at military age, or were about to be called into actual service; or of those who were to form in turn the body-guard of the king. Such an enrolment appears to be represented in a tomb at Qoorneh, of an individual of the military caste, where nine men, followed by one holding a cane in his hand, present themselves before a scribe who records their names¹. In the same tomb are seen a company, also of nine recruits, who are evidently undergoing the process of drilling, and are learning to march, under the instruction of a sergeant. The tombs of the military chiefs Amenemhe, Rotei, Nevothph and others at Beni-Hassan contain many groups of wrestlers, who are engaged with each other in the most varied exercises². It is supposed that the gymnastic training of the soldiers is here represented, and we may thus reconcile the monuments with Herodotus, who denies that such contests were in use among the Egyptians, except in the town of Chemmis, where

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* cx.

² *Mem. de l'Eg.* 4, 344. Rosellini, *M. Civ.* cxi-cxvi.

they were practised in honor of Perseus. It is evident that he is speaking of solemn games, like those of Olympia¹. Diodorus also tells us that the palæstra was disapproved by the Egyptians², as tending to give only a transient strength to the body; but this objection, which might be justly applicable to the high training of a Grecian school, does not apply to the simple exercise which is represented in these paintings.

With the exception of mounted cavalry, every description of force known in ancient warfare appears in the military scenes represented on the monuments of Egypt. Their armies were chiefly composed of infantry armed with shields and lances or bows; but they had also light troops, answering to the *ψιλοι* of the Greeks and the *velites* of the Latins, who used light darts and the sling or the throw-stick, a weapon which even now is found very effective in African warfare³. The body-armor of the Egyptian infantry was much less perfect than that of the Greeks. The feet were either wholly bare or covered only with the ordinary sandal; the legs and thighs were not protected by greaves or cuisses. Coats and cuirasses of mail were sometimes worn, formed of small plates of metal joined so as to allow the free movement of the body⁴; but the infantry soldier in general had only a quilted tunic, or a cuirass of the same kind, without any metallic covering. The helmet also was only a quilted cap, descending over the back part of the neck and shoulders. Kings usually appear in battle, with a conical helmet of metal. The shield, the common form of which was curved at the top and straight or slightly converging at the sides, was made of wood⁵ and often covered with leather or hide. They

¹ Herod. 2, 91. Γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα.

² 1, 81.

³ Wilkinson, M. and C. 1, 329.

⁴ See cuirasses in Rosellini, M. R. tav. ciii. Coats of mail with sleeves, M. C. cxxi.

⁵ Ὅπλῳται σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν (Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι). Xen. Anab. 1, 8. 2, 1.

were usually half the height of the body¹; but the light troops carried them of smaller size and probably lighter material, as wicker-work. The shield, in close fight, could be slung round on the shoulders. The side-arm was either a straight sword, with two cutting edges and a point like a dagger, or a falchion with a curved blade. Besides these we often see the kings armed with a battle-axe (*schopsch*) with a curved blade: a mace bound with metal and having a heavy metal ball at the end is also a common weapon. The Egyptians depended chiefly in battle on the bow; unlike the Homeric heroes, the kings and warriors mounted in cars never appear hurling javelins, but always discharging arrows. The bow was between five and six feet long, the arrow from twenty to thirty inches², and as the bow was raised, so as to bring the arrow to a line with the eye, it was drawn with the greatest force and the arrow discharged with the surest aim³. Javelins for casting, and spears and pikes for thrusting, were also used; and when a fortress was attacked we see a pike of extraordinary length, raised by several men, who are sheltered under a shed of boards, to assail the defenders on the walls⁴. Sappers appear armed with hatchets for destroying the foundations of walls, with large shields for their defence while carrying on their operations.

The use of the war-chariot was of remote antiquity in Egypt⁵. Homer describes Thebes as having a hundred gates, through each of which marched out 200 men with horses and chariots⁶. Rightly

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 1, 298.

² Wilkinson, 1, 308.

³ Ἀρχαῖκόν τὸ τὴν νευρὰν πελάζειν τῷ μαζῶ· ὁ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἐποίουν· τὸ δὲ μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὸ ὀφθαλμὸν οὕς αὐτὴν ἐνταύθειν νεώτερον. Eust. ad Il. 4, 118. What he calls the modern practice was ancient in Egypt. The Greeks raised the javelin to a level with the ear. Hippol. Eur. 220.

⁴ Rosellini, M. R. tav. c. ci. cii. There is a round hole in the upper part of these shields, with a contrivance for opening or closing, which seems designed to afford the soldier the opportunity of reconnoitring under cover.

⁵ Of the use of the horse in Egypt, see p. 166 of this volume.

⁶ Il. 4, 383. See p. 150 of this volume.

interpreted this only means that the military array of Thebes amounted to 20,000 men, and that horses and chariots were a part of the force; the original does not justify the conclusion of Diodorus, that it could send forth 20,000 chariots¹, and indeed affords no clue to their number. The account of the Exodus describes Pharaoh as pursuing the children of Israel with "600 chosen chariots, even (not *and* as in our version) all the chariots of Egypt," a moderate and probable estimate. The monuments give us a perfect idea of the construction of the war-chariot. The body is lightly framed, sometimes with open sides, and fixed so that the part on which the warrior stood was between the axle and the pole, an arrangement which made his posture easier than if he had stood immediately over the axle. It was curved in front, open at the back, without a seat, and low enough to be mounted without a step. A royal chariot was usually richly ornamented at the sides, but the ornaments were of a light open work; quivers were fixed transversely on the outer side from which the warrior supplied himself with arrows, or short spears for close fight. Each chariot held two persons, one of whom guided the horses while the other fought. The king very generally appears alone, having the reins fastened round his body, so as to leave both hands free for the use of the bow; but as he would thus lose all power of guiding the horses, and as he is generally without defensive armor, it is probable that he was accompanied by a charioteer, although the artist has represented him as filling the chariot alone², to enhance his dignity and give space for exhibiting him in colossal proportions. The wheels, which were never more than two, have six spokes, rarely four; the pole proceeded from the middle of the axle and

¹ 1, 45. Eust. ad loc. Hom., who naturally asks, *εἰ τοσαῦται μυριάδες ἰππέων τῇ πόλει, οἱ λοιποὶ στρατεύονται ὅσοι*; The poet appears to speak according to Greek ideas of military force, as if the whole population of Thebes of a certain age were military.

² Wilkinson, M. and C. 1, 337.

was bent upwards at a short distance from the body of the carriage; the yoke was fastened to the end of the pole, and each horse attached to the car by a single trace, extending on his inner side from the base of the pole to the saddle. The heads of the horses were borne up tight by a rein, made fast to a hook in front of the saddle, and the long reins passed through a ring or loop at the side. The heads of the horses were adorned with lofty plumes, and sometimes defended by a head-piece of metal; their harness was covered with ornaments of metal, serving also for protection especially at the shoulder-joint, and their bodies with housings of various and splendid colors. In short, as all the essential principles which regulate the construction and draft of carriages are exemplified in the war-chariots of the Pharaohs, so there is nothing which modern taste and luxury have devised for their decoration to which we do not find a prototype in the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty¹. Their construction, however, was so slight, that though well fitted for the level and smooth roads of Egypt, it is difficult to conceive how they could be used in such rocky countries as Palestine. The want of shoes for the horses must also have been severely felt in such a country. The horse is not found at all in Egyptian monuments prior to the invasion of the Shepherd kings. It is probable therefore that the Egyptians learnt the use of this animal from their nomad conquerors.

Mounted cavalry never appear in monuments of any age among the Egyptian forces. Rosellini², who has examined them with special reference to this subject, observes that he has found only eight examples in which men are seen on horseback, and that six of these are evidently foreigners; two only Egyptians, who are no part of a military force, nor engaged in any military act, and their introduction into a battle-piece only shows, that the art of riding

¹ A splendid example is seen in the chariot of Rameses III. at Aboosimbel. Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, lxxxi.

² *Mon. Civ.* 3, 242.

was not unknown. A difficulty has been created by the supposed mention of cavalry in the history of the Exodus. In the "song of Moses and the children of Israel" it is said¹, "Jehovah hath triumphed gloriously; the *horse and his rider* he hath drowned in the sea." But the word here rendered *rider*² is equally applicable to one who rides in a chariot, or on horseback, and is used of both, Jerem. xxii. 4. In the preceding chapter of Exodus indeed, in the narrative of the pursuit of the Israelites, it is said that the Egyptians followed "with horses and chariots and horsemen;" and the word there used is one that in the Old Testament always denotes a mounted horseman³. In the 19th verse of the 15th chapter, where the historian no longer quotes the song of Moses, but speaks in his own person, the same word is again used. In the later books of Scripture the existence of large bodies of cavalry in the Egyptian armies is evidently taken for granted⁴. The destruction of the host is more intelligible, if we suppose it to have consisted only of chariots. The horses entangled in their harness, the men oppressed with armor and perhaps embarrassed by the reins which they often fastened round their bodies, might be overwhelmed by

¹ Exod. xv. 1.

² רֶכֶב. It is used 1 Kings, xxii. 34, of the driver of the chariot.

³ פָּרָשׁ. The etymology of this word, all whose senses flow from the idea of *dividing*, proves that it means a man *astride* on a horse. The Septuagint render both רֶכֶב and פָּרָשׁ by the same word, ὑπαβάτης, a mounted rider.

⁴ 2 Chron. xii. 3, Shishak is said to come up with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen. In the corresponding passage in 1 Kings xiv. 25, there is no mention of chariots or horsemen. Rosellini endeavors to make it appear that פָּרָשׁ signifies, not horsemen, but horses covered with housings; but there is no authority for such a rendering, nor would it suit other passages. He might have found an easier solution of his difficulty in his own explanation of the mention of cavalry in the army of Sesostris: "Lo Storico scriveva qui, come in molti altri luoghi, le cose egizie secondo le idee de' suoi tempi e del suo popolo." M. Civ. 3, 257.

a sudden reflux of the waves and "sink into the bottom as a stone and like lead into the mighty waters;" but a body of cavalry could not have been so entirely destroyed; a considerable part would have saved themselves by swimming.

The tomb of Rameses IV. in the valley of Bab-el-Melook, contains, along with representations of arms, a number of military ensigns, which are either the figures or emblems of the gods. Anubis is represented by his jackal, Phre by his hawk, Thoth by his ibis, Seb by his crocodile, and twelve other gods by their usual figures. They served to distinguish the several corps, probably according to the tutelary divinity of the nome in which they dwelt. Among the various fictions, to account for the worship of animals in Egypt, one was that originally the Egyptians had no ensigns, and being consequently defeated by their enemies, to preserve better discipline in future they placed figures of animals on spears, and so discriminated the corps of the army; and being thus victorious honored these animals ever afterward as a mark of gratitude. We see accordingly that bodies similarly armed are placed together and march in step. But although so many monuments remain exhibiting battles, it is difficult to deduce from them any inference as to the progress which the strategic art had made. We do not commonly see the armies drawn out in line or performing evolutions, but engaged in the *melée*; and the leading object of the artist has evidently been to aggrandize the king. He is represented of colossal size, trampling down hosts of his enemies under the feet of horses as exaggerated in their proportions as himself, or piercing them with showers of arrows. Their battles are epic rather than strategic. The Egyptians appear to have been provided with no military engines, either for the discharge of weapons in battle, or the attack of fortified places. Where the attack of a fortress is represented, the defenders are taken off by a flight of arrows, or a spear is brought up by several men, placed under cover, of sufficient

length to reach to the battlement of the wall. Scaling ladders were also used in assault.

The Egyptian camp does not appear to have been entrenched, but simply surrounded with a palisade. In the representation of the wars of Rameses III. at Thebes and Aboosimbel, the king's tent is placed opposite to the entrance, and surrounded by the tents of his officers¹. The horses, unyoked from the chariots, are ranged together in one part, the chariots in another; the asses which carried the baggage are placed by themselves, and their pack-saddles and panniers in another part; one part of the camp was appropriated as a hospital for the soldiers and also for the sick animals; in another we see drilling and flogging going on. Without the camp the infantry and charioteers, partially armed, are exercising themselves in peaceful evolutions². This single monument gives us an insight into the military system of the Egyptians, which we could never have obtained from the written histories, and shows a minuteness of arrangement and organization which could only be the result of long experience in war³.

¹ Rosellini, M. R. cvii.

² In the middle of this camp lies a lion, having his fore paws bound; his keeper, with an uplifted cane, stands near him. Rosellini supposes it introduced here symbolically. It seems, however, from Diodorus (1, 48), that on the monument of Osymandyas, which was really the Rameseion of Thebes, the king was represented fighting with a lion by his side, *συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ θηρίου καταληκτικῶς*. Some of the expounders of this monument said that he really carried with him a tamed lion; others that he wished by means of this animal to express the qualities of his own character. The former seems most probable; only we need not believe, what Diodorus adds, that this tame lion put the enemy to the rout. No doubt the prominence given to the king in every Egyptian representation of a battle is in great measure artistic flattery; a tame lion would have been a useless companion to him in the furious career which he is represented as running against the enemy.

³ Sir Gardner Wilkinson has ascertained, by researches among the ruins

A single monument remains, from which we can learn anything of the naval warfare of the Egyptians. It is preserved on the walls of the palace at Medinet Abou, and represents a combat of the ships of Rameses IV. with those of a nation of western Asia, whose name has been read by Rosellini Fekkaroo (supposed by others to be Philistines), and the Shairetana, in whom some see Sidonians¹. It is not clear whether the engagement takes place at sea or in a river. The vessels have a single mast and sail; they are impelled by single benches of rowers, who are protected by bulwarks at the side of the decks; on the top of the mast is a kind of basket in which an archer is stationed, or a watchman to make signals. The Egyptian vessels have a lion's head at the prow; those of their enemies the head of a waterfowl. Both are manned by soldiers, the Egyptians armed with bows and arrows, their enemies with round shields and swords; the vessels are driven against or alongside of each other by the rowers, and the soldiers fight fiercely from the decks. The Egyptians have possession of the shore or the bank, from which the king and a body of archers are discharging their arrows; so that the enemy are placed between two fires. The vessels appear slight for the navigation of the sea; and the water-plants near the border rather indicate a river. In this case we must suppose that the Nile is the scene of the conflict, and that the Egyptians are defending their country against foreigners, who have established themselves within its borders, and built a navy there. According to Herodotus, Sesostris was the first who built ships of war. His Sesostris was probably the Rameses III. of the monuments, and if so, he preceded by three reigns the king under whom this naval battle took place.

of Semneh, that the Egyptians had carried the art of fortification to a high degree of scientific perfection; but no detailed account of his observations has yet been published.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, cxxx., cxxxi.

CHAPTER XIV.

DOMESTIC LIFE AND MANNERS.—AMUSEMENTS.

THE Pyramids, temples and palaces of Egypt have been secured by their massive strength against entire destruction ; but the houses were built of perishable materials, and no such fortunate accident as that which preserved Pompeii has enabled us to look into the interior of an ancient Egyptian town. We search in vain even for foundations in many places, where the former existence of a considerable population is clearly proved by extensive cemeteries. The houses were built in general of crude brick, and they have either fallen to decay or been destroyed that their materials might be applied to other purposes. At Thebes, the blackened remains of the foundations bear traces of the conflagrations to which from the time of Cambyses downward the city was exposed. But from these, though we may discover the strength of the walls and the size of the lowest apartments, we could gain no information respecting the interior disposition of the inhabited part, or the height to which the house was raised ; and little respecting the arrangement of the streets. Fortunately the paintings of the sepulchres, which so generally relate to domestic life, have preserved some views of the houses in which the scenes represented are carried on. Sir Gardner Wilkinson¹ has explored the remains of an ancient town near Tel-Amarna, which he believes to be Alabastron ; and though they may not belong to very remote times, they serve to enlarge the scanty information which we derive from other sources.

¹ *Manners and Customs*, 2, 106.

Diodorus, speaking of the second Busiris, whom he represents as the founder of Thebes, says that he built the houses of private persons some with four, some with five stories¹. In the historian's age, great part of Thebes had been long in ruin, and certainly no houses existed there to prove what had been the style of architecture in the mythic reign of Busiris. His statement is probably one of those exaggerations by which the glory of this ancient capital was magnified. That the houses should have been of that height, would be inconsistent with what Diodorus himself tells us, of the indifference of the Egyptians to the magnitude and splendor of their dwellings; it is contrary to the practice of the East in all ages, and to the evidence of the paintings. From these we may conclude that the ordinary plan of an Egyptian house comprehended only a single story besides the basement, with a terrace on the roof, open or covered, surrounded by a balustrade or battlement². In hot climates, two great objects in the arrangement of houses are, to admit air and exclude heat. To attain the latter, the Egyptians made their windows small and their apartments lofty; and for ventilation it is probable that they had a contrivance in the roof, similar to that which is now used in Egypt³. Houses which stood detached and enclosed within a wall of their own, had an ornamented garden around them, such as we have already described. Their villas were still more spacious, comprehending a variety of apartments, and had frequently the appendage of a farm-yard⁴. The walls of the principal rooms were covered with stucco and ornamented with paintings. These have generally perished; but from the tombs it is evident that the Egyptians in very early times had made great advances in house decoration. Their walls and ceilings are painted in a variety of patterns, combining elegance

¹ 1, 45.

² Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 2, 380, lxviii.

³ See it described in Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 2, 121.

⁴ Wilkinson, 2, 132, from the sculpturer at Alabastron. It is to be regretted that he has not given more precise information as to his authority.

of form with richness of coloring. Many of them, even of very early kings, exhibit a remarkable resemblance to those which we see in the Mosaics of the Romans, and which have been imitated in our carpets and floorcloths. What is called the Mæander, or Greek border, appears in a tomb of the eighteenth dynasty¹. The resemblances are so numerous and so striking as to leave no doubt that the Greeks and Romans derived from Egypt these combinations, the artistic excellence of which is attested by the circumstance, that they please as much at the present day, as in the remote age when they made their first appearance.

The tombs contain a considerable number of specimens of Egyptian furniture, but they are usually of an uncostly kind; the luxury which prevailed is, however, sufficiently attested by the paintings. Compared with modern houses, those of Egypt indeed would seem scantily furnished: they had neither curtains, nor carpets, nor mirrors, nor the elegant apparatus of book-shelves, chiffoniers and writing-desks, which literary habits have introduced among us. Musical instruments too were not with them part of the furniture. Stands for flowers, vases of perfume, and even altars for the reception of offerings which were not to be consumed by fire, appear frequently in representations of the interior scenes of Egyptian life². Besides these, tables, chairs and couches were the principal articles which their rooms contained, and these in wealthy houses were made of costly materials, elaborately wrought and polished. Their forms display freedom and elegance; some of them, as the imitation of the legs and feet of animals, have been perpetuated to the present day in the workmanship of the corresponding pieces of furniture. The thrones or chairs of state, which are pictured in the tombs of the kings, were richly gilt and painted, and luxuriously cushioned; the back bends with an easy and graceful curve; the head of a lion, or the entire figure, forms the arm the sides are

¹ Rosellini, M. C. tav. lxxi.

² Rosellini, M. Civ. 2, 469, tav. lxxxviii. 1, 2.

occupied with emblematical devices, or the representation of captives bound beneath the throne of the sovereign. The footstools and seats are also richly carved and covered, and exhibit the enemies of Egypt in the same humiliating posture¹. When the Egyptians reclined on couches which had no back or scroll at the end for the support of the head, its place was supplied by a semi-circle of polished wood upon a stand, on which the head was rested. In that climate the contact of the head during the day with a soft pillow would have been intolerable², and this substitute continues to be used among the Nubian tribes. Whatever may be said of the stiffness and uniformity of Egyptian style when employed on sacred subjects, the artists displayed a sense of beauty and grace, where they were not fettered by religious or conventional restrictions, which places them above all ancient nations except the Greeks.

The Egyptians, like the Greeks in Homer's time and the Israelites till a late period of the monarchy³, sat at meat instead of reclining. The Greeks sat in chairs, but the Egyptians on the ground, with the legs bent beneath them, or on a very low stool, sometimes only a mat or a carpet. The dishes therefore would be placed on a table slightly raised above the floor, as now practised in the East⁴, or served round to each guest. Neither knives nor

¹ Rosellini, M. Civ. tav. lxxxviii-xcii.

² Rosellini, M. Civ. 2, 407, tav. xcii. It is called in hieroglyphics *ols*, answering to the Coptic *ouols*, to recline.

³ Amos ii. 8, is the earliest passage in which allusion is made to reclining, and here it is not a domestic meal which is spoken of, but a feast in an idol's temple.

⁴ In the tombs we sometimes see the deceased, with his wife *sitting* beside a table, on which are meats, bread, vegetables and fruit. In the great picture of a banquet (Rosellini, M. Civ. tav. lxxix.) we see in one part food placed on a low table, before a person sitting on a low seat; in another on the ground, the guests sitting on their heels. Sometimes each couple of guests appear to have had a table between them.

forks were in use, but spoons for eating and ladles for helping have been found. At entertainments, the guests, who were of both sexes, were anointed by the attendants before the feast began, and flowers were placed on their heads, around their necks and in their hands. From the history of Joseph we learn that at Pharaoh's court, it was the business of a chief of the culinary department to prepare pastry for the monarch's table; and the monuments prove that it was made with great care and fashioned into a variety of elegant forms¹. Except in this respect the Egyptian cookery appears to have been simple, fish, beef, and goose being the chief articles of food. Gazelles and kids are also seen in the hands of the cooks, preparing for the table. The wine and water were placed in porous jars, and the process of evaporation by which they were cooled was promoted by their being fanned. The water of the Nile was purified probably by mixing paste of almonds with it, according to the present practice². Music accompanied the feast; and the Egyptians, like the Greeks, appear to have amused themselves with gymnastic performers and jugglers, and the antics of dwarfs and deformed persons³. With what religious rites their more solemn feasts were inaugurated we do not know; in the Ptolemaic times royal banquets appear to have been introduced by prayers for the welfare of the king and the prosperity of the kingdom⁴. At the close of feasts among the wealthier classes, according to Herodotus⁵, a figure of a mummy elaborately painted and gilded, a cubit in length, was carried round by an attendant, who thus addressed the guests: "Looking on this, drink and enjoy thyself; for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." This sounds like an Epicurean exhortation to the enjoyment of life; the same exhibition, however, was susceptible of a moral turn, such as Plutarch⁶ gives

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 464, tav. lxxxv. *Gen.* xl. 17.

² Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 2, 467.

³ Rosellini, *M. Civ.* xciii. 3, 4. *Xen. Symp.* cap. 2.

⁴ *Joseph. Antiq.* 12, 2, 11. ⁵ 2, 78. ⁶ *Sep. Sap. Conv.* v. p. 148, B.

it. "The skeleton," says he, "which the Egyptians appropriately introduce at their banquets, exhorting the guests to remember that they shall soon be like him, though he comes as an unwelcome and unseasonable boon-companion, is nevertheless in a certain sense seasonable, if he exhorts them not to drink and indulge in pleasure, but to cultivate mutual friendship and affection, and not to render life, which is short in duration, long by evil deeds." This by no means implies that the Egyptians applied it to such a purpose, and he elsewhere speaks of the custom, like Herodotus, as designed to exhort the guests to the enjoyment of life¹.

An Egyptian custom, which appeared to Herodotus² very remarkable, was that of singing a song in honour of Maneros. As he introduces the mention of it immediately after the carrying round of the image, and as Plutarch expressly says that it was used at their banquets, it is probable that it was one of their festive customs. Who Maneros was is variously explained. According to Herodotus he was the only son of the first king of Egypt (by whom perhaps Osiris, not Menes, was originally intended), and had died an untimely death. As the same strain, under the name of Linus³, was sung by the Greeks, and under some other name by the Phœnicians in their own country and in Cyprus, it is evident that the custom of singing it cannot have originated in the death of the only son of Menes. A mythic origin, from some circumstance which was equally interesting to the feelings of all those nations, is much more probable. Plutarch says Maneros was the son of the king of Byblos, involuntarily killed by Isis⁴; and Linus

¹ Is. et Osir. p. 357, F.

² 2, 79.

³

ὅν.....

*Ὅν δὲ, ὅσοι βροτοὶ εἰσιν αἰδοὶ καὶ κταρισταὶ
Πάντες μὲν θρηνοῦσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις τε χορῆς *

*Ἀρχόμενοι δὲ Δίον καὶ λήγοντες καλέουσι.

Gaif. Frag. Hea. 1

⁴ Is. et Osir. p. 357, E. Some said that Maneros was the inventor of music; some that it was not a name, but meant αἶσμα ταῦτα κρηεῖς.

was reputed to have been either the son of Apollo killed by Hercules, or of Urania killed by Apollo. Sappho¹ conjoined Adonis and Linus in one lamentation, whence it is probable that both were personages of the same mythic character. The mourning rites which made a part of all the ancient religions have a primary reference to autumn and winter, when the sun appears to decline in vigor and be preparing for extinction, and vegetative power to be buried in the earth². As the song of Maneros was the most ancient and universal among the Egyptians, it was natural that its origin should be referred to the history of their first king³. As the Maneros was a mournful strain, its use at banquets harmonized well with the exhibition of the skeleton or mummy—one reminding the guests of the transitory life of man, and the other of the short-lived beauty of the external world⁴.

It has been generally thought that common life had a very grave and melancholy aspect among the Egyptians, who were oppressed and impoverished by the predominance of the priesthood. The insight which we have gained into their interior life, by means of the monuments, has shown that this was by no means the case. It is true that they had no theatre like the Greeks, no circus like the Romans; and that their public religious ceremonies were not diversified by exhibitions of strength and skill, of musical taste

¹ Pausan. 9, 29.

² Plut. Is. et Os. 378, F.

³ According to Jul. Pollux, *Περὶ ἀσμάτων ἐθνικῶν* (4, 54), Maneros was the inventor of husbandry and a pupil of the Muses. He enumerates several other songs, all of the same character, and apparently the same or nearly the same origin.

⁴ Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis

Flores amœnas ferre jube rosæ,

Dum res et ætas et sororum

Fila triumpatiuntur atra.—Hor. Carm. ii. 3.

It is evident from other passages of the same author, that such contrasts were supposed to give a zest to festivity.

and literary ability like the great panegyries of Greece. But the life of the people was not so monotonous as it has been supposed to be. We find in the grottoes of Benihasan not only representations of bodily contests which were probably a part of the military training, but games carried on both by men and women, which are evidently the amusement of the people. In these paintings we see women, generally distinguished by a cap, from the back part of which two or three strings of twisted ribbon depend¹, playing with balls, sometimes as many as six at once, and engaged in trials of strength, which exhibit flexibility of the limbs in the most extraordinary degree. They make an arch of their inverted bodies, touching the ground with the feet and the back of the head, or stand on the head with the heels in the air. One couple are performing an evolution which is still common with children, locking their arms together behind and lifting each other, or rising from the ground, by bringing the feet and hands to meet. In these feats the women are dressed in tight pantaloons. Among other exercises and contests two men are seen playing at single-stick, their left arms being guarded by shields of wood fastened with straps similar to those which are worn in Italy at the present day, by the players at *pallone*. Another game is exhibited which is still in use; a man is stretched with his face on the ground, and two others kneeling over him strike him with their fists; he is required to guess which strikes him, and if he names the right person, the striker takes his place upon the ground. Others appear to be trying which can fling a pointed knife, so as to enter the most deeply into a block of wood, or raise a bag of sand and sustain it the longest with the uplifted arm. We know that in later times it was a common recreation of the Egyptians to go in boats upon the branches of the Nile in the Delta, or the lakes

¹ This kind of head-dress indicates females of the menial class. In the representation of a female banquet or assembly (Ros. M. Civ. lxxix.) the attendants have caps with such pendent ornaments.

which it forms as it approaches the sea, and spend the day in festivity under the shade of the Egyptian bean, which grew to the height of many feet¹. Another amusement which they practised on the river was to man boats, and rowing them rapidly, to hurl or thrust javelins without points against each other as they passed. Such a scene is represented in one of the oldest monuments of Egypt, the tomb of Imai at Gizeh², and one of the parties has been thrown into the river by the shock. In another tomb at Kum-el-Ahmar, we see tables with refreshments spread upon them for the use of the parties engaged in the mimic contest³. The young men of London in former times amused themselves with similar encounters on the Thames.

Dice have been found at Thebes, marked in the modern manner, but their age is uncertain⁴. Their use must have been common in the time of Herodotus, since the priests represented Rhampsinitus as playing at dice with Ceres; and we may presume that they would not have given their mythe this form, had they known that the game was of very recent introduction. We do not, however, find any representation of it among the monuments. The account which Plutarch gives, of Mercury playing at dice with the moon and winning from her the five odd days of the year, is evidently a fiction of later times, and therefore furnishes no evidence of an ancient usage. But it appears from the monuments that a game answering to our draughts was in use in very remote ages. Plato attributes the invention both of dice and playing-tables to the Egyptians⁵. In one of the grottoes of Benihasan two men appear seated on the ground with a low table between them, on which

¹ Strabo, 17, 823.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. tav. civ.

³ Rosellini, M. C. 3, 114, tav. cv.

⁴ Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 424.

⁵ Phædr. 274 D. Eust. ad Il. β' 308. Οὐ παικτική ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἡ Αἰγυπτιακὴ περτεία λέγεται. The game was that which the Latins called *duodecim scripta*, and the Egyptians may have found in it some analogy to the divisions of the ecliptic. Salm. ad Hist. Aug. Scrip. 2, 749.

are arranged six green and six yellow pieces, all of the same form, with which they are evidently playing; in one instance the greens and yellows are arranged in lines before the respective players, in the other they are intermixed alternately through the whole length of the board¹. How the board was divided is not shown either here or in the palace of Rameses IV. at Medinet Aboo, where the king appears seated, and playing at this game with a female, probably a royal concubine, who stands before him². The game of *mora* played by the ancient Romans³, and with such passionate eagerness by the modern Italians, was practised in Egypt. The tricks of the juggler also afforded them amusement; we see two men seated, with four inverted cups placed between them, and it is evident that the game consisted in guessing beneath which of the cups some object was concealed⁴.

The vast difference between ancient and modern times, produced by language, religion, the art of war, the improvements in mechanics, cause them at first sight to seem separated by a gulf, in which all transmission of manners and customs is lost. This is especially the case in regard to ancient Egypt, whose peculiarities made it, even to the Greeks and Romans, a world apart from their own. The middle ages produced a similar apparent disruption between the Greek and Roman world and ours. The discovery of so much in Egyptian life, as revealed by the monuments, which closely resembles our own, restores the continuity of ages, and shows that the great revolutions which change the opinions and institutions of mankind and transfer power and civilization to distant regions, leave untouched and unchanged a great mass of the human race, among whom the customs of daily life are perpetuated, and by whose mediation the most distant times and countries are united.

¹ Rosellini, M. Civ. ciii.

² Rosellini, M. R. cxxii.

³ Cic. Off. 3, 19. Cum fidem alicujus laudant, dignum esse dicunt, quicum in tenebris micet.

⁴ Rosellini, M. Civ. civ.

CHAPTER XV.

DRESS.

THE ordinary dress of the Egyptians consisted, according to Herodotus, of a tunic of linen fringed at the legs, which he calls *calasiris*, and a loose upper garment of wool, which from its material being impure, was neither worn within a temple nor buried with the wearer¹. This does not correspond with the representations on the monuments, which are in general much older than the days of the historian; we rarely find in them either the fringed tunic or the woollen cloak. The lower classes, when engaged in their operations, are very lightly clad, the whole of the upper part of the body being bare, and only a piece of cloth fastened around the loins². Those of a higher class, whose employment did not require that their limbs should be so much at liberty, wore a similar apron, descending to the knee, the midleg, or the ankle. Instead of a girdle round the waist it was sometimes supported by a strap, crossing the shoulder. Children of both sexes, even among the higher classes, appear to have gone without clothing, at least in the house³. Sometimes a short pair of close drawers was worn, reaching to the middle of the thigh⁴, either alone, or beneath the covering just described. A *calasiris* without fringe, with sleeves

¹ Herod. 2, 81.

² *Lumbare* vocatur quod lumbis religetur. Hoc in Ægypto et Syria non tantum feminae sed et viri utuntur. Isidor. 19, 22, 25.

³ See Rosellini, Mon. Civ. tav. lxxviii. The children here represented appear to be eight or ten years old.

⁴ See the figure of Menephthah, Birch, Pl. 43, fig. 163. Exod. xxviii. 42.

tight or loose descending to the elbows, was frequently worn ; it was of ample dimensions¹ and formed into many folds, both above and below the waist, where it was gathered with a girdle or tied by a sash with long ends, if worn by women. It might be worn alone, or over the dress before described, and it was common to both sexes. The ordinary dress of women, however, was a close-fitting robe, which began under the breast and descended below the knees, being held up by two straps which crossed the shoulders. That these garments were of linen is evident from the multitude and minuteness of the folds ; the material is fine, often to transparency, and the color varied in rich and elegant patterns. Lightness was the general characteristic of Egyptian drapery, even in the highest rank ; the heavy and costly stuffs which form our robes of state, or those of Assyrian monarchs, would have been intolerable in that climate.

Dress was evidently the symbol of rank, and studiously diversified according to its gradations. When Joseph was made next in authority to Pharaoh, he was "arrayed in vestures of fine linen and a gold chain placed about his neck." The king is not only distinguished by the amplitude of his robes and fineness of the material of which they are composed, but by the peculiar form of the short garment or apron worn around the loins. It is often gathered into a point projecting in front², and a broad strip depended from the centre of the girdle ornamented with the royal serpent or *uræus*. On solemn occasions he wore a crown composed of two parts ; the inner is a high conical cap, terminating in a knob³, supposed to be the special emblem of Upper Egypt, which when colors are used is painted white ; the outer, painted red,

¹ Καλασίρις χίτων πλατύς· οὕτως Ἀιγύπτιοι. Suidas in voc.

² See Birch, Egypt. Ant. Pl. 33, fig. 133, Pl. 42, fig. 160.

³ Τοὺς βασιλεῖς χρῆσθαι πύλοις μακροῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέδατος ἀμφαλθὼν ἔχουσι καὶ περιεσπειραμένοις ὄφειν οὕς κελουθὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ. Diod. 3, 3. The Ethiopians had borrowed it from the Egyptians, not *vice versa*, as he supposed.

represents Lower Egypt¹. It surrounded, but did not enclose the head, and the top of the conical cap was visible above it. Each part, however, is often worn separately. The king also wears in battle, and sometimes in peace, a close-fitting helmet cap; and when engaged in religious rites, sometimes a head-dress resembling that of the god whom he is worshipping. Queens have very generally on their heads a cap or bonnet in the form of a gallinaeous bird or a vulture, the emblem of the goddess Maut, the great Mother, or of Isis, who wears this among other head-dresses². The princes of the blood-royal are distinguished by a single plaited lock of hair, left on the head which is elsewhere shaven, and falling down over the ear. The youthful god Horus has his hair arranged in the same way, to indicate his relation to the royal pair, Osiris and Isis³. The kings' heads are sometimes covered with a wig of artificial hair, and at others with a large cap, of some striped material, which not only enveloped the whole skull, but descended on the shoulders and breast⁴. The head and beard were universally shaven by the Egyptians⁵ when not in mourning, but they commonly used some artificial covering, a wig or a cap⁶, with the exception of the priests, who appear with naked heads⁷, unless they

¹ The crown of Upper Egypt was called *ouabsh* (white), that of Lower Egypt *teshr* (red), and both united *Pschent*, a name preserved in the Rosetta Inscription. See Pl. iii. D. 4.

² Horapollo, 1, 11, 12.

³ Birch, pl. 19.

⁴ See the statues of Rameses the Great and Menephthah the Third, in the British Museum. Birch, pl. 39, 43. Rameses the Third, in the same collection, has his cap (called *klaft*) in addition to the double crown (Birch, pl. 40). The priests often wear it.

⁵ Herodotus (3, 12) attributes to this practice the hardness by which the Egyptian *cranium* could be distinguished on a field of battle.

⁶ See a large collection of these coverings for the head in Wilkinson's *M. and C.* 3, 354.

⁷ Her. 2, 36; 3, 12. Is. xviii. 2, where מִן־רֶשֶׁת appears to signify *depileis*.

wear some symbolical head-dress. An ornament resembling a tuft of the beard plaited, was worn beneath the chin, being fastened by a strap; its size and form discriminating the ordinary mortal, the king, and the god¹. Women wore their hair long, and arranged in elaborate curls. Gloves were unknown among the Egyptians, and in the monuments are the characteristics of nations belonging to the northern climates. Persons of all ranks frequently appear walking barefoot; the sandal was commonly made of papyrus, and fastened over the instep and between the toes; those worn on solemn occasions were turned up in front like a skate. Leather, however, was also employed, and the manufacture of sandals from this material is one of the operations represented in the tombs of Benihasan². A long staff carried in the hand appears to have marked the class above the necessity of manual labor.

The dress of the Egyptians was usually of an uncostly material, wealth and luxury displaying themselves rather in the ornaments with which the person was decorated; our museums abound with them in every variety of form and costliness. The collars or necklaces worn by the kings were of great size, covering the upper part of the breast, made of gold, and enriched with precious stones and enamel. That of Thothmes V., represented in his tomb, appears from its form to have been designed to hang on the breast instead of being fastened round the neck; it resembles an elongated horse-shoe, and at the lower end are two lions with the shield of the king between them, and a disc with two *uraî*³. Putting on the collar of office appears to have been the principal ceremony of investiture⁴, and one who was especially honored wore several at

¹ The end of the beard in gods was slightly turned up. See Birch, pl. 1, fig. 2; pl. 6, fig. 13.

² Rosellini, *M. Civ. tav. lxxv.*

³ Rosellini, *M. Civ. tav. lxxx.*

⁴ Wilkinson, *M. and C. pl. 80.* *Purpura ille et aurum cervicis ornamentum apud Ægyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis* (Tertull. *Idol.* 18).

once. Neck ornaments of less costly materials and smaller size were worn by women of almost all ranks, beads of gold and silver, precious stones, glass and enamel being strung together, and symbolical figures, serving probably as amulets hung to them, such as the scarabæus and the vulture, the sacred eye of Osiris, or small images of the gods themselves. Rosellini has found cowrie shells strung together in a necklace¹. Armlets worn above the elbows and bracelets at the wrists with a similar ornament for the ankles were common to both sexes; the wearing of earrings appears to have been confined to women. Rings were worn by both sexes, and by all ranks; the signet-rings of Thothmes III. and Amunoph III., one of gold, the other of silver, have been preserved, bearing their shield; rings were also placed on the fingers of the mummies. According to the wealth of the wearer they were of the most various materials, most frequently gold, sometimes silver and brass, gems, cornelian, ivory, and a blue glass or porcelain². They bear either on the metal, or on the stone which is set in it, the names and images of the gods, especially the great gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ammon and Ptah, a sphinx, a lion, or a sacred serpent, and various ornamental or symbolical devices. They sometimes consisted of a scarabæus of stone or porcelain, hooped with metal, and bearing the name of the wearer and some mystical characters; others have been found (but of uncertain age) with a small square box, instead of a stone, apparently intended for holding a concentrated perfume³.

The custom of burying in the tombs the favorite objects of use during life has preserved to us many articles of female ornament, pins, combs, and brooches of wood or metal, and especially mirrors.

¹ Mon. Civ. tav. lxxxi. 24.

² Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 3, pp. 374, 377.

³ Rosellini, M. Civ. tav. lxxxi. 3. The "*Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor Annulus*," in which Hannibal carried poison, must have been of this construction.

When represented in painting, the mirrors are colored red-brown, the usual color of bronze, and such is the material of which they are generally composed. The handle was most commonly of wood, and has perished. In one remarkable instance it was preserved entire. Rosellini, in exploring the tomb of the nurse of a daughter of Tirhakah at Thebes, found beside the mummy in a case of wood a bronze mirror, with a cover which protected it from the air and turned aside on a pin to allow of its being used. The polished surfaces of the mirror retained enough of their brightness when discovered to reflect the face¹.

In the tombs are also found many of the little cases which the Egyptian women used for the purpose of holding the *stibium*, with which according to Oriental custom they darkened their eyebrows and eyelashes, increasing the brilliancy and apparent size of the eye. They are sometimes made of stone, sometimes of wood, most frequently of the hollow of a reed, are of a tubular form and are accompanied with a little pencil, shaped like a pestle at one end, for the purpose of laving the *stibium*, and small at the other for its introduction under the eyelid². Men as well as women appear to have used it³, and it was not only placed under the eyelids, but a long streak was drawn with it from the corner of the eye towards the temple, as seen in many painted heads. The nails, and even the hands and feet of the mummies, are sometimes colored with *henneh*, which was therefore probably used by the Egyptians to give these parts an orange hue.

¹ The mirror, when represented in painting, is sometimes preceded by a group of characters which signify "revealer of the face." Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 2, 429, tav. lxxx. fig. 37.

² It is written in hieroglyphics *stm* with an eye. *Stem* is the Coptic name for it, from which *stibium*, have evidently been derived. It is prepared from various substances, chiefly plumbago.

³ Rosellini, 2, 481.

CHAPTER XVI.

ARCHITECTURE.

THE remains of Egyptian architecture, if we except the Pyramids, are chiefly temples or palaces, whose style differs little from that of temples. The scarcity of timber in Egypt, and the abundance of easily wrought quarries of limestone and sandstone, for which the Nile afforded the means of ready conveyance, caused the employment of stone for architectural purposes from the earliest times. Nothing indicates that the different members and ornaments of Egyptian architecture originated, like those of the Greek, from structures of wood. Since the names of the monarchs who had inscribed themselves on the monuments have been deciphered, we have been able to form a chronology of Egyptian architecture and discriminate its styles on certain grounds. The temples and palaces of Meroe, which was once regarded as the cradle of Egyptian art, we have seen to be of the late Ptolemaic and Roman times. With few exceptions the great temples of Nubia are excavations, in which the characteristics of architectural style are not so clearly marked as in buildings. There is, however, no reason to suppose that excavation preceded construction in the history of Egyptian art; a notion which appears to have originated in the belief, that the primitive population of the valley of the Nile were Troglodytes. On the contrary, there is an evident imitation of architectural forms in the grottoes of Benihassan, which are older than any of the Nubian excavated temples. Their columns, architraves and vaults are unnecessary in excavations, and can only have been adopted in order to please the eye which had already become accustomed

to them in building. Temples have stood in front of the Pyramids, and from the use to which they were destined, we may presume that they are of equal antiquity with those monuments themselves. As they have disappeared to their foundations, and the edifices of Memphis have even more completely perished, we are left to infer the character of the earliest Egyptian architecture from the fronts of the grottoes of Benihasan, and Kalabsché in Nubia¹. The columns which form the exterior façade are cut out of the face of the rock, and consequently are of one piece, not composed of assizes. The shaft is always polygonal, with eight or sixteen facets, or sixteen slight flutings, or a mixture of both. It either rises immediately from the ground or rests on a round base of small elevation. There is no capital, properly so called, no cord round the neck, but a slight diminution towards the top. A simple square abacus rests on the top of the column, connected with the architrave, and projects just as much from the summit as is equal to the diminution. The proportions vary from five diameters at Benihasan to two and a half at Kalabsché. The columns of this order appear to have originated from pillars; the four angles being cut, an octagon would be produced, and by a further cutting a column of sixteen facets². They approach nearly to the early Doric, and probably gave rise to it. The only specimen of an erection in this earliest style is in the oldest portion of the temple of Karnak, of the age of Sesortasen, built into a subsequent construction³.

Of constructed temples, Soleb in Nubia and Thebes present the earliest specimens from which any inference as to style can be drawn. They are of the sixteenth century before Christ, and from this time to the termination of the twenty-first dynasty, a space of four centuries and a half, we have a succession of monuments, which though broken in many places still enables us to trace the

¹ Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 75; Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 250.

² Lepsius, *Annali dell' Istituto*, 9, 67. 1837.

³ Wilkinson, *ib.* 2.

progress of the art. Two species of column chiefly prevail. In one, which is the older, the capital appears to have been imitated from a flower-bud not yet expanded, and narrower at the top than on the sides. The sides of the capital are sometimes divided into separate faces, by deep indentations, or striated with a continuation of the lines which mark the sides of the shaft. In the second the capital is shaped like a bell with its mouth upwards, the reflexed edge being an imitation of the opened flower of the lotus, or of the head of the papyrus, and the sides formed of the leaves and flowers of plants and trees indigenous to the country. The abacus in columns of the first form projects boldly beyond the capital, and often bears the shield of the monarch by whom the building was erected; in those of the second it is nearly hidden by the expanded upper edge. There is a third form of capital in which a paralleliped, or sometimes a solid of the favorite converging form, is interposed between the top of the column and the architrave, as at Denderah, exhibiting the face of a divinity or the representation of a shrine. To this class belong the columns of what have been called *Typhonia*. The solid before spoken of exhibits the figure of a dwarfish god, with gaping mouth and enormously disproportioned head. It is generally found in the small dependent temples, *mamisi*¹, which, according to Champollion, were the birthplace of the offspring of the god and goddess to whom the larger adjacent temple was dedicated. Possibly the motive for placing so unsightly an object in so prominent a position was to frighten away anything inauspicious to the birth of the youthful god. In the temples of the Ptolemaic age, as at Apollinopolis Magna and Latopolis, we find a great variety of capitals, combining parts of the lotus, the papyrus and the palm; but rich and graceful as they are, they are far from producing the same impression as the severe simplicity and uniformity of the Pharaonic architecture. As the columns of Benihassan gave rise to the Doric, so those which imitate plants and

¹ From the Coptic *ma*, locus, and *misi*, puerperium.

flowers appear to be the origin of the Corinthian. The Ionian volute is found in the columns of Persepolis¹, but in no Egyptian monument. It was probably of Assyrian origin, as it has been found in the remains of Nineveh.

The shaft bears in Egyptian architecture no definite proportion to the capital; nor the height to the diameter; five to six is the usual number of diameters in the height. It is commonly of the same thickness throughout, though occasionally with a slight diminution. The weight to be sustained required massive proportions, and architects seem slowly to have arrived at the knowledge of the load which a perpendicular column will support: hence in all countries heaviness is the characteristic of the earliest style of public building. With the exception of the very early style already mentioned, Egyptian columns are not fluted; but their massiveness is relieved by being striated, and the appearance thus given to them of being composed of united stems is increased, by the horizontal bands which tie them together under the capital and in the middle. The shaft generally stands on a round or square plinth of little depth; just above the plinth the base of the shaft itself is sometimes rounded and adorned with leaves, so as to give it the appearance of growing up from the plinth. If the surface of the shaft was plain it was often covered with hieroglyphics, especially in the Ptolemaic times.

On the abacus rested a broad but simple architrave, generally sculptured with hieroglyphics; and upon that, without the intervention of a frieze, a cornice of deep curve without *fasciæ*, equal in height to one-eighth or one-ninth of the whole building. The upper edge is often occupied by a row of the sacred serpent, *uræus*. A triglyph after the Grecian pattern is only found in Roman and Ptolemaic buildings, but something resembling it, consisting of parallel striæ at intervals, is seen in works of the Pharaonic age. The boldness of this member, the cornice, in some measure supplies

¹ Niebuhr, Voyage, 2, 110.

the want of a pediment, which is never found in Egyptian architecture, flat roofs being naturally used in a country where rain is a prodigy and snow unknown. The portico was composed of a double or even triple row of columns; but the Egyptians, in Pharaonic times, never placed them, as the Greeks did, *around* their temples, and seldom even continued them to the extreme ends of the front, which were occupied by a return of the side-wall. Sometimes, as at Denderah, a wall of half the height of the columns closed up the space between them, and was covered with hieroglyphics. No extant temple of the Pharaonic times has this appendage, and should it appear on further examination that it has never existed, it will be probable that it was added after Egypt became subject to the Greeks, in order to conceal the rites of religion from the curious and hostile observation of foreigners¹.

No rule appears to have been observed in regard to the width of the intercolumniation; but the columns are generally placed nearer to each other than in Greek and Roman buildings. The great weight of the entablature required a solid support below, and the desire to preserve the massive character of their buildings appears to have led the Egyptian architects to crowd their columns more closely than was necessary for security. The rules of classic architecture required that each portion of a building should exhibit only columns of the same order. The Egyptian architect allowed himself more variety, at least in the capitals. Still symmetry was not neglected, the columns on opposite sides corresponding, and the same form being repeated at regular intervals in the line of the colonnade. In the hypostyle halls no uniformity is observed in the row which stretches away in perspective from the eye, while the side-rows, which are perpendicular to the central one, usually exhibit a correspondence among the pillars of which they are composed. For columns are sometimes substituted on the front of walls colossal figures of Osiris, or of sovereigns with the attributes

¹ This is the conjecture of an able Egyptologist, Mr. S. Sharpe.

of Osiris, the pedom and scourge. They resemble in appearance the *Atlantes* and *Caryatides* of Greek architecture, but, unlike them, do not bear any portion of the superincumbent weight. Such was no doubt the Hall of Apis¹, built by Psammitichus at Memphis, in front of the propylæa of the temple of Vulcan². Colossal figures of this kind are found at the Rameseion at Thebes, and within the grotto-temple of Aboosimbel.

The walls of the Egyptian temples and of their edifices generally are perpendicular on the inside, but sloping on the outside; and as the gateways and other openings follow the same principle, there is a general convergence of the upward lines of the architecture, as if the pyramid had been its type. This gives to the temple or palace that expression of self-reposing and immoveable stability, which belongs to the pyramidal form. A spurious species of arch, produced by the overlapping of stones, is found in buildings of great antiquity in Egypt, but the oldest true arch of stone is found in a tomb at Saccara, of the age of Psammitichus³. It appears, however, that the principle of the arch with a keystone was known to the Egyptians when the buildings of Thebes were erected, brick arches being found there⁴.

It is hardly possible that architecture, when its scale is colossal, should not be sublime, unless it has destroyed the effect of its own masses by injudicious subdivision or the undue prominence of art. The temples of India and Mexico, even the simple structure of Stonehenge, bear an impress of power, which, independently of all association of time and religion, at once subdues and elevates the

¹ Her. 2, 153. Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπὸ οἰκοδόμησε, ἐναντίων τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσαν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν, καὶ τύπων πλήρη· ἀντὶ δὲ κινδύνων ὑπερσῆσαι κολλῶσαι δυνάδεκα καὶ ἥχες τῇ αὐτῇ.

² See a restoration of such a building in the frontispiece to Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. The Rameseion at Thebes, p. 137 of the present volume.

³ Vyse on the Pyramids, 1, 218.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2, 117. P. 132 of the present volume.

mind. This feeling is pre-eminently produced by Egyptian architecture, the scale of which is so vast, that the sculptures by which the walls, columns, and entablatures are covered, do not interfere with the grandeur of the whole effect. The heaviness which its massive proportions might have been expected to produce, disappears, according to the testimony of travellers, when it is seen through an Egyptian atmosphere, with the contrast of deep shade and brilliant light¹. Yet when we compare it with the Greek, its probable offspring, we see the difference between the art which has developed itself from instinctive feeling, and that which has received its laws from the reflecting intellect. The Greeks were not inferior to any nation that has cultivated art in liveliness of feeling; but their intuitive perception of grandeur and beauty was regulated by philosophy, which from the principles of the human mind deduced the laws of unity, harmony and proportion. We shall be sensible of their superiority, if we compare the Parthenon, for example, with an Egyptian building of the same magnitude; the union of perfect beauty in the Attic temple heightens instead of impairing the effect of its majestic proportions. Hence a taste formed wholly on Greek models could not relish Egyptian architecture. Herodotus was too simple and natural to be fastidious; but Strabo in the Augustan age, speaking of one of the grand hypostyle halls of Memphis, says that it had nothing graceful or picturesque, but betrayed an idle waste of labor². In the Greek temples the æsthetic, in the Egyptian the religious feeling predominated, all the subordinate and accessory parts being calculated to bring the worshipper into the immediate presence of the god, with an increasing impression of awe³. The approach was frequently by a

¹ Descr. de l'Egypte, 2, 586.

² Strabo, 17, 806. Οὐδέν ἔχει χάριεν οὐδὲ γραφικὸν ἀλλὰ ματαιοπονίαν ἐμφαίνει μᾶλλον.

³ Description de l'Egypte, 2, 570 foll., which contains a commentary on the words of Diodorus and Strabo.

dromos or double row of sphinxes, mysterious compounds of the human form with a lion or a ram, denoting the union of strength and intellect in gods and kings. Colossal figures, in attitudes of profound repose and with a grave and serious aspect, or obelisks of granite placed in pairs, stood before the entrance. The sacred enclosure was approached through a lofty gateway or pylon, on each side of which was a wing (pteron) of pyramidal structure, the residence of the porters or the priests. Through this gateway, on which the emblem of the Good Genius, Horhat, a sun supported by two asps with outspread wings, was inscribed, entrance was gained to a spacious court open to the sky and surrounded by colonnades; and on the opposite side a second gateway admitted to a second hypæthral court; or to a hall, lighted by small openings near the top of the walls, the roof of which was supported by thickly placed columns. In this court or hall, the *naos*, probably the great body of the worshippers assembled on occasions of great solemnity: beyond it lay the proper temple, cell, or *sekos*, approached by a portico, enclosed in walls without colonnades, and sometimes divided into several small apartments, in the remotest of which, behind a curtain¹, appeared the image of the god in his monolithal shrine, or the sacred animal which represented him on earth. An artifice was employed to increase the apparent distance of the adytum, the doorways being made to diminish in height as if by the effect of a lengthened perspective. Even the exterior walls were covered with hieroglyphical sculpture. Such were the larger temples; others had a more simple arrangement. Those which have been called Typhonia, of which an example is seen in the island of Philæ, are simple rectangular buildings having the entrance on the shorter side, without interior columns, but with a colonnade on all sides of the exterior, like the Greek peripteral temples, only not continued round the angles. This of course pre-

¹ Clem. Alex. Pædag. 3, 2.

cludes the inward slope of the walls, which is seen in the larger temples.

Like the Greeks, the Egyptians applied color to their architecture, to the different portions of the columns and to the intaglios of the obelisks. In coloring those objects which have an original in nature, they by no means aimed at exact imitation, but sacrificed correctness to the richness and harmony of the general effect. The transparent atmosphere and cloudless sky of Egypt give brilliancy to all the colors of nature, and seem to have influenced the taste of the inhabitants, as in other southern countries, leading them to delight in a brightness which we think glaring, and contrasts which to us seem harsh.

CHAPTER XVII.

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

SCULPTURE had arrived among the Egyptians at a high degree of mechanical perfection. The hardest materials, granite, serpentine, breccia, and basalt¹, were wrought by them with a precision and finish which the modern artist admires without being able to explain. This branch of the art had already been perfected at the early period of the erection of the Pyramids, the sarcophagi which they contain being of granite or basalt elaborately polished. The earliest obelisks, at Heliopolis and in the Fyoum, though their figures are neither so deeply engraved nor so accurately drawn as those of the age of Thothmes and the Rameses, show an art already far advanced. The characters which are sculptured upon them, consisting of minute objects of nature or art, detached portions of the human figure, or conventional figures, do not betray that imperfection of design which is so obvious in the Egyptian painting and statuary, and their sculpture on a larger scale. Everywhere the infancy of art is characterized by the rudeness of the attempt to delineate the human form, the want of life and movement, the stiffness and deficiency of grace in draperies, and the absence of character and expression in the countenance. But it was the pecu-

¹ What is called *basalt* by writers on Egyptian art, is not, however, commonly the igneous rock which mineralogists so denominate. It is of a dark, dull green color, with large specks of white feldspar, and is more easily worked and polished. The greater part of the monuments of the age of the Psammitichi and the Roman imitations are almost wholly of this material. See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 153.

liarity of Egyptian art, that these characteristics of its infancy were perpetuated through all the stages of its existence. The artists were fettered by strict rules and forbidden to indulge their inventive genius, and hence art became unduly mechanical. Diodorus says¹ that they did not, like the Greeks, judge of the proportion of statues by the eye, but divided the whole body into $21\frac{1}{4}$ parts. Thus the relation of every part to the whole was fixed, and when it was once determined what should be the size of the whole, the size of each part was known, and the artists working separately, their labors might afterwards be combined into one statue. The remains of Egyptian sculpture exhibit no marks of this mode of putting statues together, as even the largest are commonly of a single piece; but it is probable that such a canon may have been employed in fixing their proportions. Plato praises the wisdom of the Egyptians who had established a standard in ancient times for the forms which painters and other artists were to use, and forbade all innovation upon them; in consequence of which, through a period of ten thousand years, the merit of the works of art had never varied². When the remains of Egyptian sculpture and painting are chronologically studied, this appears not to be strictly true. The tombs near the Pyramids contain some of the oldest and some of the most recent works executed under the independent dominion of the Pharaohs, and the difference is very perceptible to a practised eye. Yet it is a difference in execution and style, not in the forms of art, which were nearly the same in the reign of Psammichus as in that of Cheops.

The regulations to which artists were subject had their origin, no

¹ Diod. 1, 98.

² Leg. 2, p. 656. Πάλαι δὴ ποτε ἐγνώσθη παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὅτι καλὰ μὲν σχήματα καλὰ δὲ μέλη δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέους. Ταξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ἅττα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποι' ἅττα ἀτίφηναν ἐν τοῖς ἱερῇς καὶ παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐξῆν οἷ-ε ζωγράφους οὐτ' ἄλλοις ὅσοι σχήματα ἀπεργάζονται καινοτομεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπινεοῖν ἀλλ' ἅττα ἢ τὰ πάτρια.

doubt, as Plato intimates, in the connexion of art with religion, whose symbolical forms could not be varied without introducing uncertainty and doubt into the minds of the worshippers; and their influence extended to every other branch of art. Religion also impeded taste, by prescribing many incongruous combinations of human and bestial forms, and dresses and costumes repugnant to the natural sense of grace and beauty. In the representations of animals, with which religion did not interfere, they showed that they could at once copy and embellish nature, and some of their lions in particular are admirable for their spirit¹. Their statues are chiefly of gods and kings, to whom a sitting posture, or at least one of perfect rest, was considered appropriate. They are hardly in any instance detached and free, but either are fixed to a wall or pillar, or else retain the traces of such a destination in the square slab which forms the back. The faces are of monumental gravity, neither enlightened by intellect nor animated by passion, nor varied by the expression of character; the limbs are ill-fashioned and stiffly placed, with little attempt to indicate the action of the muscles, and the hands are executed with entire disregard of nature. It appears to have been a rule of courtly art, that a Pharaoh should never be represented with any mark of age; indeed an old man is hardly to be found in all the remains of Egyptian art. The type of the race, which gods and mortals equally exhibit, deviated widely from the standard of Grecian beauty. The forehead is low and retiring; the ears are placed too high up in the skull; the nose is broad and round; the cheek-bones strongly prominent; the eyes long, with a slight obliquity. The lips are full, with an approach to the negro expression of a predominance of the sensual over the intellectual element². Yet notwithstanding these imperfections, there is an impressive

¹ Description de l'Egypte. Ant. 2, 108. Winckelmann, Hist. de l'Art, 1, 83, note. His observations on Egyptian art were made at a time when its true chronology was not understood.

² Schnaase, Geschichte der bildenden Künste, 1, 434.

harmony, between the character of Egyptian sculpture and that of the people, at once the oldest and the most unchangeable in history; and in looking on its remains we are conscious of feelings which are not excited by the most perfect specimens of imitative or ideal art.

The fondness which the Egyptians display for the colossal in sculpture is characteristic of a people who possessed an unlimited command of material and labor, but were ignorant of the source from which sublimity in art arises. As they placed their figures on a level with the eye, they gave full effect to their gigantic size; but the effect thus produced is akin to that of exaggeration in style. The sense is astonished by a statue forty feet high; but after the first startling impression has subsided, its incongruity with all around it is forced upon the mind, and the effect is lessened by repetition. This applies more to colossal statues, forming a portion or an appendage of buildings, than to those which are detached. The statues of Amenophis, standing alone on the plain of Thebes, or the Sphinx on the solitary hill of the Pyramids, seem in harmony with their adjuncts, and never cease to be sublime.

It is natural to suppose that carving in wood, from its facility, must have preceded carving in stone, or the hammering and casting of metals to represent the human form. It was certainly of high antiquity in Egypt. Herodotus¹ relates that he was shown the wooden statues of 345 high-priests, who had succeeded each other by lineal descent. He also saw at Sais a number of similar statues, said to represent the harem of Mycerinus, the builder of the Third Pyramid. They were of such antiquity that the hands had decayed and dropped off. Amasis sent two wooden images of himself to the temple of Juno at Samos. Hardly any large statues in wood have been preserved; the largest which Rosellini had seen was only half the size of life; but small images of sycamore and other woods are very common. They usually represent

¹ Herod. 2, 130, 143, 182.

funereal subjects and accompany the mummies. Their execution varies; some are painted and gilt with care, but in general they are coarse and rude¹. Other figures of wood appear to have been memorials of persons deceased, and preserved in their dwellings.

Had the Egyptians possessed a varied, poetic and anthropomorphic mythology, its influence must have been perceived in sacred art, which among the Greeks, as in Christian Europe, has called forth the highest powers of painting and sculpture. But the genius of the Egyptian religion was adverse to such a free exercise of the fancy on religious subjects; art was the handmaid of theology, not of poetry. The highest powers of the Egyptian artists were put forth in the historical sculptures and paintings with which the walls of the temples and palaces are decorated and the scenes of common life represented in the sepulchral chambers. The temples of Nubia and Thebes contain battle-pieces of the reigns of Thothmes, Amenophis and the Rameses, in which combats of infantry and cavalry, naval engagements and sieges are represented with great spirit and variety¹. These qualities, no doubt, abundantly compensated to the Egyptians for the defects which an eye trained by the rules of modern art perceives in them. The superior dignity of the king or victorious general is indicated by proportions many times exceeding those of the other warriors; and his actions are as much exaggerated as his stature—grasping a whole detachment of his enemies by the hair, and crushing them under his feet or his chariot-wheels.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 155. Gallery of Brit. Mus. pl. 46, 47, 53.

² See what the French Commission say, *Ant.* 2, 110, of a figure of Rameses in a battle-piece:—"On ne trouve plus ici cette pose immobile et sans action qui paraît avoir été de rigueur dans les bas-reliefs sacrés; toute la figure est animée et pleine de mouvement; son action est bien sentie: elle est aux sculptures égyptiennes ce que l'Apollon du Belvédère est aux statues Grecques."

There is no unity of time or action in the scenes represented, no observance of perspective or even the simplest laws of vision, distant objects being lifted up that they may not be hidden by the interposition of the nearer; by which means, however, the artist avoided the too severe simplicity which limitation to a single line of objects has produced in the Greek bas-reliefs and paintings. Two right or left hands are sometimes given to the same figure. On the propyla of the temples and palaces kings and warriors are represented in corresponding postures and actions on either side, and consequently left-handed on the right side. To give an idea of a canal, planted on each side with palms, the canal is raised up and its surface turned perpendicularly towards the spectator. Yet even in this strange mode of representing a horizontal surface, the painter has not forgotten to diminish the size of the trees on the opposite side of the canal¹. Even in the representation of single figures, the laws of vision are sometimes neglected. Though presented in profile, the eyes and shoulders are given with the fulness of a front view, and objects which must necessarily have intervened between the spectator and the principal figure are thrown behind, that the view of him might not be broken by any crossing line. In the scenes of common life portrayed in the grottoes, though the drawing is generally incorrect and the laws of perspective neglected, there is a freedom and even playfulness which we should not otherwise have known to belong to the Egyptian character. Their humor even runs into caricature. In one of the royal sepulchres at Thebes we see an ass and a lion singing, and accompanying themselves on the phorminx and the harp. Another is a burlesque of a battle-piece. A fortress is attacked by rats and defended by cats who are mounted on the battlements. The rats bring a ladder to the walls and prepare to scale them, while a body armed with spear, shield and bow protect the assailants, and a rat of gigantic size, in a chariot drawn by dogs, has

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 145.

pierced the cats with his arrows and swings round his axe in exact imitation of Rameses dealing destruction on his enemies. In a papyrus of the Museum of Turin, a cat is seen with a shepherd's crook watching a flock of geese, and a cynocephalus playing on the flute¹.

We see from the monuments that the Egyptians painted on wood, but except the hieroglyphics of mummy-cases, we have scarcely any other remains of their painting than the coloring of sculpture or on walls. The porous sandstone or fossiliferous limestone in which the tombs were excavated was covered with stucco², previous to its being painted, and even works in granite and other hard stone were treated in the same manner. Their colors were few—red, green, blue, yellow, and black, but being chiefly composed of metallic oxides, they were brilliant and durable³. They were laid on without intermixture or degradation; without any attempt, by light and shade, to give the roundness of nature to a plane surface. It could hardly be otherwise when the chief use of painting was to color the outlines of sculpture. Even in this branch of art, religion interfered to limit the taste and fancy of the painter, certain colors being prescriptively used for the bodies or draperies of the gods.

The mechanical process of painting among the Egyptians did not differ much from the modern practice of distemper. The wall or board destined to receive the picture, if its own surface was rough and coarse, was covered with a coating of lime or gypsum-plaster. The outline was then sketched in with red chalk, and afterwards corrected and filled up with black. The same mode was adopted preparatory to sculpture. The painter lævigated his colors and mixed them with water, then placed them on a pallet hung from his wrist and applied them to the surface on which he was at work. *Fresco* painting, in which the colors are laid upon

¹ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Egypte*, pl. 34.

² *Descr. de l'Egypte*, 3, 45.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ* 2, 183.

the plaster before it dries, was not practised by the Egyptians. Some traces are thought to have been found of *encaustic* painting, by means of wax dissolved in naphtha¹, but it is doubtful if they belong to the Pharaonic times.

The knowledge of anatomy among the Egyptians was confined to the results of the practice of embalming. Neither they nor the Greeks, who carried the design of the human figure to perfection, and imitated with exquisite skill the varied action of the muscles, ever traced them beneath the skin to their connexion with the skeleton. The Egyptians did not enjoy the same advantage as the Greeks for the study of the naked figure; they had neither the exercises of the *palaestra*² nor annual public games. But they were not strangers to a simpler kind of gymnastics. In the tombs of Benihasan entire walls are covered with representations of pairs of combatants engaged in wrestling and locked together in every possible variety of attitude. There is not perfect accuracy in the design, but in general the character of each action is justly discriminated.

The profusion with which the Egyptians employed sculpture and painting in their temples, palaces and tombs, has no parallel in the history of art. Elsewhere they were subsidiary to architecture; in Egypt they were a part of it. The pylon, the column, the ceiling, the external and internal wall, were covered with sculpture. Had this, like the *bas-relief* of the Greeks, projected from the surface and cast a shadow over it, the continuity of the architectural lines must have been broken and their effect destroyed. But the Egyptian *bas-reliefs* unite the qualities of a *cameo* and an *intaglio*³; they rise from within the hollow traced for the outline of the figure, but this rise is given by cutting into the stone of the pillar or the

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2, 205. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 3, 312.

² Herod. 2, 91. Diod. 1, 81.

³ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 3, 303. Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 7 430.

wall, not by cutting away its surface. Thus nothing projects; the figure is protected from injury, and the shadow of the prominent part falls within the hollow. The colors, which if laid on figures in real relief would have been too glaring, are softened by their retiring below the surface, and indeed become necessary to bring them forward to the eye. Real bas-reliefs are also found, but rarely in the older style.

The progress of the fine arts in Egypt appears to have followed very exactly that of civilization and power, during the period of its independence. The Pyramids themselves, while they bear ample testimony to the mechanical skill with which their materials were wrought and put together, throw no light on the state of the arts of design and coloring. Tombs near the Pyramids, however, which must be of nearly the same age with the First and Second, as the names of the same kings occur in them, contain sculptures and paintings representing the ordinary occupations of the people, in which the inferiority of execution to similar delineations at Beni-hassan of the age of Sesortasen, and still more those of the 18th dynasty at Thebes, is very manifest. In the age of the erection of the pyramids, Egypt bears no traces of extensive dominion or foreign conquest; the shields of their builders have not been found in Ethiopia. But in the age of Sesortasen, from causes lost to us, through the want of continuity in Egyptian history, we find the monarchy in a much higher state of splendor and power, his conquests over the Ethiopian nations being commemorated in the temple of Semneh¹. The dynasties of the sovereigns who took refuge in the Thebaid during the invasion of the Shepherds, have left no memorials in works of art; but it immediately revived after their expulsion. The reigns of the three Thothmes exhibit the power of Egypt gradually rising, as manifested in the extent of country occupied by their arms, and the great works which they undertook. The

¹ See page 18 of this volume.

obelisk of St. John Lateran remains as a proof of the high perfection to which both sculpture and design had arrived under the third sovereign of that name. In the reign of Rameses-Sesostris the power of the monarchy had risen to its greatest height, and this is also the point of culmination of Egyptian art, as attested by the obelisks of Luxor, the palace of the Memnonium, the excavated temple of Aboosimbel, and numerous remains of sculpture. It remained without any marked change through the reign of his successor, but after this we have little means, except the royal tombs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, of judging what was the state of art. Under the 20th and 21st even this fails; but the spirit of conquest revived under Sheshonk in the 22nd, and his victories are commemorated on the walls of Karnak. There does not, however, remain enough to characterize the state of art. The sceptre was lost by the dynasties of Thebes, and fell into the hands of families of Lower Egypt. Civil dissensions, the Ethiopian conquest, and the usurpation of Sethos followed; and it was not till the power of the monarchy was again consolidated under Psammitichus, that art revived. The great works which he and his successors executed at Sais have perished, or are buried under its ruins; but the obelisk of Monte Citorio at Rome, and many smaller works, dispersed through the museums of Europe, show that neither skill nor taste had greatly degenerated. The obelisk is of such excellent workmanship, that Zoega had referred it to the age of Sesostris¹; but when compared with ascertained works of the 18th dynasty, its inferiority in boldness of execution is evident²; and that of Apries, in the Piazza of the Minerva at Rome, falls still more below the standard of the age of the Rameses. There are few remnants of

¹ De Obeliscis, p. 642. The inscription placed on it by Pope Pius VI., who set it up, calls it *Obeliscum Sesostridis*.

² A frieze in the British Museum, figured in the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptian Society, pl. 7, is of the age of Psammitichus, and in a very good style.

the splendid works with which Amasis adorned Memphis and the royal residence of Sais; but the prosperity of Egypt and the general diffusion of the elegances and luxuries of art is attested by the tombs of private individuals, which in their costliness and extent rival the royal sepulchres of earlier times¹.

With Amasis the period of the native cultivation of art in Egypt ceases. The invasion of the Persians soon followed. Cambyeses destroyed the temples of Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis and Sais with fire, carried off their treasures to Persia, and transported thither the most skilful of the Egyptian artificers to adorn Persepolis and Susa. During the continuance of the Persian rule, the country was disturbed by frequent insurrections, very unfavorable to the cultivation of art. But every short interval of independence appears to have been marked by the erection or repair of monuments. Some remain of Amyrtæus, under whom a native government was re-established for six years; more of Nectanebus, who maintained himself for eighteen years, and was the last sovereign of independent Egypt. It was not long before it passed under the power of the Ptolemies. Without renouncing their own religion, they constituted themselves patrons of the faith of their subjects, and renewed the temples which had suffered from age and Persian bigotry. If the works of architecture executed by them did not rival in magnitude those of the Pharaohs, they were so entirely Egyptian in their character as to have been long attributed to the ancient monarchs of the country. The discovery of the inscriptions, in Greek, or phonetic hieroglyphics, has enabled us to assign to each building or portion of a building its true age. The erections under the Ptolemies, as those of Hermopolis, Esneh and Édfu, were of great extent and magnificence; but they betray no influence of Greek art, and their architecture and sculpture is only a new development of Egyptian style. There is greater variety and perhaps more elegance in the capitals of the columns; the inferiority

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 3, 306.

of Ptolemaic art is chiefly seen in the sculpture, which is less perfect in design and elaborate in execution; and as we approach the Roman times becomes coarse and careless. The emperors continued to build and repair in Egypt, and the architecture of Denderah, though florid and overloaded with ornament, retains the genuine characters of Egyptian style. One of the latest erections, a temple to Cnuphis, Sate and Anouke, the divinities of the Cataracts, at Syene, built in the reign of Nerva, shows the extreme of the declension of art. The name of Geta¹ is the last that is read in hieroglyphics on an Egyptian monument; it can still be traced on the pronaos of Esneh, notwithstanding its erasure by his brother Caracalla².

¹ Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 200.

² The progress and decay of Egyptian art may be studied in the obelisks of Rome. Those of St. John Lateran and the Piazza del Popolo exhibit its perfection; those of Monte Citorio and the Minerva, its intermediate state; those of the Piazza Navona and Monte Pinzio, its extreme decline, in the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MUSIC.

THE influence of music on the character was considered so important even in Greece as to be the subject of legislation and the grave discussions of philosophers.¹ It is not wonderful that it should not have been left free to change with taste and fashion in Egypt, where law extended its control over all the habits of life. According to Plato, the Egyptians, having perceived that melody, as well as the plastic arts, was capable of exercising a powerful moral effect upon the young, and that there was great danger in allowing individual caprice and fancy an influence, established in very early times such music as was favorable to virtue, and allowed no innovation to be made upon it, through love of variety. He adds, that to his own time this law continued in force². It appears from his language, however, that it was to religious music that it applied. Isis was the reputed author of these sacred strains. Music formed no part of the general education of the Egyptian youth, any more than the exercises of the *palaestra*; one being considered as rendering the mind effeminate, the other as procuring a transient strength at the expense of permanent weakness³. This remarkable contrast to Greek manners may explain the little notice of Egyptian music which occurs in the Greek authors. Most

¹ Arist. Pol. 8, 4.

² Leg. 2, tom. ii. p. 657. Ἐκεῖ φασὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν τοῦτον σεσωσμένα χρόνον μέλη τῆς Ἰσιδὸς ποιήματα γεγονέναι. He calls them in the context, τὴν καθιερωθεῖσαν ἁρμόδιαν.

³ Diod. 1, 81.

of the persons who appear in the monuments, either singing or playing, were evidently hired performers or slaves.

No musical notation has been found on the Egyptian monuments. As Pythagoras, who had long resided in Egypt, entered deeply into the science of music and its mathematical relations, it has been concluded that his knowledge was derived from the Egyptian priests; but what is true of geometry may be applied to the mathematical principles of music, that if the facts were known to the Egyptians, the theory has probably been discovered by the Greek philosopher.

The variety of instruments of which we find representations, and the uses to which they are applied, show that the Egyptian music must have been a much more comprehensive art than the accounts of the ancients would have led us to suppose. As instruments of different kinds are employed in one concert, they must have understood the laws of harmony. Time was kept by beating the hands. In the mechanism of the art they far exceeded all other nations of antiquity. Their harps were furnished with numerous strings of catgut, from three to thirteen, and in one instance, mentioned by Rosellini¹, even twenty-two. The lyre also, of which the Greeks attributed the invention to their own divinities, and the improvement to Orpheus or Amphion, had been in use in Egypt for centuries prior to the commencement of Greek civilization, and along with it a multitude of other stringed instruments of various power and tone. The guitar appears in early monuments². Its construction is a proof of the musical knowledge of the Egyptians, as from its three cords a perfect melody could be educed, by the application of the fingers to shorten the strings³. The use of a *plectrum* to touch the cords is rare, and is found chiefly in connection with

¹ Mon. Civ. 3, 13.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. tav. xciv-xcix.

³ See the representations in Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 299 foll. This superiority of the Egyptian stringed instruments over the Greek lyre, was observed by Dr. Burney, Hist. of Music, vol. 1, p. 197.

the guitar. Of wind instruments, the single, double, and oblique flute were employed for festive, sacred and funereal purposes; the noisy music of the cymbals, castagnettes and tambourine, was chiefly used in festivity, or to excite the fanaticism of the votaries when they flocked in myriads to the temple of some popular divinity¹, or went through the villages with bacchanalian processions. The *sistrum*, so much used in the worship of Isis or Athor, can hardly be called a musical instrument; but the rattling of its wires appears to have served, like the sound of the cymbals, to excite the feelings of the worshipper. Another instrument of the same unmusical kind was in use—two sticks of metal, which were struck against each other. The drum, which was used in ceremonies and festivities, was also the principal instrument of warlike music among the Egyptians, and appears in monuments of a very early age². It was of a more oblong form than ours, and was struck only with the hand. The metallic sticks before mentioned were also a part of the military band; and the trumpet, which was of comparatively late introduction among the Greeks³, is found in the earliest representations of Egyptian campaigns.

Great care was bestowed on the embellishment of their musical instruments by the Egyptians. Some have been found made of a wood brought from India or Senegal; others are painted, inlaid, or covered with colored leather. Two of the most remarkable representations of harps are found in the chambers of the tomb of Rameses IV. at Thebes⁴; one of them has thirteen, the other eleven cords; they are covered with painting of the richest colors and graceful patterns; on the lower extremity is figured a human head with the uræus on the forehead and the two parts of the

¹ Herod. 2, 48, 60.

² See Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 269–304.

³ Homer alludes to it, Il. σ' , 219, but, as the Scholiast observes, *vare ἐρβληται*. Feithius, Ant. Hom. 519.

⁴ See p. 143 of this volume.

pschent, the emblem of royalty¹. The shaved heads of the performers show that they are priests², and they appear to be performing in honor of two funereal divinities who are seated near. The larger instruments are rested on the ground, or on a stand; the smaller are borne in the hand or suspended by a band from the neck like the *phorminx* of the Greeks.

Music appears to have been used in Egypt, not only on solemn and festive occasions, but as a recreation in the labors of domestic life³. Champollion thinks that he has discovered, in the tomb of a high-priest at Eilithya, the song which the peasants used while the oxen were treading out the corn⁴.

The dance, as far as it formed a part of religious worship, was subject to the same strict law of adherence to ancient forms as music and the arts of design⁵. More freedom may have found a place in the pilgrimages to the temples or the festivities which followed the sacrifices. It was a frequent accompaniment of funereal rites, and a favorite amusement at feasts. The postures of the dancers are varied, and often closely resemble those of the modern art⁶. Both sexes are engaged, sometimes separately, sometimes together. Besides the more refined and graceful dance, the *motus incompositi* of the lower classes are also represented in the monuments; but they do not exhibit those voluptuous and

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ. tav. xvii*. See also the Frontispiece to Wilkinson, *M. and C. vol. 2*.

² We find in the sepulchres the title of "Musician to the King" (*Ros. Mon. Civ. 3, 83, Birch, Gallery of Ant. 171*) and "Minstrel of the Hall of Amun."

³ Rosellini, *M. Civ. 2, 416*.

⁴ Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 146, 196. He gives these as the words of the song—

"Battez pour vous (*bis*), O bœufs; battez pour vous (*bis*)
Des boisseaux pour vos maîtres."

⁵ Plato, *Legg. 2, ii. 656*.

⁶ Rosellini, *M. C. tav. xciv-viii*.

licentious performances which the Asiatics practised, and which disgust travellers in modern Egypt¹. We may regret that the restrictions placed by religion upon the fine arts, should have checked their free development, among the ancient Egyptians, but the same cause prevented their perversion into the instruments of moral corruption.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ. P.* 2, t. 3, p. 94.

CHAPTER XIX.

ART OF WRITING.

THE monuments and other antiquities of the Egyptians show that the art of writing was practised by them more extensively than by any contemporary nation. They seldom raised an edifice without covering it with inscriptions; there remain obelisks, statues, funeral tablets in great numbers, which appear never, except through accident, to have been left uninscribed: even articles of domestic and personal use frequently have characters impressed or engraved upon them. The workman's tools, when buried with him, are found to bear his name; cattle were numbered and marked with the name of the owner; garments are described having one or two hieroglyphic characters woven or worked with a needle into the border after the manner of modern housewives¹. Fragments of manuscripts on papyrus exist of the earliest Theban dynasties, perhaps even of the times preceding the invasion of the Shepherds. Although the pyramids externally no longer exhibit any inscriptions, the stones of the interior have hieroglyphics traced on them, and that too in a linear form, which shows that their origin was not recent. Even if we had not these tangible and extant evidences of the prevalence of the art of writing from near the commencement of history, it would be sufficiently attested by the pictures of Egyptian life and manners which the tombs preserve. We not only find sacred functionaries, who from a written roll rehearse the praise of the god, or direct the ceremonial of a coronation; or see the fate of the

¹ Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 2, 241.

deceased in the funeral judgment recorded with the pen; but the same instrument is perpetually in use in the ordinary transactions of life. Scribes are employed in noting down the quantity of grain deposited in a granary, numbering the cattle on a farm, or recording the weight which has been ascertained by the public scales¹.

From all this, however, it would be hasty to infer anything like a general diffusion of the art of writing in the times of the Pharaohs. Those who are employed in the offices above described have the air of being professional scribes, such as even now supply in the South of Europe and the East, the want of education among the people at large. No books ever appear among the furniture of a house; no one is ever represented reading, except in some function; no female is ever seen reading or writing. The inscriptions relating to religion, which are beyond comparison the most numerous, would be explained, as far as their explanation was deemed expedient, by the priests and ministers of the temples to the people; and those which accompany the paintings and sculptures which record the exploits of the kings, by persons of the same order². The composition and preservation of the sacerdotal and royal genealogies and annals belonged also to the priesthood. All the books which Clemens Alexandrinus³ enumerates were either sacred or scientific, and as such would not only be in the custody of the priests, but would receive their interpretation from them. It seems indeed from his account as if the knowledge of the system of hieroglyphics belonged not to the entire priesthood, but only to the *hierogrammateus*. There was a time when in Europe the knowledge of theology, science, and in great measure law, was attainable

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 3, 184.

² "Mox visit (Germanicus) veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; et manebant structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat," *cæt.* Tac. Ann. 2, 60.

³ Strom. 6, 4.

only through the medium of the Latin, which the common people could neither speak nor read, nor even all the priests. This was a state of things very analogous to that of Egypt; it gave a monopoly of knowledge to the priesthood, yet was by no means devised for that purpose.

The earliest ancient author by whom the Egyptian writing is spoken of is Herodotus, who says that they write and calculate, carrying the hand from the right to the left, and that they use two kinds of letters, one sacred and the other demotic¹; but he enters into no explanation of either system. Plato, however, who attributes the invention of letters to Theuth, plainly implies that he knew them to be alphabetical, since he describes this god or dæmon as dividing vocal sounds into vowels, consonants and semivowels². Diodorus in his account of Egypt says that "the priests teach their children two kinds of letters, those called sacred and those which are more generally learnt³;" and towards the end of the same paragraph, that "the people of Egypt generally, as distinguished from the priests, learn from their fathers or their kinsmen the training that belongs to each special mode of life; but letters⁴ only to a small extent, and not all, but chiefly those who practise some of the arts." He gives a fuller account of the system in the third book of his history (c. 3). The Ethiopians, who claimed to be the source of the population and arts of Egypt, alleged that the Egyptians had two⁵ modes of writing; one demotic, learnt by all, the other called sacred and learnt by the priests alone, secretly from

¹ 2, 36. What he says of their writing from right to left, is true only of the hieratic and demotic characters.

² Phileb. 2, 18. Comp. Fisch. ad Weller. 1, 25.

³ Τά τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα καὶ τὰ κοινωτέρα ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. 1, 81.

⁴ Διδάσκουσι, which is usually changed into διδάσκονται, should be omitted, and the ellipsis supplied from μαθαίνουσι.

⁵ ΔΙΤΤΩΝ for ΙΔΙΩΝ is an obvious correction which has been made by several authors.

their fathers; but that among the Ethiopians all indiscriminately used the latter. In the following section he explains more fully the nature of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. "These characters," he says, "resemble all kinds of animals, and the extremities of man, and moreover instruments, especially those of carpentry¹. For among them the art of expression by writing² does not furnish the sense by means of the putting together of syllables, but from the metaphorical significance of the objects copied, memory lending its aid³. For they represent a hawk and a crocodile and a serpent, and of the parts of the human body, the eye, the hand, the face, and others of the same kind. Now the hawk signifies all things which are rapidly done; for this is nearly the most rapid of all birds, and by a natural metaphor the expression is transferred to all rapid things and things analogous to them, just as in speech⁴. The crocodile denotes all badness; the eye is the observer of justice and guardian of the whole body: and of the extremities, the right hand having the fingers stretched out, denotes the giving of sustenance; the left, closed, the preservation and guardianship of money. The same mode applies to the other figures derived from the body, and mechanical instruments and all the rest. For following out the significations which exist in each, and exercising their minds by long practice and memory, they read readily everything that is written."

In this passage, by far the fullest which any classical author has left respecting the Egyptian writing, it will be observed that no notice is taken of any alphabetical use of the hieroglyphic characters. They are all supposed to be used symbolically, *i. e.* to

¹ The hatchet, the pincers, the mallet, the chisel, the square, the saw, all appear among the hieroglyphics. See Champollion, *Dict.* no. 651 foll.

² Ἡ γραμματικὴ.

³ Ἐξ ἐμφάσεως τῶν μεταγραφομένων καὶ μεταφορᾶς, μνήμη (ἢ μνήμης) συνηλημένης.

⁴ Πιραπλησίως τοῖς εἰρημένοις. This is the translation of Zoega, p. 430, but perhaps it means as before mentioned, *i. e.* by metaphorical significance.

denote qualities by visible objects naturally associated with them. Even of these, few are found to correspond in the hieroglyphical writing with the senses assigned by Diodorus. The hawk represents royalty and divinity, and especially the gods Horus and Phre or the Sun, possibly from its rapidity of flight, but more probably from the brilliancy of its eye; but not all rapid things. The crocodile denotes darkness, but not badness of every kind; the outstretched hand and arm express the act of *giving*, or more exactly the Egyptian verb T, to give; but the closed and expanded palm are measures of length¹. Believing, on the authority of Diodorus, that hieroglyphics were in the main symbolical, those who sought for their meaning in recent times set out in a wrong direction, and bewildered themselves in the mazy regions of conjecture. Ammianus Marcellinus also², though he correctly stated the use of hieroglyphics to be “ut ad ævi sequentis ætates patratorum perveniret vulgatus memoria,” and thus contradicted the notion of a secret character, misled inquirers by his description of their nature, which he distinctly declares not to be alphabetical³. They were confirmed in their errors by the only systematic work on Egyptian hieroglyphics which has come down to us, the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo⁴. This book, according to its title, was written in Egyptian by Horapollo and translated by Philippus; but the age of both is unknown. If the author be the Horapollo mentioned by Suidas, he was an Egyptian grammarian, who taught at Alexandria and Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius; if the name has been falsely assumed, the composition of the work must be placed

¹ Champollion, Dict. nos. 54, 55.

² Lib. 17, c. 4, p. 119, ed. Wagner.

³ “Non ut nunc literarum numerus præstitutus et facilis exprimit, quid quid humana mens concipere potest, ita prisce quoque scriptitarunt Ægyptii; sed singulæ literæ singulis nominibus inserviebant et verbis; nonnunquam significabant integros sensus”

⁴ The best edition is that of Leemans, Amstelod. 1835. It has been translated into English, and illustrated by Cory.

considerably later. The explanations which he gives are wholly symbolical; in general fanciful and false, both as regards the analogies on which the symbolical use is supposed to be founded, and the actual practice of hieroglyphical writing. The sixth section of the first book may serve as a specimen. "What the Egyptians express by delineating a hawk. They delineate a hawk when they wish to denote a god, or height, or depression, or pre-eminence, or blood, or victory. *A god*; because the animal is prolific and long-lived; and, moreover, because it seems to be an image of the sun, being able, beyond all other birds, to look steadily at his rays; whence physicians use the plant hawkweed (*Hieracia*) to cure the eyes; whence also they sometimes represent the sun as of the form of a hawk, as being the lord of vision: *height*; because other animals, aiming to soar, go obliquely round about, not being able to go straight; but the hawk only soars straight upwards: *pre-eminence*; because it appears to excel all other animals: *blood*; because they say that this animal drinks not water, but blood: *victory*; because it conquers all birds; for when it is in danger of being mastered by another, it lays itself on its back in the air and fights with its claws turned up and its wings and rump downwards; and is victorious, because its antagonist cannot do the same thing." The only part of this which is true is that the hawk is an emblem of divinity and of the sun. A few coincidences are found between the explanations of Horapollo and the real meaning of the hieroglyphics, but they are exceptional, and his authority as an interpreter is in itself worth nothing¹. It is evident that the power of reading a hieroglyphical inscription was not possessed by him, if it existed in his time; that only an imperfect traditional knowledge of a few symbols remained, and that boundless scope was given to the fancy in explaining their origin.

¹ See Champollion, *Précis*, p. 348. He says he has found only thirteen of the characters mentioned by Horapollo, which really bear the meaning he assigns to them.

The Latin writers throw no light upon the system of hieroglyphics. Tacitus¹, speaking of the Egyptians, says that they first expressed ideas (*sensus mentis*) by the figures of animals; and declared themselves to be the inventors of letters—a glory which the Phœnicians had usurped in consequence of their extended navigation, by which it had been diffused through Greece. Lucan², on the other hand, claims for the Phœnicians to have known alphabetical letters before the Egyptians had invented the papyrus, and while they only cut magic figures of birds and beasts in stone. This shows that he supposed the written and monumental characters of Egypt to be entirely distinct, which is contrary to the fact. Pliny³ speaks of the sculptures on Egyptian monuments as being letters; yet we cannot hence infer that he knew them to be alphabetical. Plutarch⁴ more distinctly speaks of twenty-five Egyptian letters, assigning as the reason of this number that it is the square of five. As, however, he elsewhere says that the Ibis, the bird of Thoth, was the first letter⁵, though this character has no alphabetical sound, he could only mislead one who endeavored to ascertain the true nature of Egyptian writing.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the passage before quoted, in which he describes the transport of an obelisk by Constantius and its erection at Rome, gives a translation by Hermapion of the inscription on that which stood in the Circus Maximus. It furnished no assistance, however, in the discovery of hieroglyphics; for it was

¹ Ann. 11, 14.

² Pharsalia, 3, 221.

Phœnices primum, famæ si creditur, ausi,
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat; in saxis tantum volucresque ferasque,
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguae.

³ Hist. Nat. 36, 14 (8 al.), 7, 57 (56).

⁴ De Is. et Os. 2, p. 374.

⁵ Sympos. 2, 788.

not known which of the obelisks once erected there was meant, the Lateran or the Flaminian. The name of Thothmes, not Rhameses, has since been found on the Lateran obelisk, and the inscription on the Flaminian, which does contain the name of Rameses, cannot be read into any close conformity with the translation. Yet the phrases "King Rhameses Son of the Sun, living for ever;" "the beloved of Apollo and the Sun," "founded upon Truth," "Lord of the Diadem," &c., are of constant recurrence in hieroglyphical inscriptions, and prove that at least their general sense was understood when Hermapion wrote. No obelisk, however, has been found at Rome with an inscription so exactly agreeing with this of Ammianus that it can be identified as the original.

The only ancient author who has left us a correct and full account of the principle of the Egyptian writing is the learned Alexandrian Father, Clemens, who wrote towards the end of the second century after Christ. In his *Stromata*¹ he says, "Those who receive education among the Egyptians learn first of all the method of Egyptian writing which is called *epistolographic*; secondly the *hieratic*, which the hierogrammats use; and last, and as the completion, the *hieroglyphic*. Of this one kind is direct, by means of letters, the other symbolical. And of the symbolical, one expresses directly by means of imitation, another is written as it were tropically, and another runs into downright allegory² by means of certain enigmas. For example³, when they wish to represent the sun they make a circle, and the moon a crescent, in the way of direct imitation. But in the tropical way they engrave

¹ Lib. 5, c. 4, p. 657, Potter.

² Ἀντικρὺς ἀλληγορεῖται. For this use of *αντικρὺς* in the sense of *plane*, *omnino*, see Suid. s. voc. Ἀντικρὺς, διόλου ἢ παντελῶς ἢ φανερώς. Plut. 370 D.

³ This is the sense of γοῦν, both here and below. It often introduces an illustrative or confirmatory statement. See Hartung, Gr. Partikeln, 2, p. 15.

characters, using them metaphorically according to their affinity, and sometimes changing them and sometimes transforming them in a variety of ways. Handing down, for example, the praises of their kings in mythological fables, they record them by means of the sculptures. Of the third kind, which uses enigmas¹, let this be a specimen ; they likened the other heavenly bodies to serpents, on account of their oblique course, but the sun to a beetle, because having made a round ball of cow-dung he rolls it with a retro-grade movement."

When we come to relate the history of the discovery of hieroglyphics, we shall find that every part of the system is described by Clemens, and may wonder that his words had not served as a guide to the truth. They are, however, a little ambiguous, and their meaning was rendered more perplexed by the preconceived opinions with which learned men translated and expounded them. They are ambiguous, inasmuch as Clemens seems to make the *hieratic*, which is only a running-hand of hieroglyphics, a distinct species, and thus led his commentators to seek for some essential difference where none existed. Even the expression διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, "by means of letters²," which is now so clearly seen to mean an alphabet, was variously interpreted. Again, we commonly use the word *symbolic* as equivalent to *emblematic*, and understand by it something which does not represent things directly, but by allusion and analogy ; whereas Clemens includes under it the making pictures of objects to represent those objects, as well as to suggest certain analogous qualities to the mind, which he afterwards distinguishes as the *tropical* use. The confusion was increased by the endeavor to harmonize with this passage another in Porphyry's 'Life of Pythagoras³,' in which he says that

¹ Plutarch, *u. s.* Οὐ δὲ δι' αἰνιγμάτων οὐδὲ συμβολικῶς, ἀλλὰ κυρίοις ὀνόμασι.

² Not *initial letters*, but simply letters, the *prima elementa* of the *Romans*. See Lepsius, *Lettre à Rosellini*, p. 44. Hor. Sat. 1, 26.

³ Vit. Pyth. c. 11, 12.

there were three modes of writing among the Egyptians—the epistolographic, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic; thus making the two last distinct species, and the hieroglyphic *direct* in its mode of expression¹. The consequence was, that those who after the revival of archæological studies engaged in the problem of interpreting hieroglyphics, attached themselves generally to the discovery of the symbolical and enigmatical characters; and as Horapollo was their guide, they necessarily went astray. This accorded with the view generally adopted, that hieroglyphics were devised by the priests to conceal their mystical doctrines². Warburton, the most sagacious of them, abandoned the notion of an occult character and recognised the existence of an alphabet; but he confined it to the epistolographic and hierogrammatic, expressly excluding the hieroglyphic³. Zoega, in many respects so meritorious, entirely misapprehended the meaning of *πρῶτα στοιχίσια* in the passage of Clemens, and rejected the opinion of De Guignes, who thought he had perceived alphabetical characters among the hieroglyphics⁴. Indeed it was scarcely possible that any sagacity should have discovered from the words of Clemens the real fact that the alphabetical, the direct symbolical and the tropical were not three distinct systems, used by different classes of men and kept separate, but only three different modes, all of which might be employed jointly in the expression of a single sentence⁵.

¹ Κοινολογουμένων κατὰ μέμνησιν, where κοινός is equivalent to κύριος in Clemens.

² The Christian Fathers inculcated this view of hieroglyphics. See St. Cyril, quoted by Zoega, p. 28.

³ Divine Legation, B. 4, sect. 4, v. 2, p. 97.

⁴ Deguignius, dum in monumentis Egyptiis inter hieroglyphicas notas invenisse sibi visus est characteras aliquos alphabeticis similiores quam imitativis, opinioni indulsit nullo idoneo argumento firmatæ, p. 441. De Guignes' paper is in the Mém. de l'Ac. des Insc. 34, 3.

⁵ The signification of the *tau* or *cruz ansata* (Pl. iii. b. 3) as *Life*, had been preserved in consequence of its resemblance to the cross. Sozomen Hist. Eccl. 7, 15) relates that when the Serapeion of Alexandria was

Probably we should have had to the present day only a similar succession of hypotheses, but for an event connected with the French Expedition to Egypt in 1798. A French engineer, in digging the foundation of a fort near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, found a *stele* or tablet of basalt, on which was an inscription in three different characters. One of these being Greek, it was soon ascertained that the purpose of its erection was to acknowledge, on the part of the high-priests, prophets, and other sacred functionaries assembled at Memphis in the year 196 B. C., at the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the services rendered to the sacerdotal order and to Egypt generally by the young king, and to decree him certain honors. The Greek contains a command that the decree should be inscribed "in the sacred letters, and letters of the country and Greek letters¹;" and it was obvious from the inspection of the characters that the first are what we call Hieroglyphic, and the second what Herodotus and Diodorus call Demotic or Demodic², and Clemens Epistolographic. It was natural to conclude that each of the inscriptions was substantially the same; and as the numerals for *first*, *second*, and *third* were found in the same relative position at the end of the hieroglyphic and demotic as the corresponding words in the Greek, it became probable that there was even a literal agreement. Various attempts were accordingly made to decipher the other two by the aid of the Greek. They were rendered difficult, partly by the circumstance that the hieroglyphic portion is much mutilated, and partly by the first inquirers, Akerblad and Young, directing their attention rather to the demotic

destroyed by the order of Theodosius, a hieroglyphical character resembling a cross was found on some of the stones, and explained by those who understood such things, to mean *Σημῆ ἀπερχομένη*.

¹ Τοῖς τε ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐγχωρίοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν.

² Dr. Young and his followers have adopted the name *enchorial* from the inscription; but *demotic* is more definite, as "letters of the country" are here evidently opposed to "Greek letters," not "sacred letters."

than the hieroglyphic part. The earliest publications of the latter, in the 'Archæologia' and 'Museum Criticum', relate to the attempts to read the demotic into Coptic. Having convinced himself that the demotic was not alphabetic, he turned to the study of the hieroglyphic, and in 1818 circulated among his friends a hieroglyphical vocabulary in which about 200 characters were explained. These were afterwards published in the Supplement to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' in 1819². Many of his interpretations have been confirmed by subsequent inquirers, as the character for *year*, *month*, and *day*, the system of numeration, the hieroglyphic for *god*, *priest*, *land*, *shrine*, *give*, *name*, and others; in the majority of his conjectures, however, he was not successful, and especially in those cases where there is no decided visible resemblance between the sign and the thing signified. Two very important points, however, were ascertained by him; that the oval rings on the Egyptian monuments contain proper names³, and that female personages, both human and divine, are discriminated from the male by the addition of an egg and a semicircle (Pl. III. C. 7, 8). At the end of his list he gives, with a quære, *Sounds?*, thirteen hieroglyphical characters, to which he assigns the values BIR, E, ENE, I, KE, M, MA, N, OLE, DS, P, T, O. This was the first glimpse of the great discovery of the *phonetic* use of hieroglyphical characters, but Dr. Young himself had not a clear conception of his own discovery. He had arrived at the deciphering of the hieroglyphic names through the medium of the demotic, and having convinced

¹ Arch. 18, 61. May 19, 1814. Mus. Crit. vol. 2, p. 154, 331. 1826. The correspondence with De Sacy and Akerblad, contained in this paper, is of the years 1814, 1815. The letter to the Archduke John of Austria, 1816.

² Vol. 4, Art. Egypt, pl. 74-78.

³ Champollion and others have represented this as *known* from the work of Zoega (Précis, p. 22). But in both the passages referred to, Zoega speaks doubtfully, and rather rejects than adopts the opinion that these rings contain proper names. Pp. 374, 475.

himself that the demotic was not alphabetical, he formed the same conclusion respecting the hieroglyphic. The characters which he fixed were derived from the two names Berenice and Ptolemæus (Pl. II. C. 1, 2); and he was confirmed in his opinion that they represented things, and phonetically the names of those things, by the resemblance between the first character in the group Berenice and a basket, which in Coptic is *Bir*. This first error threw him wrong in his subsequent analysis, for he naturally supposed the second character, which really represents R, to be an E. The N and I, which are the third and fourth, he interpreted correctly, but erred again in supposing the fifth, which is K, to be redundant; and the sixth, which is an S, to be KE¹. So in the name of Ptolemy he correctly ascertained the P, S, and T, but supposed the M to be MA, the L to be OLE, and the O to be superfluous. It may well surprise us, that having ascertained several of these characters to represent single sounds he did not conclude them all to do so; in other words, to belong to an alphabet instead of being pictures of things whose names were used to express the sounds of proper names. The conclusion, that as several of the characters represented letters, all must do so, would have been irresistible in regard to our own language, in which it never happens that a single letter is itself a name; but in the Coptic a single letter is frequently a word. How imperfect his discovery was appears evident from the fact, that he did not succeed in deciphering the name of a single ancient Pharaoh except Thothmosis. Here it happened that the first syllable was not spelt alphabetically, but expressed by means of the Ibis, the bird consecrated to Thoth (Pl. II. C. 9). In all the rest he failed entirely. Thus the name of Psammitichus (6) he read Sesostris; that of Sesortasen, Heron; that of Amenoph (8), Tithous. An accident prevented him from availing himself of a monument which would have shown him that

¹ This last letter is not found in some of the shields of Berenice, and is not in that copied in the Plate.

the phonetic characters were a real alphabet. An obelisk had been found in the Isle of Philæ and transported to London by Mr. W. J. Bankes, on which Ptolemy appears written precisely as on the Rosetta stone, and also another royal name. Now the Greek inscription on the base¹ mentions, along with Ptolemy, Cleopatra, and it was an obvious inference that the second hieroglyphic name was to be read Cleopatra, especially as it terminated with the two characters which Dr. Young had already assigned as the distinction of the female sex. All the letters which form the name Cleopatra occur either in Ptolemy or Berenice, and if the same characters were again found in their proper places in this new combination, the evidence of their true nature would be conclusive. Unfortunately, by an error in the lithographed copy of the hieroglyphics on the obelisk, the first letter of the name of Cleopatra was expressed by a T instead of a K, and Dr. Young too hastily allowing himself to be discouraged by this circumstance², a more recent laborer in the same field carried off the larger share of the honor of the discovery.

There can be no doubt that Champollion, who did not publish his *Lettre à M. Dacier* till 1822, had seen the Hieroglyphical Vocabulary of Dr. Young, or that he had derived from it the idea, unknown to him before, of a phonetic value in the hieroglyphical characters enclosed in the oval shields. But he saw more than young himself; he saw that instead of representing words they represented letters, and, aided by a suggestion of Letronne, he brought this to the test, by means of the obelisk of Philæ, whose evidence had escaped from Young. The combination of this with the Rosetta stone gave him an alphabet of fifteen letters, and the evidence of their sound was increased by a comparison with the name of Alexander (ALKSNTRS), found with a Greek inscription

¹ Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 297-303. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, taf. xvii.

² Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature, p. 49.

at Karnak (Pl. II. 4). The rapidity with which he proceeded to read names occurring on monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman times, showed that the true key was in his hands; the buildings on which they were found had generally Greek inscriptions, fixing the reigns in which they were erected. Ascending to the times of the Persian conquest and the Pharaohs, who lived before it, and applying the same alphabet, which he had derived from the Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions, he was soon able to read the names of Cambyses (Kenbot) (5), Psammitichus (6), Tacelothis, Osorchon, Amunmei-Sheshonk (7), Amenophis (Amenotp) (8), Thothmes¹ (9), Amunmei-Rameses (11), Cheops (Shoufou) (10), and others, known, either from the classical historians or from Manetho, as ancient sovereigns of Egypt. Nor was this the limit of his discovery. He soon ascertained that parts of the hieroglyphical inscriptions which are not included in the oval shields, could be resolved by the same phonetic alphabet into words of the Coptic language, and that this use extended backwards to the very earliest ages of the monarchy. In the dispute which arose respecting their respective shares in this great discovery, neither Young nor Champollion showed himself perfectly candid. Young did not acknowledge distinctly the imperfection of his own analysis, and the important difference in principle between his method and Champollion's. Champollion on the other hand concealed the fact, that he had derived from the works of Young the first idea of a phonetic use of the hieroglyphics. The discovery of Young, however, in the state in which he left it, would have been productive of little benefit; as amended by Champollion, it has unlocked the long-closed chambers of Egyptian archæology.

When we analyse a hieroglyphical inscription, we find that its characters are used in three different ways. First, that which Champollion calls the *figurative*, but which we prefer to call the

¹ Two of the characters in the shield of Thothmes, the guitar and the beetle, are not phonetic.

pictorial, since figurative in English has the meaning of *tropical* or *symbolical*. In this case the delineation of an object is designed to convey to the mind the idea of that object and nothing more; and were the whole inscription made up of such delineations, it would be a picture-writing like that of the Mexicans. It is one of the circumstances in the description of Clemens, which prevented the nature of Egyptian writing from being understood, that he includes this in the general appellation of *symbolical*, as in the case of a disk for the sun and a crescent for the moon, distinguishing it as "that kind of the symbolical which produces its effect directly by imitation." This pictorial representation sometimes stands instead of a phonetic name for the object; but the most common use is to make the phonetic group of characters more intelligible, by being subjoined to them. Thus to the names of individuals the figure of a man is subjoined; to the characters which express the words for *name*, *wine*, *eagle*, *grapes*, *egg*, *statue*, *ear*, *wall*, *ass*, *milk*, and others (Pl. III. A.), figures are added, forming what Champollion calls the *determinative* of that group of characters. To *ran*, name, is subjoined the shield or ring in which proper names are commonly enclosed; to *erp*, wine, two jars, &c.¹ In a similar way a man dancing is subjoined to the verb signifying that act; a woman on her knees with a child, to the verb signifying to nourish or bring up; a man erect with outstretched hand, to the verb which signifies to call upon². Sometimes the figure is only partially given, the head or the limbs being substituted for the whole body. This mode of fixing the sense of a particular group of characters was especially convenient in a system of writing, which did not mark either by points or intervals the commencement of one word and the termination of another.

¹ Lepsius, Lettre à M. Rosellini, pl. A.

² The determinative was sometimes fixed by the sound rather than the sense. Thus a spindle was used as the determinative of *singing*, *hos* in Coptic signifying both a spindle and to sing. See Dr. E. Hincks, Tr. of R. I. Academy, v. 21, P. 2.

The second use of the hieroglyphical writing is the *symbolical*, in which the object delineated is not meant to convey to the mind simply the idea of itself, but of something associated with and suggested by it. Thus a crescent is used to denote a month (Pl. I.), because no doubt, originally the Egyptian month was lunar; the palm to denote a year, because (it is said) the tree puts forth a branch every month¹; the vulpanser or goose of the Nile, a son, because the bird is remarkable for its filial affection²; the bee, a people obedient to their king³; the vulture, maternity (Pl. III. B. 5); the bull, strength, or a husband; a stretched-out hand, the action of giving (Pl. IV. F.); two legs, verbs of motion; a hand holding a club, force; an ostrich-feather, truth, from the equality of all the filaments; a lotus, Upper Egypt; a head of papyrus, Lower Egypt—as their characteristic productions (Pl. III. D. 5); the conical cap, Upper Egypt; the exterior diadem, Lower Egypt, as the insignia of their respective sovereignties (Pl. III. D. 4), the character for *land*, four roads crossing, being subjoined to each; a writing-case, a scribe (*ib.* B. 7); a palace (D. 8) is represented by a rectangular enclosure, with a large court and pylon; a temple, by a similar enclosure, with a sacrificial hatchet, the symbol of a god (7); a priest (B. 6), by a figure with uplifted hands and a vessel of libation. These are instances of obvious and simple association; in other cases the reference is more obscure. We do not know the reason why *life* was represented by the *crux ansata* (III. B. 3), or *worlds* by two parallel lines (*ib.* 2), or *wife* by a figure resembling a shield (*ib.* 4). We may conjecture that the *crux* is a key, which gives entrance into life; that the parallel lines denote unlimited extension; but we can offer no proof that this was the origin of their application. The meaning, however, is not doubtful.

Of that more deep and far-fetched symbolism, which constituted

¹ Horapollon, i. 3. See Pl. III. D. I.

² Horapollon, i. 53. See Pl. III. B. I.

³ Horapollon, i. 62. See the character which precedes the shield of Ptolemy (Pl. IV. No. 4), in the copy from the Rosetta Stone.

what Clemens calls the enigmatical kind, modern research into the hieroglyphics has revealed very little. The examples which he himself gives, the representation of the course of the stars by a serpent, and of the sun by a scarabæus¹, are not confirmed by the monuments. Plutarch² tells us that on the propylon of the temple at Sais were inscribed, a child and an old man, a hawk, a fish and a hippopotamus; that the hawk denoted a god, the fish, hatred, and the hippopotamus, impudence; and that the whole together was to be read, "Ye who are being born and ye who are about to die, the god hates impudence." Such a condensation of symbolical meaning would approach the enigmatical, and we cannot pronounce that the Egyptians never expressed themselves in this way; but we do not find examples of it in their monuments, and it is very foreign to the character of the hieroglyphical writing. As far as it has been hitherto explained, there are in it very few symbols for the expression of abstract conceptions and propositions connected with them by material objects. We may turn page after page of Champollion's Dictionary of Hieroglyphics, and find no signs but such as are pictorial or phonetic.

The last-mentioned class, the *phonetic* (the first in the enumeration of Clemens) is really by far the most extensive. The greater part of the characters of which a hieroglyphical inscription is made up are as truly *letters*, as if it were Greek or English; and as discovery has extended itself, signs supposed to be symbolical have shown themselves to be phonetic³. There are, however, two cir-

¹ It seems rather to denote *the world* (Champ. Lex. No. 174).

² Op. 2, p. 363. Compared with Clem. Alex. Stromat. 5, 7.

³ For example, the vulpanser (Pl. III. B. 1) has been explained before symbolically to denote *son*; but it is perhaps the letter *S*, representing the Coptic *Se*, a son. The branch (*ib.* 4, 5) appears not to be a symbol of royalty, but the first letter, *S*, of an old Egyptian (not Coptic) word, *Suten*, king. The first character in the group for Egypt (III. D. 6) was supposed to represent a crocodile's tail, and as this denoted *darkness* (Horap. 1, 70),

cumstances which distinguish the Egyptian writing from that of other nations. One is that in other alphabets the characters appropriated to express vocal sounds appear to have no resemblance to any material objects, but to be arbitrarily or conventionally allotted. It is true that in the Hebrew the names of the letters are significant, *Aleph* meaning an ox, *Beth* a house, and so on; and an ingenious attempt has been made¹ to show that the earliest form of *Aleph* resembled the head of an ox, of *Beth* the gable of a house; but it is only by great exercise of the fancy that such an opinion can be rendered plausible throughout. In the hieroglyphical writing the majority of the characters are pictures of well-known objects, and the few which have no obvious archetype, as the most common forms of S, P, M, and T, may be concluded from analogy to have had the same origin. Dr. Young supposed the transition from the pictorial to the phonetic use to have taken place, by the adoption of the picture of the object as an exponent of the sound of its name; a basket (*Bir*), for example, to denote the syllable *Ber* in *Berenice*, the oval shield being used to show that the image of the basket was meant in this case to suggest, not the object itself or its uses, but the sound of its name. Syllabic characters, however, are the exception, not the rule, in Egyptian writing. Champollion showed that the characters represented letters, not syllables, and were phonetically used without, as well as with, the oval shields. According to him, when the Egyptians wished to represent a sound, they took for its exponent the picture of some object, whose name in the spoken language began with that sound. It was even thought that Clemens, when he described the first method as imitating by means of *the first elements*, meant by this *initial* letters². There are, certainly, some

and the native name of Egypt, *Chem*, signified *black*, it was supposed to be a symbol of Egypt. It is now considered to be the letter *Ch*, joined with the letter *M*, to spell *Chem*. Many similar instances might be given.

¹ Hug über die Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift. Ulm, 1801.

² See p. 246 of this volume.

remarkable coincidences between the characters and the first letters of the Coptic names of the objects which those characters represent. Thus an eagle stands for A, and its Coptic name is *Ahom* ; a leaf of an aquatic plant, Coptic *Achi*, stands for the same letter ; a lion for L, Coptic *Labo* ; an owl for M, *Moulad* ; a knotted cord for H, *Hahe*, and some others. This may have been the cause of the appropriation, but it cannot be carried through the whole of the phonetic alphabet. The Coptic language, as known to us, affords no reason why A should also be denoted by an arm, OU by a chicken, B by a leg, or K by a patera. While the evidence remains thus imperfect, we can only say that this is an easy way of accounting for the transition from the pictorial to the phonetic use.

The second peculiarity which distinguishes the Egyptian alphabet from those with which we were previously acquainted is, that in them one form is appropriated to the expression of one vocal sound, whereas in Egyptian writing, most of the elementary sounds have more than one sign. These equivalents have been called *homophones* by Champollion, and they were the cause of considerable embarrassment in the early stages of the discovery. Were the origin above assigned to the phonetic use correct, it is evident that any object might be used to denote a letter, whose name began with that letter, and the latitude in the use of homophones would be boundless. But in fact their use is much more restricted. We have first to strike off a considerable number of characters never used phonetically in writing the names of the ancient Pharaohs. Again, in many instances, as was first pointed out by Lepsius, a character which in the symbolical writing stood by itself for a whole word, is used phonetically for the initial letter of that word, but in no other combination. Thus the sacrificial axe stood symbolically for a *god*, in Coptic *Nouter* ; and when this word is phonetically written, the axe stands for the first letter N ; but never elsewhere. So *life* was represented symbolically by the *cruz ansata* or tau ; and in writing the word *onch*, which is

Coptic for *life*, this character stands for O, but in no other. It was a rule to write particular combinations of sounds with certain letters only; A, M and N had each several homophones, but in the name of the god AMuN (Pl. III. C. 1), only one form of the three letters is ever found. In the word *Men*, "established," M is always written with the crenellated parallelogram (Pl. II.), which is never used in *Mai*, "beloved." Where no such traditional rule prevailed, the choice of the homophone appears to have been determined by symmetry, some forms grouping best together. The list of 132 homophones has been reduced by Lepsius to 34 of general use¹. They represent fifteen sounds; the vowels A and E; I, and the diphthongs AI and EI; O, and the diphthong OO; the consonants B, K, T (which is not distinguished from D), R and L, which were one letter in Egyptian pronunciation and writing², M, N, P, S and SH, and three aspirates, F, CH, and H. Of these, B, P and F in the general phonetic alphabet have only one sign; O, K, R, S, SH, CH, H, two; A and N three, T and M four. The difficulty of mere reading according to such an alphabet is not great, even when we include the signs which are phonetic only in certain combinations. The vowels were seldom written, by the Egyptians themselves, except at the beginning and end of words.

In every inscription of any length, we find these three modes of writing, the pictorial, the symbolical and the phonetic, in use together, but with a great predominance of the phonetic³. It is natural to suppose that there was a time when the pictorial alone was used; that the symbolical was an advance in the power of abstraction, and that the phonetic was the last stage of progress. We may also conceive that the phonetic analysis began by reducing words to syllables, before it resolved syllables into elementary

¹ See his alphabet, as given in the *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, in Pl. II. It is copied in Pl. II. a. n. at the end of this volume.

² In the demotic character they are always distinguished.

See Note at the end of this Chapter.

sounds. These things are hypothetically probable, but have no historical proof. In the oldest remains of Egyptian writing we find the same mixture of the pictorial, the symbolical, and the phonetic as in the latest. Other nations, however, exhibit the art of writing in these several stages. The Mexican writing was in the main pictorial; but it was also in a slight degree symbolical, a tongue denoting "speaking," a foot-print, "travelling," a man sitting on the ground, "an earthquake;" it had even the rudiments of a phonetic system, the significant names of individuals or places being expressed by the objects which the different parts signified¹. The Chinese system of writing was in its origin pictorial; we can still trace, in the oldest forms of the characters which represent natural objects, the intention to make a drawing of their outline. But from this point it diverged entirely from the Egyptian. The Chinese written character is a vast system of symbols, so multi-form and so ingeniously applied, that by means of it the most complex ideas are synthetically represented, the most abstract connected with the image of something real. The Egyptian, we have seen, is symbolical only to a very limited extent. The Chinese possess in their symbolical writing the means of expressing the whole range of their ideas, yet they used their characters also to express their spoken language; but approached no nearer to the phonetic use of hieroglyphics than by employing them for syllables, not letters². This difference is probably connected with the

¹ Prescott's Mexico, 1, 86.

² "Comme tout signe simple ou composé, a son terme correspondant dans la langue parlée, lequel lui tient lieu de prononciation, il en est un certain nombre qui ont été pris comme signes des sons auxquels ils répondaient, abstraction faite de leur signification primitive, et qu'on a joints en cette qualité aux images pour former des caractères mixtes. L'une de leurs parties qui est l'image détermine le sens et fixe le genre; l'autre qui est un groupe de traits devenus insignifiants, indique le son et caractérise l'espèce. Ces sortes de caractères sont moitié représentatifs et moitié syllabiques.' Abel Remusat, quoted by Champollion, Précis, p. 353.

difference in the genius of the Chinese and Coptic languages. The Chinese consists of a very small number (less than 400) of monosyllabic sounds, which are capable of being varied by intonation so as to multiply them to 1300; but these roots are never inflected or incorporated by composition. The Coptic may be regarded as poor in the number of its roots, and inflexible as regards its grammar and etymology, if compared with the Greek or the Sanscrit; but it admits the principle of modification to express the relations of thought, and composition to express complex ideas. The Egyptian writing, therefore, holds an intermediate place between a purely pictorial and symbolical, and a purely alphabetical system. The Chinese have 80,000 characters, and their number must increase with every accession of ideas; the Egyptians, according to the enumeration of Champollion's Dictionary, 749; alphabets have varied in number from sixteen to upwards of fifty; but twenty appear sufficient to the analysis of vocal sound. A difficulty adheres to the Egyptian system which is not found in either of the others, from the intermixture of the three modes; when we find a character which represents an object, it is in itself uncertain whether it stands pictorially for the object, or symbolically for some property associated with it, or phonetically for some sound to the expression of which it has been appropriated. This difficulty can only be surmounted by practice.

In hieroglyphical inscriptions the characters are arranged either in horizontal or in perpendicular lines. In the former case they are sometimes to be read from right to left, and sometimes from left to right, but always beginning at the side towards which the heads of the animal figures are turned. Where an inscription is composed of a number of perpendicular columns, the same principle prevails; the reading begins with the column which is outermost on the side to which the heads are turned. Rosellini has noted an exception to this rule in the case of a long inscription at Medinet

Aboo, in honor of Rameses IV., in which the columns succeed each other from left to right, though the figures are turned to the right¹.

It is important to understand the nature of the evidence for the reading and interpretation which Egyptologists give of hieroglyphical writings. The general values of the phonetic characters are the most firmly established. They are fixed by the Rosetta Stone, the obelisk of Philæ, the inscriptions on the Ptolemaic temples, and the monuments of the Roman times, where the same names occur in Greek or Latin characters, the value of which is not doubtful. Such evidence cannot of course be furnished respecting the Persian times or those of the ancient Pharaohs. But a system which prevailed under the Ptolemies cannot have originated with them, and no reason can be imagined why the same principle of interpretation should not be applied to what has all external marks of identity. When therefore the alphabet which has furnished us with the names of Ptolemy, Cleopatra, Alexander, Cæsar and Trajan, gives us also Kenbot, Nteriush, Chshiersh and Artesheshes, in a country which we know to have been subject to Persian sway, we cannot hesitate to recognise Cambyases, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes. In the line of the old Pharaohs we must rely on the evidence acquired by previous successful identifications, and the striking coincidence with the names which Manetho professed to have derived from monuments and records. A single instance will serve to show the application of this process. The colossal statue of the plain of Thebes, popularly known as the vocal Memnon, we are told by Manetho was really the king Amenophis². Pausanias says the Thebans deny this to be the statue of Memnon, and say that it is a native, Phamenoph³. Among the inscriptions of the Roman age

¹ Mon. Stor. 4, p. 84. He mentions one or two other instances of the same kind, *e. gr.* a sarcophagus of Rameses IV. in the Louvre.

² 'Αμενώφης' οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μίμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος. Dyn. 18. The last words are, perhaps, not Manetho's.

³ Attic. c. 42. 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗ Μίμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Θεβαῖται, Φαμενώφῃ δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἔν.

which cover the legs of the statue is one in which the writer records that he has heard the voice of Memnon or Phamenoph¹. In the usual oval ring on the pedestal of the statue is a group of characters, which Champollion by the aid of his alphabet, already established by the evidence which I have mentioned, read Amenothph². *Ph* is the Coptic article, and it is difficult to imagine a more convincing proof than this coincidence affords of the soundness of his principle. The pronunciation of many names not royal has been ascertained by their transcription in Greek. Among authorities of this kind, the bilingual papyrus of Leyden³ is most remarkable. It is of a late age, and bears traces of having been written after the rise of Gnosticism; but containing the transcription of some hundred names in demotic, hieratic and Greek, it enables us to ascertain the phonetic value of the characters. There must still remain some doubt in regard to characters which do not occur in the spelling of names whose pronunciation is known by their Greek or Latin equivalents. Thus the name which Champollion and others after him have read *Osortasen*, on the obelisks of Heliopolis and the Fyoun, is read by Lepsius and Bunsen *Sesortasen*, and no decisive test can be applied to settle the dispute. Some doubt hangs also over cases in which a hieroglyphic character may stand for a whole word or for a letter. Champollion attributes to the ibis the sound of Thouth or Thoth, the name of the god of whom the ibis was the symbol; and this is confirmed by the name Touthmosis given by Manetho to the king, whose name is spelt by an ibis and the letters M, S. In other instances however it is doubtful whether we are to give the whole sound of the name or only that of the first letter. There is a people frequently mentioned in the campaigns of the Egyptian kings, in whose name the figure of a lion occurs. This is considered by Champollion to stand simply

¹ Έελων αὐδῆσαντος ἐγὼ Πόβλιος Βαλβίνος φωνᾶς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φάμενοφ.

² Précis, p. 286. The fourth character is called by Lepsius and Bunsen, A.

³ Published by Professor Reuven.

for R, and he reads the name *Shari*; while Rosellini¹ makes it to be *Moui*, one of the Coptic words for lion, and reads the name *Sciomui*. The same character, the lute, which in the Rosetta Stone appears to signify grace or beneficence, is supposed to stand phonetically for *nofre*, the Coptic for *good*; and he has read accordingly the shield of the queen of Amasis *Nofre-Are*, and one of the Sesortasens has received on the same evidence the addition of *Nofrestep*; but the phonetic value of this character and others in the names assigned to royal or private personages is still doubtful.

The pictorial signs are commonly such as to carry the evidence of their own meaning with them. It is otherwise with the symbolical characters, whose relation to the ideas which they are meant to express is often obscure, and could not have been divined without some direct evidence. The most decisive is that of a bilingual inscription; but unfortunately this evidence is applicable only to a very limited extent. The portion of the Rosetta Stone which contains the hieroglyphical inscription is the most injured, nearly two-thirds being broken off, and no other monument of the same kind has yet been brought to light². From the part which exists, compared with the Greek, all our real knowledge of the system has been derived; but even in this the correspondence between the hieroglyphic and the Greek is by no means so exact as to furnish us with the precise analysis of every phrase in the former³. It is probable that the decree was originally composed in Greek, and that considerable latitude was indulged in rendering it in hieroglyphics. Other means of interpretation, however, are not wanting.

¹ Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 20.

² A copy of a part of it has been found at Philæ; it will probably be illustrated by Lepsius. See Bunsen's Egypt, p. 594, Eng.

³ It has been attempted by Salvolini, probably from the papers of Champollion, in his *Analyse Grammaticale Raisonnée de différentes Textes Egyptiens*, vol. 1, Par. 1836.

The meaning of a word or phrase may be fixed by its connexion with some visible representation. Thus Amenophis-Memnon at Luxor¹ appears leading in his hand four steers as an offering to Amun, whose color is respectively pied, red, white and black. Before each is a single character, and as the animals differ in nothing except color, it is a reasonable presumption that the character denotes the color. That which is before the white victim is apparently an onion—not ill-fitted for an emblem of this color. It occurs again elsewhere in connexion with a character, which, from being placed over offerings or tribute of gold, or men working in precious metals, evidently means gold², and the combination "white gold," i. e. silver, suits very well the place in which it occurs. Further, the inner conical part of the *pschent*, or double royal cap, is painted white, and we find the same character placed beside the representation of it. The character opposite to the black steer is a crocodile's tail, which according to Horapollon³ was the symbol of darkness. It is used in other combinations to which the idea of black or dark suits well. The character opposite to the red steer is a bird, whose color no doubt was red. It is found with the representation of the lower part of the *pschent*, which is colored red. In the absence of such direct indications, recourse must be had to the method of decipherers. Assuming upon merely presumptive grounds a certain meaning, they try it upon various combinations, and by eliminating successively what is shown to be false, arrive at last at the true solution. The nature of the hieroglyphic texts affords the means of ascertaining the sense of doubtful characters. They consist (the funeral papyri particularly) very much of formulary phrases; and when in one of these, the components of which are well known, there appears a variation, the pro-

¹ Rosellini, M. Reali, tav. xli.

² It occurs also on the Rosetta Stone, where it is directed that the statue of the king shall be gilded. Line 8, in Birch's facsimile.

³ Hierog. 1, 70. Σκότος λέγοντες, κροκοδείλου οὐρὰν ζωγραφεῖσιν.

bability is that the new character is only an equivalent or homophone of that whose place it has taken.

It has been already mentioned that in many instances the representations of known objects have groups of characters placed beside them, which are read by means of the phonetic alphabet into words, which in Coptic denote those objects. The grammatical forms and particles of the Coptic language are also found, in such frequent recurrence, that Champollion has been able to exhibit their hieroglyphical equivalents in a systematic form. So little doubt remains of the phonetic value of most of the characters, that it might have been expected that whole inscriptions might be read into Coptic and interpreted with certainty by the known vocabulary of that language. This expectation, however, has not been fulfilled. Although Champollion and Rosellini affect to write in Coptic characters their translations from the hieroglyphics, it is evident from inspection of them that a very small portion corresponds to any known Coptic words. This cannot be altogether explained by the scantiness of the remains of this language; for in many cases where it furnishes a word to express an obvious idea or a simple object, the hieroglyphic is different. There are indications of the existence of an old or sacred language, differing from that which was in common use, and it may be this, not the vulgar Coptic, into which, if we were acquainted with it, the hieroglyphic character should be read. Manetho, in the passage quoted from him by Josephus, speaking of the Hyksos or Shepherd-kings, says, *Hyk* in the sacred language signifies king, and *Sos* a shepherd, in the common dialect: or according to the reading of another manuscript of Manetho, which Josephus had consulted, *Hyk* or *Ak* meant captive. Now *Shos* is the Coptic for a shepherd; the old Egyptian for king is *Suten*, which is often found phonetically written; but *hyk* is also, though more rarely, used in the sense of ruler¹, while it is not found in the Coptic. We cannot therefore doubt, that in the age

¹ Champoll. Dict. des Hierog. p. 323; Lepsius, Lettre à M. Rosellini, p. 71.

of Manetho a distinction already existed between the sacred and the common dialect. Indeed it was hardly possible that it should be otherwise; whatever care the priesthood might exercise, in preventing the corruption of the idiom in which their sacred books were written, it was out of their power to control those natural causes, which introduce changes into the popular speech. Perhaps, when the study of the hieroglyphic texts has been more extended, it may be possible to recover from them this lost language, and thus give complete confirmation to the system which has been adopted for reading them, but at present no such work could be accomplished. Till then, we cannot rely with entire confidence on those interpretations which are not derived from the Rosetta Stone, or do not correspond with the Coptic, or are not certified by such frequency of recurrence as to render their meaning indisputable. The theological and mystical nature of much of the hieroglyphical literature renders its deciphering particularly difficult; in ordinary cases no other proof is required that the process is correct, than that it furnishes a meaning intelligible in itself and suitable to the connexion; but such a test is not applicable to the vague and dreamy contents of the funereal Ritual, or the legends which accompany the figures of the gods. The hieroglyphics which are found with the historical paintings and sculptures have a more definite subject, and the uncertainty of the philological interpretation is in some measure obviated by the distinctness of the scene exhibited. Yet even of these no such connected rendering has been given, as carries its own evidence with it, and many conjectural meanings are assigned, which it will require the test of varied application to other passages to confirm. This view of the present state of our knowledge of hieroglyphics will explain, why in this work hardly any use has been made of inscriptions in expounding the theological dogmas of the Egyptians, and the sparing and cautious use which will be made of them in the historical portion.

It is clear that the hieroglyphic character is the "sacred letters"

of Herodotus and Diodorus and the Rosetta inscription, and that the *enchorial* of the latter is the *demotic* or *demodic* of the two former and the *epistolographic* of Clemens Alexandrinus. The *hieratic* of this Father is that which appears in most of the papyri before the time of the Saitic kings, among others the hieratic canon or Royal List, of Turin. We find also in the older papyri linear hieroglyphics¹, in which the figures, instead of being fully drawn and filled up as in painting or sculpture, have only their outlines traced with a pen. These linear hieroglyphics are always disposed in vertical columns, as on the obelisks. The inspection of the hieratic characters would at first sight lead to the supposition that they were entirely distinct from hieroglyphics; they are always written in horizontal lines, and appear arbitrary in their forms. A closer examination and comparison, however, shows that they are really derived from the hieroglyphics, with such changes as were necessary to adapt their stiff and angular forms to rapid writing. This will be evident in comparing, group by group, the fac-simile of a portion of the Rosetta Stone, given in Pl. IV., with the hieratical transcription placed below it. In the arrangement of the hieratic characters, following consecutively in horizontal lines, the order of pronunciation is more exactly observed than in the hieroglyphics, which are sometimes disposed with a view to symmetry. The phonetic use predominates more than in the pure hieroglyphics, some of the pictorial and symbolical characters being dropped, as too cumbersome for writing². The hieratic character was not exclusively devoted to such purposes as we should call sacred, *i. e.* religious rituals and treatises, but derived its name from being used for sacerdotal purposes, such as the keeping of the temple accounts, genealogical registers, and the copying of

¹ An example of linear hieroglyphics may be seen in the publication of the Egyptian Society, Lond. 1823, though there called erroneously "a hieratic MS. of Lord Mountnorris." (Pl. 1-6.)

² Lepsius, Lettre à M. Rosellini, p. 70.

portions of the great funereal Ritual, in cases where a hieroglyphical manuscript would have been too expensive. The oldest extant specimen of this writing is a fragment pasted into the interior of the wooden coffin of a king called Nantef, belonging to some dynasty of the Old Monarchy. It differs in no important respect from that of the papyri of the eighteenth dynasty¹.

The demotic character appears from existing remains to have been chiefly used in contracts and judicial pieces; its employment on the Rosetta Stone is a proof, that among the mixed population of Egypt under the Ptolemies, the knowledge both of the hieroglyphic and the hieratic had become more than ever confined to the priests; what was to be generally understood must be in Greek or demotic. According to Lepsius, it exhibits not only the vulgar character, but the vulgar idiom. But the analysis which has hitherto been made of the documents in this character, notwithstanding the advantage of a Greek translation of some of the papyri, as well as the Rosetta Stone, has not been sufficiently complete to allow of our asserting this with confidence. It is evident, however, that the character has been derived from the hieratic, as that from the hieroglyphic, by the necessity of adaptation to still more rapid writing; that pictorial and symbolical characters are more rare, though not entirely banished, and that the language which it represents approaches more nearly to the Coptic.

In the passage already quoted, Clemens says that the Egyptians record the praises of their kings "by means of anaglyphs," and hence a particular kind of writing has been created, called by Champollion² *anaglyphic*. But "anaglyph" means only an engraved figure or character³, and is the appropriate expression for hieroglyphics considered with reference to their mechanical execution, not their import.

¹ Bunsen, *Egypten's Stelle*, B. 2, 254; 3, 7.

² *Précis*, p. 348.

³ Strabo (17, p. 806), speaking of the Egyptian *pylones*, says, ἀναγλυφὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι μεγάλων εἰδώλων.

According to Champollion, this class was composed almost entirely of symbolical characters. "The greater part of the symbolical images indicated in the whole of the first book of Horapollon, and in that part of the second which seems the most authentic, are found in the painted or sculptured pictures either on the walls of the temples and palaces and tombs, or in the MSS., on the bandages and coffins of the mummies, on amulets, &c.—paintings and sculptures which do not exhibit scenes of public and private life, nor religious ceremonies, but which are extraordinary compositions, in which fantastic beings, or it may be real beings, having no relation to each other in nature, are nevertheless united, brought together and put in action. These purely allegorical or symbolical bas-reliefs, which abound on Egyptian constructions, were specially designated by the ancients under the name of anaglyphs, by which I shall henceforward distinguish them." I am not aware that any other passage in the ancients but that of Clemens even *appears* to give the name of anaglyphs to a distinct kind of hieroglyphical writing; and how far he was from using it in the sense which Champollion arbitrarily assigns to it, is evident from his saying that in this way the Egyptians recorded the praises of their kings.

EXPLANATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHICS IN PL. IV.

The lowest compartment of this plate, which is taken from Lepsius's *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, contains a facsimile of a portion of the Rosetta Stone, with a transcription by Lepsius in the hieratic character, and the corresponding words of the Greek.

In the Group No. 1, the first character on the right hand, called by Champollion the *Sistrum*, is explained by him (*Dict.* No. 336; *Gram.* 2, 75) as K or S. The Coptic word for *set up* is *Ko* or *Kaa* (*Lev.* xxvi. 1); the other characters are S and A, with the legs determinative of verbs transitive. Lepsius reads the whole, *Ko-sa*; Bunsen and Birch (*Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 595) *Sha*, taking the sistrum as an H. The analogy to the Coptic

is doubtful, but the sense is clear, as the same group occurs four times in the Rosetta Inscription (1, 6, 13, 14 *bis*), and always in connexion with setting up a tablet or a statue.

No. 2. The first figure, a breast and pair of hands holding a paddle or rudder, is considered by Lepsius as the letter H; the two next, N, T, appear to be connected with the Coptic root *Thtn*, *to be like*, answering to the Greek *εἰκονα*. The fourth is the determinative, a royal statue. The crown (3) is N, the sign of the genitive, and belongs to

No. 4, the branch and bee, originally interpreted, "King of the obedient people," from a passage in Horapollo (1, 63, λαδν πρὸς βασιλέα πειθήμενον δηλοῦντες μέλισσαν ζωγραφοῦσι), and another in Ammianus Marcellinus, 17, 4, "Per speciem apis mella conficientis indicant regem: moderatori cum jucunditate aculeos quoque innasci debere ostendentes." The branch was supposed to represent the plant from which the honey was derived. Subsequently Champollion considered the two first characters as phonetic, S, T for *Suten*, king, and the bee as the determinative of the kingly office. Bunsen (p. 595) explains the bee or wasp as an emblem of the Lower Country, and the branch of the Upper.

In the shield No. 5, the characters in the first division are the phonetic name Ptolmais. The second, answering to τοῦ αἰωνοβίου in the Greek, contains the *cruz ansata*, the emblem of life. The two following characters are phonetic, T T, which may, perhaps, answer to the Coptic *Tka*, eternity. The straight line denotes the world, Pl. III. B. 2. The fourth division contains, first, the phonetic name of the god Ptah, then the phonetic syllable *Mai*, beloved. This epithet of the king is not translated in the Greek.

No. 6 is the sacrificial hatchet, the symbol of god. No 7 contains the letters H R, perhaps connected with Coptic *Hra*, face; the legs expressing an active quality, ἐπιφάνους, "that manifests himself."

In No. 8, the hemisphere stands for lord (Pl. III. B. 2), and the three musical instruments either denote symbolically the charm (χαρίς, εὐχαρίστηρον) of music, and hence goodness, grace; or the letter N, the initial of *Nofre*, Coptic for *good*. The triplication of the sign denotes the plural or the superlative.

No. 9 contains the characters *Ko-out*. The Coptic for *dicere* is *Djo*, but the letter *Djandja* is often interchanged with *K*; *out* is the Coptic particle; and thus the whole would signify *dictus* (Champ. Dict. p. 408). No. 10 contains the shield which encloses names, here used for *ran* (Pl. III. A. 1), name, and the serpent, *ph*, his (Pl. IV. E. 4); the whole answering to

the Greek ἡ προσονομασθῆσθαι. The figure of a man with the hand raised towards the mouth, is the determinative of verbs relating to the expression of ideas in speech and writing (Champ. Dict. p. 33). The name of Ptolemy follows in the original, with the epithet, "who defends Egypt."

The upper portion of Pl. IV. exhibits the manner in which grammatical combinations and inflections were represented in hieroglyphics. *Son* (E.) is in Coptic *Sere* or *Shere*, or abbreviated, *Se*, *Si*; it is here expressed pictorially by the figure of a child. Substituting for this the word *Shere*, it is thus varied in combination with the possessive pronouns, the phonetic characters for which are added to it. The Coptic prefixes the definite article *P*. like the Greek ὁ υἱός μου, inserts a short vowel, and places the possessive *before* the noun.

HIEROGLYPHIC. <i>Singular.</i>	COPTIC. <i>Singular.</i>
Shere-i, my son.	P. A. Shere. The <i>a</i> is a fragment of <i>Anok</i> , Coptic for <i>I</i> . Heb. אֲנִי.
Shere-k, thy son (male addressed).	P-ek-Shere.
Shere-t, thy son (female addressed).	P-et-Shere.
Shere-ph, his son.	P-eph-Shere.
Shere-s, her son.	P-es-Shere.
<i>Plural.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Shere-n, our son (with three strokes, the sign of plurality).	P-en-Shere.
Shere-tn, your son.	P-eten-Shere.
Shere-sn, their son.	P-ou-Shere.

The division F. of the same plate exhibits the numbers and persons of the verb *give*. This in Coptic is *T*, connected with *Tot*, hand. The hand stretched out with an offering may be regarded as a symbol of the act of giving; but it is also used phonetically for *T* and *D*. The formation of the persons proceeds thus in the Coptic, again prefixing the pronouns.

HIEROGLYPHIC. <i>Singular.</i>	COPTIC. <i>Singular.</i>
T-ei, I give.	Ei-t.
T-k or t, Thou givest.	K-t.

HIEROGLYPHIC.

T-f, He gives.

T-s, She gives.

Plural.

T-n, We give.

T-tn, Ye give.

T-sn, They give.

Coptic.

Ph-t.

St.

Plural.

N-t.

Tetn-t.

Ou-t or Se-t.

The explanations and examples now given will convey an idea of the general principles of hieroglyphic writing. A popular view of the subject, with a very full phonetic alphabet, will be found in Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, vol. 2, p. 582. Fuller information may be sought in Champollion, *Grammaire Egyptienne*, Paris, 1836-1841; *Dictionnaire Egyptien*, Paris, 1841; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place, &c.* vol. 1, 496-600, and the valuable papers of Dr. Edward Hincks, in *Transactions of R. I. A.* vol. xxi. The two last-mentioned writers have suggested modifications of the system of Champollion, which it does not belong to the scope of the present work to examine.

CHAPTER XX.

SCIENCE.

NEITHER physical nor mathematical science can be attributed to the ancient Egyptians, in the sense in which the word is now understood, as implying that the facts respecting the operations of nature with which observation had furnished them, had been generalized into laws, established on demonstration. They were great observers of all remarkable phænomena under the name of prodigies, and carefully noted all their circumstances and results; but it was for the purpose of predicting similar results, if similar prodigies occurred again¹. They were acquainted with certain relations of space and number, but neither their geometry nor their arithmetic could be called a science, not being deduced by reasoning from self-evident truths². Such, however, as Egyptian science was, it belonged exclusively to the priests³. The education of the people generally was nothing more than a training in the occupation which they inherited from their parents or kinsmen, to which a slight tincture of learning was added in the case of artisans. The priests carefully educated their own sons, who might pass into the order of soldiers or public functionaries, as well as continue priests, in the knowledge

¹ Her. 2, 82. Τέρατα πλεῖα σφί ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένοι γὰρ τέρατος, φυλάσσουνσι γραφόμενοι τῶποβαῖνον* καὶ ἦν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται κατὰ τούτῳ νομίζουσι ἀποβῆσθαι.

“Avant l'école d'Alexandrie il n'a point existé chez les anciens peuples de science proprement dite.” (Letronne, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1845, p. 520.)

³ Diod. 1, 81.

of the hieroglyphical and demotic character¹, and in geometry and arithmetic and astronomy. Geometry appears not to have risen much above the practical art of land-surveying, from which it derived its name. Had we more precise information respecting its transmission from Egypt to Greece, in the seventh century before Christ, we should be enabled to judge of the progress which it had made in the country of its origin. Pythagoras, who was the founder of mathematical science among the Greeks, had been admitted to all the secrets of the Egyptian priests. He is said to have sacrificed to the Muses, on the discovery of the relation between squares of the sides which contain, and of the side which subtends the right-angle of a right-angled triangle². If this relation *and its mathematical proof* were known to the Egyptians, they must at least have laid the foundations of geometrical science. According to Plato, Theuth, secretary to Thamus king of Egypt, invented arithmetic and geometry³. But this cannot be received as an historical statement; no such name as Thamus appears in the list of kings, and Theuth is evidently the god Thoth, the mythic source of all knowledge preserved by writing. Another account makes Mœris⁴ to have been the author of geometry, a third Sesostris⁵, evidently

¹ Τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ παίδων μαθάνει παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἢ συγγενῶν τὰς περὶ ἑκάστον βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεις, γράμματα δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον οὐχ ἅπαντες ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς τέχνας μεταχειριζόμενοι μάλιστα. (Diod. u. s.) Plato appears to allow a greater amount of knowledge to the Egyptian laity than Diodorus—Τοσάδε τοίνυν ἑκάστων χρὴ φάναι μαθάνειν δεῖν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὅσα καὶ πάμπαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παίδων ὄχλος ἅμα γράμμασι μαθάνει (Leg. 7, 2, p. 818).

² Plut. de Repugn. Stoic. 2, p. 1089. Cic. N. D. 3, 36.

³ Plat. Phædr. iii. 274, ed. Steph.

⁴ Diog. Laërt. 8, 11. Τοῦτον (Πυθαγόραν) γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριδος πρῶτον εὐρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς των στοιχείων ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης. Mœris was probably fixed upon from the great engineering works attributed to him in the Fyoun. According to Strabo (17. 788), the Roman Petronius made Egypt fertile with a lower rise of the Nile than had been ever known before; so that even in the art of making canals, the Romans excelled the Egyptians.

⁵ Herod. 2, 109.

because these sovereigns engaged in undertakings for which a knowledge of geometry was requisite. Nothing remains in the monuments by which we could ascertain the state of the science in early times ; but the belief of the Greeks, that Pythagoras, Thales, Pherecydes, Anaxagoras and Plato had derived their knowledge of mathematics from Egypt, would be inexplicable if this country had not long preceded their own in its cultivation. If Pythagoras learnt there the proposition which is associated with his name, but himself discovered the demonstration, this would be analogous to the relation which in other respects we discover¹ between the Egyptian and the Grecian intellect. The relation between the squares of the sides of a right-angled triangle was known to the Chinese before they became acquainted with European mathematics, but it was proved by measurement, not geometrically². From the measures of the angles of the pyramids it has been concluded³ that at the time of their construction the Egyptians were not acquainted with the division of the circle into degrees, but that the angles were regulated by the proportion between the base and perpendicular of a right-angled triangle. Their astronomical monuments, however, show that under the eighteenth dynasty they had divided the ecliptic into twelve parts of thirty degrees, and this was probably the origin of the division which still continues in use. For there is no reason why the quadrants of a circle should be divided into ninety degrees each, but an obvious reason for dividing the ecliptic by twelve and thirty, these being the nearest whole numbers to the lunations of a year and the days of a lunation. Spherical trigonometry appears to have been wholly unknown in ancient Egypt.

The amount of astronomical knowledge which the Egyptians

¹ *Ὅτι περ ἂν Ἕλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάβωμεν, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργαζόμεθα.*
—Plat. *Epin.* ii. p. 988.

² Davis, *The Chinese*, ch. 19.

³ Perring. See Bunsen, *Ægypten's Stelle*, B. 2, p. 365, Germ.

possessed in the time of the Pharaohs remains obscure, after all the light which recent discoveries have thrown on their condition in remote ages. They enjoyed, equally with the Babylonians, the advantage of a wide horizon at Heliopolis, and a sky free from clouds and vapor, both there and at Thebes, for making constant observations¹, but they had no such commanding observatory as the Tower of Belus afforded to the Chaldean astronomer. The *horoscopus*² who occupied the second place in the procession of the priests, carried in his hand a *horologium* (sun-dial) and a palm³, symbols of astronomy, and was compelled to learn by heart the four books of astronomy attributed to Hermes-Thoth. One of these related to the distribution⁴ or grouping of the fixed stars; another to the conjunction and opposition of the sun and moon; another to their rising. Besides these, the hierogrammat was required to understand the order of the sun and moon and five planets. Such is the account given by Clemens Alexandrinus in the beginning of the third century after Christ. The fact that the pyramids are placed with the centre of their sides exactly facing the cardinal points, shows that in the early age when these structures were erected, they had the means of tracing an accurate meridian line. To accomplish this, however, requires rather time and care than great astronomical knowledge. It is effected by the observation of the shadow of a gnomon, at the time of the solstices, which is nearly of the same length at equal distances from the meridian, the sun then changing his declination very little in the course of a day.

¹ Cic. Divin. 1. Plat. Epin. ii. 987. The French Astronomer Nouet denies this, and says that the horizon of Egypt is much obscured by haze.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 757, ed. Potter.

³ Horapollo, 1. 3, 4. A palm-tree (φοῖνιξ) was the emblem of a year, because it put forth twelve branches (βάις) in the year, one at each new moon. The βάις was an emblem of the month. It seems, however, from the hieroglyphics, that the βάις was the emblem of the year (Pl. III. D. 1.)

⁴ Τοῦ διακόσμου, Clemens, u. s.

As the hieroglyphic for month is the crescent of the moon, the Egyptian months must have been originally lunar. The division of the seasons was physical, not astronomical. It was threefold (see Pl. I.), the four months of vegetation being originally distinguished by a *flowering plant*; the four of ingathering or harvest by the characters for *house* and *mouth*; the four of the inundation by a cistern and the character for *water*; but when the year became fixed, these characters had ceased to be appropriate, two-thirds of each season having advanced into the neighboring division. Each month had a name which has been preserved by Greek and Coptic writers¹, but they do not correspond phonetically to the hieroglyphics. Each month and day had also its tutelary god², but this was rather an astrological than astronomical distribution. The hieroglyphics of the months were in use at an early period of the old monarchy, being found according to Lepsius on the pyramids of Dashour.

When the Egyptians established the division into twelve months of thirty days each, they may have reckoned the year at 360 days, but at a very early period they had learnt to intercalate five additional days³. When this great correction of their calendar took

¹ They are as follows in the Julian year:—

1. Thoth . . .	29. August.	1. Pharmuthi . . .	27. March.
1. Phaophi . . .	28. September.	1. Pacon	26. April.
1. Athyr . . .	28. October.	1. Payni	26. May.
1. Choiak . . .	27. November.	1. Epiphi	25. June.
1. Tybi	27. December.	1. Mesori	25. July.
1. Mechir . . .	26. January.	Epagomense . . .	24–29. August.
1. Phamenoth .	25. February.		(Ideler, 1, 143.)

After the introduction of Julius Cæsar's correction (B.C. 30), the Alexandrians intercalated a day every four years, and then began their year on the 30th of August (Ideler, Hist. Untera. p. 125).

² Herod. 2, 82. Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 144, thinks the names of the months were derived from the gods.

³ Her. 2, 4. Αἰγύπτιοι τριηκοντῆμερους ἔχοντες τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνας, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πέντε ἡμέρας πᾶρες τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρων ἐς τωὺτὸ περιττὸν παραμένει.

place is uncertain. Syncellus, in the *Laterculus*¹, attributes it to Asseth, one of the Shepherd kings; but Lepsius says that he has found traces of the five intercalary days, or *Epagomenæ* as the Greeks called them, in a grotto at Benihassan of the twelfth dynasty, that is before the invasion of the Shepherds². Their introduction into the year was expressed by an ingenious mythe. Thoth (Hermes), the god of astronomy and calculation, plays at dice with the Moon, and wins from her a seventieth (a round number for seventy-second) part of each of the 360 days of which the year consisted, out of which fractional parts ($\frac{360}{72} = 5$) five entire days are composed. These days are consecrated to five gods whose worship thus seems to be indicated as of later origin; the first to Osiris, the second to Arueris, the third to Typhon, the fourth to Isis, and the fifth to Nephthys³. In the astronomical monument at the Rameseion, a vacant space is left between Mesori the last and Thoth the first of the Egyptian months, apparently to represent the intercalated days⁴.

But the intercalation of five days was not sufficient to bring the Egyptian calendar into harmony with the heavens. The true length of the solar year exceeds 365 days by nearly six hours. It is evident therefore that there would be an error in defect of a quarter of a day in every year, of a day in every four years, a month in 120 years, and a year of 365 days in 1460 years. Without some further correction the Egyptian year would be an *annus vagus*; its true commencement and all the festivals, the time of which was reckoned from it, travelling in succession through all

¹ "Asseth first added the five Epagomenæ, and made the Egyptian year, which had previously only 360 days, to consist of 365." Sync. Chron. p. 123.

² Einleitung, 146. Mention is there made of a "Festival of the Five redundant days of the year."

³ Plut. Is. et Osir. c. 12. The Epagomenæ are designated as Day of birth of Osiris, Day of birth of Horus, &c.; but as it should seem, only on monuments of later times. Lepsius, p. 146.

⁴ Trans. of Roy. Soc. Lit. 4to. vol. 3, 2, p. 434.

the days and months, just as our own were doing, but at a less rapid rate, and in a contrary direction, before the alteration of the Style. Herodotus appears not to have been aware that any correction had been applied to the calendar, or indeed required; since he praises the intercalation of five days, as bringing back the circle of the seasons to the same point. Diodorus¹ however represents the priests of Thebes, and Strabo² those of Heliopolis as knowing the true length of the solar year, and intercalating five days and a quarter. They furnish no evidence however of the antiquity of the practice, nor of its adoption in civil life. Indeed Geminus of Rhodes³, who lived in the time of Sylla, expressly says that the priests did not intercalate the quarter day, in order that the festivals might travel through the whole year, and "the summer-festival become a winter-festival and an autumn-festival and a spring-festival." Such a change implies that the original import of the festivals, some of which were closely connected with the season of the year⁴, was no longer obvious. It is even said that the priests imposed on the sovereign at his inauguration an oath that he would keep up the old reckoning, and not allow the quarter day to be intercalated⁵. This again points to a time when the priests had become jealous of the civil power, and wished to perpetuate the confusion of the calendar, as the patricians did at Rome, for

¹ Diod. 1, 50.

² Strabo, 17, 806.

³ Βούλονται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ πασῶν τῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὥρων διελθεῖν* καὶ γίνεσθαι τὴν θερινὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ χειμερινὴν καὶ φθινοπωρινὴν καὶ ἱαρινήν. Geminus, Isagoge in Arati Phæn. c. 6, quoted by Ideler, Handb. der Chronologie, 1, 95.

⁴ Thus on the 28th day of Phaophi, after the autumnal equinox, they celebrated the festival of the "Birth of the Sun's Staff," in allusion to his increasing feebleness; at the winter solstice they carried a cow seven times round the temple, which was called the "Seeking of Osiris," Plut. Is. et Os. p. 372.

⁵ Deducitur rex a sacerdote Isidis in locum qui nominatur ἄδυστος, et sacramento adigitur, neque diem neque mensem intercalandum. Schol. Lat. Vet. in Arat. Germanici, Ideler, u. s.

their own purposes. The use of a lunar year by the Mahometans, which causes the great Fast of Ramadan to travel through the year, is a proof of the force of ancient custom.

It appears probable, however, that from an early period the true length of the solar year, and the time in which the excess would amount to an entire year, was known to the Egyptian priests, though not applied to the popular calendar. In the Roman times they certainly had a period, called Canicular, Cynic or Sothiac¹, of 1461 years, which is exactly the number of Julian or true years of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, answering to 1460 of the *vague years* of 365 days². Now among the periods which were assigned for the return of the Phoenix, one was 1461 years³, and hence we may conclude that the period of the Phoenix was the same as the Sothiac period. The symbol of the Phoenix must have been of long standing in the time of Herodotus, since it was so much misapprehended, that he describes it under the head of zoology⁴, though naturally incredulous respecting the tale of the young phoenix bringing his father, embalmed in frankincense, to the temple of Heliopolis. He reckons the intervals of his appearance, however, at 500 years, on the authority of the Heliopolitans, and so far throws doubt on the identity with the Sothiac period. Indeed the great variety of periods assigned may lead us to suspect that the Phoenix was a *general* emblem of a Cycle⁵. The most probable etymology of the word is from the Coptic *phēnech*, *sæculum*.

¹ Bainbridge, Canicularia, Oxf. 1648, a work which still retains its value.

² *Ægyptiorum annus magnus initium sumit cum primo die ejus mensis quem Thoth vocant Caniculæ sidus exoritur. Nam eorum annus civilis solos habet dies 365 sine ullo intercalari, eoque fit ut anno 1461 ad idem revolvatur principium. Censorinus de Die Natali, c. 18.*

³ Tac. Ann. 6, 28. De numero annorum varia traduntur; maxime vulgatur quingentorum spatium; sunt qui adseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interjici.

⁴ Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱερὸς, τῷ ὀνόματι φοίνιξ. Her. 2, 73.

⁵ Horapollo, 1, 35, says the Phoenix was an emblem of one returning

One of these Sothiac periods came to a conclusion in historic times; expiring in A.D. 138-9¹. Reckoning backward 1460 years we come to 1322 B.C. This does not absolutely prove that it was in use 1322 B.C., or was then first established; but it has been thought that the monuments supply this deficiency. The period is called Sothiac, because the time assumed for its commencement was when Sirius or the Dogstar, called by the Egyptians Sothis², and consecrated to Isis³, rose heliacally on the first day of Thoth, the first month of the Egyptian fixed year, the 20th of July of our reckoning. This phænomenon appears to have been fixed upon, from the brilliancy of the star, which would make it more conspicuous; and its coincidence with the commencement of the inundation, which occurred about this time, made it still more appropriate as the starting-point of an Egyptian period. Now in the astronomical monument at the Rameseion⁴, in the middle of the vacant space between the months Messori and Thoth, is a figure of Isis-Sothis. It is inferred that this monument was erected in commemoration of the commencement of a Sothiac period, and the chronology of Egyptian history suits well enough with the date of the

home after long absence in a foreign land. The priests themselves (Ælian, H. An. 6, 58) disputed about the expiration of a Phoenix period. Ælian extols the Phoenix as the better arithmetician.

¹ Censorinus, who wrote A.D. 238, says, "*anni illius magni qui Solaris et Canicularis et Dei annus vocatur, nunc agi vertentem annum centesimum.*" Ideler, u. s.

² Αἰγυπτίοις ἀρχὴ ἔτους Καρκίνος πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Καρκίνῳ ἡ Σοθίς, ἣν Κυνίς διττέρα Ἕλληνές φασι. Porph. Antr. Nymph. c. 24. "Sothis hæc apud Vettium Valentem MS., ex libris Petosiris vocatur Σῆθ, masculino genere, τοῦ Σιθ ἀνατολῆς." Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 9.

³ Ὅλον τὸ ἄστρον (the Lion) ἀφιερῶσιν Ἑλίῳ· τότε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβαίνει ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴ κατὰ ἐνδεκάτην φαίνεται καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἔτους τίθενται καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Κύνα λέγουσι. Schol. Arat. Phæn. 1, 152.

⁴ Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, 2, 155. Tomlinson, Trans. Roy Soc. Lit 3, 2, p. 484.

work, which belongs to the age of Rameses II. or III. Though the evidence of the monument is not decisive of the year, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the true length of the year was known, and a period established for bringing the vague and the true year into harmony, in the latter part of the fourteenth century before the Christian æra; and astronomical calculation shows that Sirius rose heliacally at Heliopolis on the 20th July in the year 1322¹. The same coincidence would take place in the same latitude 1460 years earlier, or 2782 B.C.², which Fréret and Bailly supposed to be the time when the cycle was established. Isis-Sothis is called "Star of the beginning of the year," in hieroglyphics of the age of Rameses II.³, which implies the existence of a *fixed* year, beginning with the rise of that star.

Upon this period of 1461 years, which whenever established was real, was founded an imaginary period of 36,525 years, produced by multiplying it with 25⁴. This was the great year in which all the heavenly bodies were supposed to make a complete revolution of the heavens⁵. Twenty-five was the number of years, after which, 309 lunations having occurred, the new and full moons returned on the same day and nearly the same hour of the Egyptian calendar⁶. It was also the time after which the moon-god Apis, if he lived so long, was put to death⁷.

Herodotus and Tacitus both speak of 500 years as a period

¹ Ideler Handbuch, 1, 129.

² Ideler, *ib.* 130. Fourier, Mém. sur l'Eg. vol. 7.

³ Lepsius, Einleitung, 1, 152.

⁴ Syncellus, Chronogr. p. 52, ed. Dind.

⁵ Sync. p. 35. "Ἕλληνες καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν εἰκοσι πέντε (25) περιόδοις τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ αὐτῆς (1461) τὴν κοσμικὴν ἀποκατάστασιν γίνεσθαι λέγουσι, ἔγουν ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποκατάστασιν

⁶ Ideler, Handb. 1, 182. A less accurate reason had been assigned by Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 9, "Est in 25 vagis annis eadem Lunæ ratio quæ in 19 fixa."

⁷ Plut. Is. et Osir. 374 B. Plin. 8, 46.

assigned to the return of the Phoenix. We know of no astronomical cycle which exactly corresponds with this; the nearest number is 532, produced by multiplying the solar and lunar cycles (19×28), the period after which the new and full moons return on the same days of the week. As the larger cycle of 1461 years is called in round numbers 1000, so 500 might be popularly substituted for 532. The use of such a cycle would imply that the Egyptians reckoned their days by sevens: this is not expressly said by any ancient author. We know, however, from Dion Cassius that the custom of assigning a day of the week to the sun, moon and planets arose in Egypt¹, where the number seven was held in great reverence; and it is more probable that it had prevailed there in ancient times, than that it had been introduced subsequently to the age of Herodotus.

The intercalation of a quarter day is in excess about six minutes, and therefore does not bring the reckoning once in four years, into complete conformity with the heavens; but neither the Egyptians, nor the Greeks who improved upon them, appear to have known the exact length of the solar year. Hipparchus, the greatest astronomer of antiquity, reckoned the tropical year at $365^d 5^h 55' 12''$, which is $6' 24''$ too long². This error, adopted by Julius Cæsar into the Roman calendar, rendered necessary the Gregorian reform of the style, by which all future irregularity is precluded.

It has been supposed that the Egyptian astronomers were acquainted with the Precession of the Equinoxes, that is, the gradual increase of the longitude of all the fixed stars at the rate of about $50''$ in a year, or a degree in 72 years, in consequence of which the position of the solstitial and equinoctial colures, in reference to the signs of the zodiac, is perpetually varying³. The only passage

¹ Τὸ ἐς τοὺς δεστέρας τοὺς ἑπτὰ, τοὺς πλανήτας ὀνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι κατέστη ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων. Dion. Cass. Hist. 37, 18.

² Ideler, Handb. 1, 64.

³ Their complete revolution is τὴν ἀποκαταστασιν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ, spoken of by

in an ancient author which can be understood as attributing this knowledge to them is in the second book of Herodotus. Having calculated from the data of the priests that 11,340 years had elapsed from Menes to Sethos, he adds, "In this time they said that the sun had four times risen out of his customary place, and had twice risen from the point where he now sets, and twice set at the point whence he now rises; and that while these things were going on, nothing in Egypt had varied, neither in regard to the productions of the earth, nor the effects of the river, nor in regard to diseases or death¹." Literally taken, this account supposes a double change in the rotation of the earth upon its axis, nothing less being sufficient to cause the sun "to rise where he now sets, and set where he now rises." Eminent critics have seen in it a reference to the change of the tropics, consequent on the precession of the equinoxes². No such meaning, however, can be fairly extracted from the words of Herodotus, and if we endeavor from what he has said, to make out what we suppose the priests to have told him, we enter a boundless field of unsatisfactory conjectures. It is not improbable that they may have discovered a secular variation in the position of the fixed stars, especially of Sirius, which they carefully observed; but being ignorant of its law, its amount, and the effects which, according to the true system of the heavens, it would appear to produce, they made the extravagant statement which Herodotus has recorded. That they considered the phænomenon as a secular variation, not as a prodigy, is evident from their mentioning that no failure of crops, no deficiency of the inundation, no increase of disease or mortality had been the result.

Syncellus, *ubi supra*, as taking place in 36,525 years. The true period of the Precession, at the rate of $1^{\circ} 23' 40''$ in a century, is about 26,000 years.

¹ 2, 142.

² Lepsius, *Chronologie der Egypter*, Einleitung, p. 190 foll. Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundsternperiod*, p. 421. Scaliger and Ideler (1, 138) referred the passage to the recurrence of the Sothiac period.

We have the strongest ground to conclude that the precession was not known, as an observed and ascertained astronomical fact, to the Egyptians. It was the discovery of the Greek Hipparchus, and the observations, the discrepancy of which with his own revealed the change to him, were not made by Egyptian astronomers, but by the Greeks Aristyllus and Timocharis about 160 years before¹.

Eclipses, the great bases of astronomical chronology, had not been recorded with any extraordinary accuracy by the Egyptians, or Hipparchus and Ptolemy, who both lived in Egypt, would have availed themselves of such materials. The latter author found at Babylon records of lunar eclipses, observed with an accuracy that leaves little to modern science to correct, from the middle of the eighth century B. C.² Solar eclipses are said to have been recorded there, as far back as the nineteenth century B. C.³, but nothing of this kind appears to have been furnished by Egypt. Diodorus⁴, indeed, maintains that the Thebans had accurately observed and also predicted both solar and lunar eclipses. Seneca⁵ speaks of solar eclipses observed by the Egyptians, and collected by Conon; yet these statements cannot avail to prove that they were scientific observations, when set against the negative evidence arising from the neglect of them by Ptolemy. Still less can we draw any conclusion in favor of the scientific astronomy of the Egyptians from what Diogenes Laertius says⁶, that they assigned the number of solar and lunar eclipses between Vulcan and Alexander the Great. As they reckoned this interval at 48,863 years, the eclipses had

¹ Ideler, Handb. 1; 27. In favor of its being known to Eudoxus and learnt by him from the Egyptians, Lepsius, *ubi supra*.

² Ideler, in the Trans. Roy. Soc. Berlin, 1815, has worked out some of these by lunar tables, and finds them agree within a few minutes.

³ Simplicius, in his Commentary on Aristot. de Cœlo, quoted by Ideler, *Historische Untersuchungen*, p. 166.

⁴ 1, 50.

⁵ Nat. Quæst. 7. 3. Conon lived about 250 B.

⁶ Proœmium, sect. 1.

certainly not been *observed*. We do not find in the paintings and sculptures of Egypt any representation of instruments for observing astronomical phænomena, nor do we know that in this respect the Babylonians had any advantage over them. The latter people, however, were the authors of two inventions for measuring time—an operation essential to an accurate record of eclipses—the dial, and the division of the day into twelve parts¹. Recent investigation has shown, that the system of weights and measures adopted in Egypt, originated among the Babylonians²; we may hence infer that they surpassed other nations in the management of calculation; and thus they would naturally outstrip them in scientific astronomy. The topography of Egypt was accurately known to the Egyptian priests by the measurement of the land, but they seem never to have applied astronomy to geography by fixing the latitudes of places. This was an invention of the Alexandrian Greeks. They knew, however, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and Pythagoras³ may have derived from the same source his doctrine that the sun is the centre of the planetary system, the earth a spherical body revolving around it⁴.

If the Egyptians were not the founders of scientific astronomy, there can be no question that they were most assiduous observers of the aspect and position of the heavenly bodies, and attributed to them an important influence on human events. We have examples of astronomical monuments in the sepulchral chambers of Sethos and the Rameses at Thebes, placed there, as the later zodiacs of Denderah and Esneh, for astrological rather than astronomical purposes. On the circle of Osymandyas (see p. 131 of this vol.) every day was marked by the planets and stars which rose and set upon it, and the prognostics which these afforded, accord-

¹ Herod. 2, 109.

² Boeckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse und Masse des Alterthums*, 1838.

³ Diod. 1, 98. Plut. Plac. Phil. 2, 12.

⁴ Diog. Laert. Pyth. 81, 25.

ing to Egyptian astrology¹. They had an astrological system, attributed to two names of uncertain age, Petosiris and Necepsos², according to which they could assign the influence which the day of an individual's birth would have upon his character, fortunes and length of life, and the effects, beneficial or injurious, of the movements and revolutions of the planets. By their science the Egyptian astrologers could foretell years of scarcity and plenty, pestilences, earthquakes, inundations, and the appearance of comets, and do many other things surpassing the sagacity of the vulgar. And they represented themselves to have been in these points the teachers of the Chaldæans, whom they claimed as an Egyptian Colony³. They evidently attributed virtues to particular numbers, 3, 7, 10; and their multiples are of perpetual occurrence. They had made a duodecimal division of the zodiac and allotted constellations to each, but not the figures by which they are commonly distinguished. These are found only on monuments of the latest Ptolemaic or Roman times. Each of these duodecimal divisions was again subdivided into three, making thirty-six *decans* for the year⁴. The human body was divided into thirty-six parts answering to the Decans, and specially under their influence, a god or dæmon presiding over each. In later times at least, the opinion prevailed that the souls of men entered into life through one of the signs of the zodiac, the six first being favorable in their influence, the six last unfavorable.

The erection of such edifices as the pyramids and temples, and

¹ Herod. 2, 82. Diod. 1, 81.

² Plin. 2, 21. 7, 50.

³ Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίους, ἀποίκους Αἰγυπτίων ὄντας, τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων μαθόντας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Diod. 1, 81.

⁴ Lepsius, Chronologie der Eg. Einleitung, p. 66. He has compared the hieroglyphical signs with the Egyptian names which Hephaestion has preserved, and finds a remarkable coincidence. Of the Egyptian horoscopy, see Stob. Eclog. ii. 8, p. 386, 390, ed. Heeren. Orig. c. Cela 8, p. 416. Salmas. Plin. Exercit. in Solinum, p. 460.

the execution of great works in hydraulics, proves little respecting the scientific knowledge of the Egyptians. Works demanding quite as much skill were executed by the Italian nations before the rise of Rome, or by the Chinese and Mexicans, to none of whom is there any reason to attribute high attainments in mathematical science. The description given by Herodotus¹ of the manner in which the pyramids were constructed, leads us to form no high estimate of their mechanical skill. Machines of wood, apparently simple levers, of strength sufficient to raise a block to the height of one course, were planted on each successive stage, and thus the top was reached. Diodorus² supposes a still more inartificial procedure, the construction of inclined mounds, by which the stones were raised to the necessary level. It is not probable that either account rested on historical evidence; but they show that the Egyptians did not believe that their predecessors possessed any refined mechanical knowledge, and therefore had not much themselves. We have a representation in one of the tombs of the manner in which a colossal statue was transported, in the age of Sesortasen II. It is accomplished by the main strength of 172 men, arranged in rows, with scarcely any application of mechanical knowledge³. Had the pulley or the capstan been used, we should have found some representation of them among the varied pictures of Egyptian life. No such representations, however, occur⁴. The Greeks themselves, a considerable time after their acquaintance with Egypt began, were so poor in mechanical contrivance, that when Chersiphron built the temple of Ephesus, in the reign of Amasis, he was obliged to raise his architraves by surrounding his

¹ 2, 125.

² *Τὴν κατασκευὴν διὰ χωμάτων γενέσθαι, μήπω τῶν μηχανῶν ἐδουλεύων.* 1, 63.

³ Atlas to Minutoli's *Reisen*, Pl. 18. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 328.

⁴ A pulley from an Egyptian tomb is preserved in the Leyden Museum, but its age is uncertain.

columns with bags of earth, which served as an inclined plane¹. Had the Egyptians been acquainted with the mechanical powers, the Greeks would have borrowed them in the interval between Psammitichus and Amasis. Simple machinery, combined with an unlimited command of human power, is sufficient for the greatest works which Egypt exhibits. Belzoni, with a very small number of men, could remove his fractured Colossus to the Nile, by using levers and rollers. The erection of obelisks appears to require more mechanical skill ; yet even this might be accomplished by inartificial means², without the machinery which the Romans employed to erect, or Fontana to replace them³.

The Egyptian system of arithmetical notation was simple in principle but cumbrous in detail (see Pl. IV.). In the hieroglyphic writing the nine digits were expressed by an equal number of strokes ; *ten* by a specific character, repeated as far as nine to denote the decads, and combined with strokes to denote the intervening digits. A *hundred*, a *thousand*, *ten thousand*, a *hundred thousand*, were all denoted by specific characters. In the hieratic character and the demotic the strokes are combined for rapid execution, as far as four, which has a specific character ; and this is joined with the four preceding to make up the digits as far as nine. *Ten* has an appropriate character ; so have the hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, and hundred thousands. In its general principles therefore the Egyptian notation is closely analogous to the Phœnician⁴, Etruscan⁵ and Roman, multiplying

¹ Plin. 36, 21 (14). 36, 9.

² The process consists in gradually introducing earth beneath the shaft which is to be raised. In this way the *trilitha* of Stonehenge are supposed to have been elevated. Pliny (36, 8) says 120,000 men were employed to raise an obelisk at Thebes.

³ See the description in Ammianus Marcellinus (17, 415) of the elevation of an obelisk in the Circus Maximus.

⁴ Gesenius, *Scripturæ Phœnic. Monumenta*, 1, p. 85.

⁵ Müller, *Etrusker*, 2, 317.

strokes for the lower numbers, and using specific characters for the higher multiples ; but is opposed to the Hebrew and Greek, which employed the letters of the alphabet. There is a considerable resemblance between the hieratic and demotic form of the characters for the digits, and the Arabic numerals, which renders it not improbable that the Mahometan conquerors of Egypt may have borrowed their system thence. There is no approach, however, to a decimal notation, which is the great excellence of the Arabian system, and though distinct as a record, the Egyptian method must have been very inconvenient for calculation, which was probably performed by mechanical means.

An Egyptian cubit in the Museum at Paris gives 1·707 foot for the length of this measure. We do not know what was the unit of weight ; but one of the Tombs of Thebes exhibits the weighing of gold and silver. The whole weight is a calf ; a half, the head of an ox ; a quarter, a small oval ball¹. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the high civilization which the Egyptians had attained they had no coined money in any period of their independence. Their currency was gold and silver rings², which were estimated by weight ; but it is uncertain how they supplied the want of a copper coinage for small values. It has been conjectured that the scarabæi which have been found in such numbers, served this purpose.

Although the art of medicine was practised by the Egyptian priests and its literature wholly in their keeping, they were not the sole physicians and surgeons of the community, as will be hereafter shown. Egypt was remarkable for the production of medicinal herbs³ : commerce with Asia⁴ and the interior of Africa would greatly increase the number of drugs, and the fame of its physi-

¹ Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 34.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 2, 286.

³ Od. *δ'*, 228. Jerem. xlv. 11. Go up into Gilead and take balm, O virgin, daughter of Egypt ; *in vain shalt thou use many medicines ; for thou shalt not be cured.*

⁴ Genesis xxxvii. 25.

cians was spread throughout the ancient world. Homer describes them as "sons of Pæon, skilful above all men¹." Cambyses sent for an oculist from Egypt², and Darius kept Egyptian physicians about him, as the most skilful, though, as the event proved, they were surpassed by a Greek³. Every place in Egypt, says Herodotus, is full of physicians⁴. They were required to practise according to certain precepts, established by men of high reputation, and handed down from ancient times in the sacred books. Six of these are enumerated by Clemens Alexandrians⁵, one treating on the structure of the body, another on its diseases, a third on medical and surgical instruments, a fourth on drugs, a fifth on the eyes, and a sixth on female diseases. This division and arrangement, comprehending physiology, pathology, pharmaceutics and surgery, indicates an advanced state of the science. The different branches of practice were minutely subdivided, and each practitioner confined himself to one⁶. Some were oculists, some dentists, some treated diseases of the head, some of the bowels, and some those of uncertain seat. Such appears to be the natural tendency of medical practice, when carried to a high degree of experimental skill, and exercised among a numerous population. Their system was prophylactic⁷. Attention to diet was a leading principle in it; they considered the food as the great source of disease, and endeavored to counteract its ill effects by frequent fasts as well as medicine⁸. Herodotus observes that, except the Libyans, the Egyptians were the healthiest race with whom he was acquainted, and he attributes this to the absence of those extremes which in other countries make the changes of the seasons dangerous. Food was plen-

¹ Od. δ', 229.

² Her. 3, 1.

³ Her. 3, 129.

⁴ 2, 84.

⁵ Strom. 6, p. 758 Potter.

⁶ Her. u. s.

⁷ Diod. 1, 82. Τὰς νόσους προκαταλαμβάνοντες θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς κ. τ. λ.

⁸ Her. 2, 77. Συρμαρίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστων. Sea-bathing (ἢ διὰ θαλάττης θεραπεία) was said to be another of their remedies, which had proved successful in the case of Euripides (Diog. Laert. Plat. 7).

tiful in Egypt¹, and the materials of clothing cheap ; the Nile afforded a supply of water which was most copious during the hottest part of summer, and the Etesian winds which blew during the same period, tempered the heat of an almost vertical sun. Medical science, however, could hardly be progressive under the restrictions to which, according to one account, it was subject. If the patient could not be cured by the application of the precepts contained in the ancient books, the practitioner was exonerated ; but if he departed from them he was liable to capital punishment (we must suppose in the event of the patient's death), the legislator thinking that few were likely to improve upon the practice which had been observed from ancient times, and established by the most skilful professors of the art. Such is the statement of Diodorus² ; but it appears from Aristotle³, that after three or four days' unsuccessful treatment by the established methods, the physician might adopt others, without incurring responsibility. The extreme subdivision of the profession, unless counteracted by a comprehensive education, must have tended to reduce medical practice to a very mechanical art.

In later ages at least the Egyptian art of medicine was much contaminated by astrology. This mixed science was called *Iatromathematic*⁴. It was the natural result of the opinion, which, as we may infer from the monuments⁵, prevailed in very remote times, that the sun and constellations had an influence on different parts of the human body according to the place in the heavens which they occupied.

¹ Diod. 1, 80.

² 1, 82. According to Horapollo, 1, 38, one of these books, treating of symptoms, was called *Ambres*.

³ Arist. Polit. 3, 10. *Kiviv* is to innovate on existing institutions (Plat. Hipp. Maj. 284 B).

⁴ Zoega de Or. Obelisc. 523. Lobeck, Aglaophamus, 927.

⁵ Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, 239, gives an account of such a table of solar and stellar influence, in a royal tomb at Thebes.

CHAPTER XXI.

RELIGION.

SECT. I.—THEOLOGY.

THE ceremonial religion of the Egyptians is known to us in more complete detail from paintings and sculptures than that of any other nation ; but when we endeavor to penetrate into the conceptions which this splendid ritual expressed, we encounter insuperable difficulties. It was not the practice of the ministers of ancient religions to reduce theological belief into precise dogmatic forms ; the names by which the deities were to be invoked, the prayers to be addressed and the sacrifices to be offered to them, were fixed by usage or positive regulation ; but the ideas attached to the name invoked varied with the worshipper's state of intellectual culture. This is to a certain extent true of all religious conceptions ; they are refined or gross, elevated or low, according to the mental state of the believer. Religions, however, established on the authority of Revelation naturally seek to confine this variety within the narrowest possible limits. The Egyptian religion, on the contrary, was even more indefinite than those of the Greeks and Romans, among whom an historical mythology gave an objective reality and fixedness to the religious conceptions, which mere intellectual abstractions, such as Egyptian art symbolized, could not possess.

No work written by an Egyptian priest or theologian remains to reveal the religious system of his countrymen. We know the theological writings of Manetho only partially and at second-hand through Plutarch ; Herodotus has preserved some valuable information about the external religion of Egypt, and occasionally a

sacerdotal tradition respecting the gods of the temples which he visited. But if he derived from the priests any more abstruse information respecting their religious system, he has not recorded it. He often suppresses what he had been told, from religious scruples, but it is evident that what he shrunk from repeating were tales of the sufferings of the gods, especially Osiris¹, or revolting circumstances connected with religious rites, not the truths of a more profound or spiritual theology. The revelations which they may have made to Pythagoras, in his longer and more intimate acquaintance with them, have nearly all been buried in the same mysterious silence as his own doctrines². It is probable that the familiarity of Plato with their theological system had a great influence upon the form in which he promulgated his conceptions of the divine nature; but we derive little knowledge of this country from his works, beyond an occasional allusion and a testimony to the high antiquity and unchangeable character of all its institutions³.

Diodorus gives an account of the Egyptian religion in his first book⁴, drawn from different and not always accordant sources; but throughout it is evident that those from whom his information was derived were eager to connect the Egyptian theology with the Greek; and not so much to explain what it was in itself, and in its primary conception, as to find in it analogies to the Greek mythology, favoring the claim of Egypt to be the native country of the Greek gods. The sun, moon and elements, forming the body of the universe, were according to him the original divinities,

¹ 2. 62, 132, 171.

² Pythagoras tantum non omnia institutioni sacerdotum Ægyptiorum debet, in iis etiam, ut credo, quæ sibi ipsi ascripsit. (Jablonsky, Proleg. p. xlix.) But the proof of this comprehensive statement is not even attempted by the learned writer. The assertion also that Thales borrowed from Egypt his doctrine "that God was the Intellect which formed all things from water," is made without proof. (Proleg. p. xlvii.)

³ Tim. iii. 22.

⁴ Hist. 1, 6-26.

the two first bearing the names of Osiris and Isis, Jupiter being the vivifying spirit, Vulcan fire, Demeter the earth, Oceanus or the Nile the watery element, and Minerva the air. These were the heavenly and immortal gods ; but besides these there were others, some bearing the same, some different names from the immortals, who had been rulers of Egypt, or for some other merit had been placed in the rank of divinity. It is evident that we have here the result of an attempt to combine two different explanations, the physical and the historical ; and as the latter finds no countenance in the older work of Herodotus, it was probably devised after the Egyptians became familiar with the Greek mythology. For it was part of this historical system, that these illustrious persons had not only during their lives conferred great benefits on Egypt, but had traversed the world for the same purpose, and had been received as divinities, though under different names, by the inhabitants of other countries. Inscriptions were feigned, to give plausibility to this opinion. Thus at Nysa in Arabia, according to an account recorded by Diodorus¹, two columns were found, one of Isis, the other of Osiris, on the latter of which the god declared that he had led an army to India, to the sources of the Danube, and as far as the ocean. This, if not immediately borrowed from Manetho, as the words of Eusebius seem to imply², was at least derived from him, and shows that even he wrote with the Greek mythology before his mind, and adapted to it his explanation of the Egyptian religion. For there is nothing in history, or in the monuments, which indicates that the gods of Egypt were really deified men.

¹ 1, 28.

² Γράφει καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον μὲν ὁ Μανέθως ἐπιτετυμμένως δὲ ὁ Διόδωρος. (Euseb. Præp. Ev. 3, 2.) He naturally asks, what propriety there could be in human giving names to the parts of Nature : but according to the view which the Christian Fathers usually adopted, he considers the human origin of the gods the true one, the connexion with the elements as a fiction. (Ib. p. 91.)

Under the later Greek sovereigns and Roman emperors, the worship of Egyptian deities spread very extensively beyond the limits of Egypt. The rites and doctrines of this religion, by their solemnity and mysticism, revived for a while the faith which the established system had no longer the power to excite ; miraculous cures and other benefits, obtained by the votaries of Isis¹ or Serapis, nourished this faith ; the credit which the ancient oracles had lost was transferred to the dreams which they sent to their worshippers, or divinations practised in their temples. Curiosity was awakened to gain some deeper insight into the meaning of the figures and emblems of its gods, and the sense hidden in the dark allegories by which its tenets were rather concealed than expressed. The priesthood no longer possessed any power to prevent the disclosure of their secrets. A philosopher like Plutarch did not disdain to write his learned treatise *de Iside et Osiride*, addressed to Clea, the chief of the Thyades, or female ministers of the Bacchic orgies at Delphi². She had been initiated by her father and mother into the mysteries of Osiris³ ; but Plutarch wished to communicate to her more lofty and philosophical views of the Egyptian theology than those taught by the Isiac priests, who in this age appear to have been selfish impostors, preying on the credulity of the superstitious, and themselves entirely ignorant of the real meaning of the rites into which they initiated others. The Egyptian learning which he has brought together makes his treatise the most comprehensive and valuable of all the ancient writings on this subject, and many curious facts are preserved in it respecting religious usages and doctrines. But when he explains the origin

¹ Diod. 1, 25.

² There was a temple of Isis, the most sacred of any dedicated by the Greeks to her worship, at Tithorea, near Delphi (Paus. 10, 32).

³ De Is. et Os. p. 364 E. The genuineness of this treatise of Plutarch has not escaped the scepticism of the German critics, but the name is of no great importance.

and design of these usages, and the primary meaning of the allegorical and symbolical language in which theology was clothed, it is evident from the variety and uncertainty of his explanations that they are merely the conjectures of ingenious theorists, among which the author chooses that which best accorded with his own views. His knowledge was derived from Greek books, without actual inspection of Egypt, or power to interpret its monuments. Manetho is the earliest writer whom he quotes, and his chief authority. Plutarch himself explains the mythic history of Osiris, Isis and Typhon, as an allegory of the contest of the two principles in nature. We must therefore receive his essay, not as an authorized exposition of the Egyptian theology, but as an ingenious attempt to extract from it a connected and rational system, in which however much knowledge is incidentally preserved.

The disposition to bring the doctrines of Egyptian theology into harmony with Greek philosophy is more glaring in the later Platonists, and makes such writers as Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, Damascius, little to be depended upon in forming an idea of the original religion of Egypt. In the age in which they lived, the long intercourse of the Egyptians with the Greeks had produced a considerable assimilation between them, and an endeavor mutually to accommodate their systems. These Neo-Platonists or Eclectics had in fact admitted into their philosophy much that had an Egyptian or Oriental origin, besides giving to the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras such modifications as would adapt them to their purpose of establishing a system which, in doctrine and morals, might be an effectual antagonist to Christianity. The Egyptians themselves knew little respecting the original import of their own theology in this age, and the knowledge of the sacred character was nearly lost¹.

The attempts made between the revival of letters and the discovery of the hieroglyphics, to reconstruct the system of Egyptian

¹ See p. 242 of this volume.

theology, were fruitless. Two writers of the eighteenth century advanced as far as it was possible to do, while the key to Egyptian antiquity was wanting. Jablonsky, in his *Pantheon Egyptiorum*,¹ by the careful collection of everything which the ancients have left us on this subject, greatly facilitated the labors of every subsequent inquirer; but the truth was not to be discovered by any comparison or combination of what the ancients had written; and the scantiness of all information from the times when the Egyptian theology was a living system, compelled him to build to an unsafe extent upon the foundation of the later Platonists and Pythagoreans, and the Orphic and Hermetic books. His knowledge of the Coptic language, however, which he justly assumed to be in substance the same with the ancient Egyptian, enabled him to throw some light from etymology, both on the titles and attributes of the Egyptian gods and the names of their early kings, into which the names of the gods frequently enter. Zoega², directing his attention primarily to the monuments of Egypt, cleared away many errors of long standing respecting the uses of the obelisks and pyramids, and approximated to a true conception of Egyptian antiquity as closely as it was possible to do, by the combination of learning and sagacity, before the language of the monuments was understood.

The discovery of the Rosetta Stone led to the knowledge of the group of characters expressing the name of the god Ptah³; and when the phonetic alphabet was once established, many others were rapidly ascertained. The name of the divinity is frequently written over or beside his sculptured or painted figure, and from these sources Wilkinson⁴ and Champollion restored with little uncertainty the Egyptian Pantheon. In some respects it corresponds with the accounts of the ancients, but in many differs from

¹ Francf. ad Viadr. 2 vols. 8vo. 1750.

² De origine et usu Obeliscorum. Romæ, 1797, fol.

³ See Pl. IV., the shield of Ptolemy.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, published at Malta, 1828.

them. In the further progress of the hieroglyphical discoveries, the legends which accompany the figures of the deities have also been interpreted. They appear to contain a declaration of their pareniage, their attributes and operations ; but, for reasons previously assigned, we have used them sparingly and cautiously, as evidence of the religious system of the ancient Egyptians. Beyond a few formulary phrases, fixed by bilingual inscriptions, or whose frequent recurrence gives some security to their meaning, we cannot place implicit reliance on the interpretations even of the most sagacious writers. The interpretation of the papyri which accompany the mummies is still more obscure, from the mysterious nature of their subject ; and had they been more convincingly deciphered, their authority would be doubtful, as they do not represent the public religion of the country.

The distribution of their sovereigns into dynasties seems to have suggested to the Egyptians a similar arrangements of their gods, but in a sense somewhat different ; the dynasty of sovereigns comprehending several generations, whereas one god reigned through the whole of a dynasty¹. Vulcan or Ptah is said to have been the first, succeeded by his son, the Sun, Agathodæmon, Cronos, Osiris, Typhon. Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis², was the first of those who succeeded the gods, and are called in the Greek of Syncellus *ῥημίθιοι*, in the Latin of Eusebius *heroes*, by whom the Egyptians understood, not heroes or demigods in the Grecian sense, as beings having one mortal, one divine parent, but gods of an inferior order, Mars, Anubis, Hercules, Ammon being reckoned among them. Herodotus makes the reign of mortal kings immediately to have succeeded that of Horus, the son of Osiris. To the demigods are said by Manetho to have succeeded “ dead men,”

¹ Herod. 2, 144. Τὸ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀρχοντας, οἰκόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἕνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι. But he does not use the term *dynasty*.

² Syncell. p. 18.

νέκυνες, *manes*, whom the Egyptians appear from this collocation of them to have considered as forming the lowest link between the divine and human nature, and therefore as the immediate predecessors of earthly sovereigns. To these dynasties long periods of domination are arbitrarily ascribed, which the Christian chronologers endeavored to reconcile with the Scriptures by summarily reducing the years of the Egyptian reckoning to lunar months, or even single days¹.

The papyrus called the Hieratical Canon of Turin, shows that in the remote age in which it was written, probably that of Rameses the Great, dynasties of gods were supposed to have preceded Menes, but from its torn condition no exact agreement can be made out. Seb (Saturn), Osiris or Isis, Seth or Typhon, Horus, Thoth, Thmei, are the only gods whose names remain; corresponding nearly with the succession given by Manetho².

The dwelling of the gods among men and their personally ruling over them belongs to a natural and widely diffused conception of primæval times, as distinguished for purity, and therefore honored by the intimacy of superior natures. It has nothing historical. Some motive, however, must have regulated the distribution of the gods into successive dynasties. It was natural that the earliest dominion should be attributed to the greater gods, and that Ptah, who represented the elemental fire, and was the father of the Sun, should be placed at the commencement of the whole series. But we cannot infer anything from this arrangement respecting the successive ascendancy of different religious systems in Egypt, or conclude that the worship of Ptah was really older than that of Osiris. There was an obvious physical reason why the god of fire should be made to precede the god of the sun. So in the arrange-

¹ Euseb. Arm. 1, cap. 19. Suidas, Lex. s. voc. Ἡφαίστος. Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτὸν ἔλεγον.

² Le Sueur, Chronologie, p. 307, pl. xi.: Birch, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 1, 203, 8vo.

ment of the Greek divinities, Ouranos and Ghe (Heaven and Earth) are naturally placed before Cronos (Time), as Cronos before Jupiter. Yet there is no trace of a period in Greek history when Uranus and Cronos were worshipped, and Jupiter was yet unknown as a deity, or only deemed subordinate to the others, as there is none in Egyptian history of Ptah or the Sun being worshipped while Osiris and Isis had no place in the Pantheon.

The papyrus of Turin, from its mutilated condition, affording us no satisfactory evidence of the manner in which the Egyptians arranged their gods, Herodotus is on this point our oldest authority¹. He says that there were eight gods originally, and that Pan and Leto belonged to this number; that from these, twelve were produced, of whom he specifies only Hercules; and again a third set from the second, whose number he does not specify, to which Dionysus (Osiris) belonged. No other ancient writer mentions this threefold series of the Egyptian gods; it does not correspond, with Manetho's division into gods, demigods and *mānes*; nor do we find traces in the monuments of any such classification. Nevertheless we cannot doubt that in the time of Herodotus these three series were distinguished; only we are not called upon to receive the chronology which reckoned 17,000 years from Amasis to the origin of the twelve gods, nor even to admit that there was any real succession among the three groups into which they were divided, or that they represent the ascendancy of the different bodies of priests.

¹ 2, 43. Ἀρχαῖός τις ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλῆς ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι ἑτέα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν οἱ δυνώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο; ὧν Ἡρακλῆα ἓνα νομίζουσι. 2, 46. Τὸν Πάνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενόησιοι τοῦς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοῦς τοῦτους, προτέρους τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. 2, 145, he says that "Pan was a very ancient god, one of the eight who are called the first; Hercules of the second, who are said to be twelve; Bacchus" (Osiris) "of the third"—οἱ ἐκ τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο, 2, 156. Ληγῶ, τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν τῶν πρῶτοι γενομένων.

Of those who have endeavored to assign its primary meaning to the Egyptian religion, some have represented it as simply material, the elements and heavenly bodies being themselves the gods, without any pervading and presiding intellect. "The philosophy of the Egyptians concerning the gods," says Diogenes Laertius, "is this, that matter was the beginning of all things; that from it the four elements were separated, and some animals formed; that the Sun and Moon are gods, one called Osiris, the other Isis." Eusebius² says that the Egyptians believed the world was god, and that different gods made up its parts, but did not admit any intellectual principle. He quotes Chæremon also as asserting, that the Egyptians had no other gods than the visible universe, the sun, moon and planets. Others sought its explanation in a system of metaphysical conceptions respecting the Divine nature and the manifestations of Divine power. The following passage, from the older Hermetic Books, quoted by Iamblichus³, will show how the doctrines of Greek philosophy were combined with those of Egyptian mythology:—

"Before all the things that actually exist, and before all beginnings, there is one God, prior even to the first god and king, remaining unmoved in the singleness of his own Unity: for neither is anything conceived by intellect inwoven with him, nor any thing else; but he is established as the exemplar of the god who is good, who is his own father, self-begotten, and has only one parent. For he is something greater and prior to, and the fountain of all things, and the foundation of things conceived by the intellect, which are the first species. And from this One the self-originated god caused himself to shine forth; for which reason he is his own father and self-originated. For he is both a beginning

¹ Præm. 12.

² Præp. Ev. iii. 3, 9. Αἰγυπτίων ὁ λόγος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ᾤετο ἐκ πλείονων θεῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ μερῶν συνεστῶτα.

³ Cory's Ancient Frag., p. 283.

and god of gods, a monad from the One, prior to substance and the beginning of substance ; for from him is substantiality and substance : whence also he is called the beginning of things conceived by the intellect. These then are the most ancient beginnings of all things, which Hermes places before the ethereal and empyrean and celestial gods. But according to another arrangement he places the god Emeph" (probably Kneph) "as leader of the celestial gods, whom he declares to be Intellect conceiving itself, and turning its conceptions upon itself. Before this he places the one indivisible and what he calls the first image¹ and names Eicton², in which indeed is the first that conceives and the first that is conceived ; on which account it is worshipped in silence only. In addition to these, other rulers preside over the creation of visible things : for the creative intellect, presiding both over truth and wisdom, when it proceeds to production and leads forth into light the secret power of the hidden reasons, is called *Amon* in the Egyptian tongue. And when it perfects all things without falsehood, but according to art with truth, *Ptha* : but the Greeks change *Ptha* into *Hephaistus*, attending only to the technical. And as being a producer of good things it is called *Osiris* ; and has other names in virtue of other powers and operations.

" There is also among them another presidency over all the elements that are concerned in production and their powers, four male, four female, which they assign to the Sun ; and another dominion over all nature, as concerned in production, which they give to the Moon. And dividing the heaven into two parts or four, or twelve or thirty-six, or the double of these, they place at the head of them more or fewer, and set over them all one superior to

¹ *Πρῶτον μύγευμα*, which seems to be here used in the same sense as *ἐκμαγεῖον* (Suid. *ἐκτύπωμα ἀποσφράγισμα*). See Tim. Loc. p. 534 E., where Matter is called *ἐκμαγεῖον*, as receiving likenesses into itself from the Idea, which is the *παράδειγμα τῶν γεννωμένων*. Wytttenb. ad Plut. 373 A.

² From *εἶκω*, to resemble,

them. And thus from first to last the whole system of the Egyptians, in regard to the beginnings, sets out from one and advances to a plurality ; the many again being guided by one, and the nature of the unlimited being everywhere controlled by some limited measure, and by the supreme Unity the cause of all."

That the Egyptians, in the age of this writer, expounded their own mythology into the metaphysical system here set forth, is not to be doubted. Whether they had done so before they became acquainted with the Greek philosophy is less certain. Yet the residence of Pythagoras and Plato in Egypt¹ makes it not improbable that the resemblance to their metaphysical doctrines which appears in the foregoing extract may be owing to their communications with its priests. The Pythagorean rules of diet and discipline, so minute and fanciful, bear strong marks of being transferred from the practice of the sacerdotal order in Egypt. It is another question whether the Hermetic doctrines represent the true and primary conceptions of Egyptian theology. There is nothing in the symbols by which the gods are distinguished, to indicate that they denoted such abstract notions, nor in the fragments of their mythological history to show that they stood in such a relation to each other. The *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, which Herodotus relates, resemble the mythological tales which in other countries were told of the gods, not mystical or metaphysical doctrines. It would have been singular if among the most cultivated people of early antiquity a *theosophy* had not been formed, of which the object was to refine away the gross conceptions in which the primitive legends, symbols and rites of religion originate, and engraft upon traditionary mythology the speculative philosophy of a later age.

A strong presumption against any interpretation, which supposes the Egyptian religion to contain a *system*, whether of physical, metaphysical or other truth, arises from the fact, that it does not

¹ See the passages quoted in the notes of Menage on Diogenes Laertius, Pythag. 3, Plat. 7.

appear to have been systematically conceived and projected ; but to have been fashioned into a whole by the agglutination of parts, having a separate origin. From various passages in Herodotus it is obvious, that the worship of the different gods was established by the inhabitants of the several nomes¹, and this division of worship goes as far back as the origin of the monarchy². There must indeed have been a certain unity of religious conception in the mind of the nation, otherwise we cannot understand that political unity which belonged to them in the earliest recorded period of history. But this unity of religious conception is rather a national agreement in the mode of expressing the religious sentiment which is common to mankind than the united belief of a theological system, devised by common consent, or imposed on all by some superior authority. So we find one language, with dialectic differences, prevailing along with other circumstances which constitute national unity ; it is essential to that sympathy without which the social union could not be formed. It does not however show itself by the existence of a parent language of which the several dialects are the offspring ; nowhere can we establish historically the existence of such a language ; but in a general conformity of mental conception and vocal expression, characterizing the whole nation, yet differenced at the same time by local or other influences. So the unity of the Egyptian people implies such a degree of accordance in religious conception that they could all join in a common worship, and receive as divine the deities whom their neighbors specially adored ; but by no means that the whole theological system existed in its integrity, previous to the commencement of history, and that different nomes selected from it the gods of their local worship. It seems more probable, that from a multitude of reli-

¹ Ὅσοι μὲν Διὸς Θηβαίεος ἰδρύνται ἱρὸν, ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου· εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες δῖον ἀπεχόμενοι, αἶγας θύουσι· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτρηται ἱρὸν, ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἶγων ἀπεχόμενοι, οὓς θύουσι. Her. 2, 42.

² Manetho, Dyn. 2, 2.

gious conceptions, formed and embodied with a pervading resemblance and community of character, such as one people would naturally exhibit, a system was subsequently constructed, allowing each local deity his separate honors, and the supreme veneration of his original votaries, but also giving to them a subordination of power and division of functions, which they did not before possess.

Such an origin will best explain the extraordinary intermixture and confusion of the characters and functions of the Egyptian gods. In their visible symbols and in their names they appear at first sight to be distinct, and there is usually some office prominently assigned to every one ; but on further examination we find that each assumes occasionally the attributes of the others, and that a permanent line of demarcation cannot be drawn between them. Those which appear usually in an inferior rank are at times invested with the titles of supreme divinity. This too was a natural consequence of a local origin ; to the people of each nome their own special god would become the chief object of worship ; the inhabitant of the Thebais would attribute to his Amun, of Memphis to his Ptah, of Sais to his Neith, the offices and operation of the head of the system. And besides this, reflecting men would naturally endeavor to bring back the diversity of persons and attributes in the popular theology to the idea of a primitive and controlling unity. For we find everywhere, in the civilized ancient world, a belief in one supreme power, co-existing with polytheism, either as the result of a primæval revelation of this doctrine, or of that conviction of a unity of purpose and administration which forces itself upon the mind, from its own consciousness of a moral and intellectual unity, and from the observation of the external world.

Still the historical fact remains, recorded by Herodotus, and liable to no doubt, that the Egyptians had a threefold division of their gods, into eight, twelve, and an indefinite number. It is not quite clear from his language, whether the twelve were the offspring of the eight, so that the whole number became twenty, or

whether the number twelve included the eight, so that only four new deities were added to the list. It has been generally taken for granted, that the eight were the only original gods, and that in them we have the germ of the theological system of the Egyptians. Thus Jablonsky¹ supposes that this *ogdoas* was made up of the seven planets and Ptah, the supreme intelligence which presided over the universe. But he confesses, that of such a worship of the heavenly bodies he finds no mention in Herodotus, and scarcely any in later writers; and he is compelled to suppose that some other meaning was substituted to the astronomical in very early times. The monuments give no countenance to this supposition of an astronomical origin.

Others again have supposed that the eight gods formed a system in which a gradual progression from concealment to manifestation in the divine energy is shadowed forth², and others have merely selected those which from their importance and antiquity seemed to have the most plausible claim to be reckoned among the eight gods. In all such arrangements and distributions there must be much that is arbitrary; yet the division into eight³ and twelve no

¹ "Septem germanos (in a passage of Martianus Capella) quis non agnoscat totidem planetas, per quos totum mundum gubernari credebant veteres? Fontem vero lucis ætherææ, in totius mundi lumina fusum, non esse alium quam *Pthan*, sive *Vulcanum*, alio loco docuimus. Hæc est antiquissima Deorum Ægyptiorum *ogdoas*, quæ primis idolatriæ in Ægypto stabilitæ seculis, diu sola obtinuit, et deos omnes, ab illa gente cultos, uti auguror, complexa est." (Jabl. P. Æg. Proleg. p. lxii.) Others substituted the Sun for Ptah. See Charemon ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. 3, 4. Porphy. ibid. Ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπορρήτως θεολογία, οὐδὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων τῶν τε ἀπλανῶν καλουμένων καὶ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πλανητῶν ἐθεολόγει, δημιουργόν τε τῶν ὅλων εἰσήγεν, οὐτινασὺν ἀσώματον, οὐδὲ λόγον δημιουργικόν, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ θεὸν οὐδὲ θεοῦς, οὐδὲ τινας νοεοῦς καὶ ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις· μόνον δὲ τὸν ἐρώμενον Ἥλιον.

² Bunsen, *Ægypten's Stelle*, 1, 456.

³ Lepsius (Einleitung, p. 505, note 2) is of opinion that the eight gods were originally only seven. Elsewhere he says (p. 253, note), "The great

doubt had a motive. The number twelve is clearly astronomical. The Egyptians first allotted a god to each month and day of the year, that is, they assigned to each of the divisions of the sun's path through the heavens, one of their gods or dæmons; and so strongly were they influenced by a desire to connect their theology and their astronomy, that when the five additional days were introduced into the reckoning of the solar year they distributed the birthdays of the gods Osiris and Isis, Typhon, Aroeris and Athor among them, assigning one to each. These are plain marks, not of an astronomical origin of the Egyptian deities, but a distribution of them according to an astronomical principle. There may therefore have been also an astronomical reason for fixing the number of the oldest gods at eight, this being the number of the spheres of the planets (including the Sun and Moon) and the fixed stars¹. Eight was a sacred number in antiquity. The Orphic or Pythagorean maxim *πάντα ὀκτώ* may probably have had an Egyptian origin². It is the first cube number, and may on that account have been held in mystic reverence among a people who attached sanctity to

gods, who as far as I know have never been correctly reckoned up, were, according to the Theban doctrine, *Mentu, Atmu, Mu, Seb, Osiris* [Aroeris], *Set, Hor*; according to the Memphite doctrine, *Ptah, Ra, Mu, Seb, Osiris* [Hor], *Set, Hor*. The exclusion of Aroeris and also at a later time of Set, produced other deviations from this series, in different times and places. In their stead most frequently *Sebek*, sometimes also *Thoth*, the first of the second series, was assumed amongst the greater gods. *Amon* occasionally appears at their head, but did not originally belong there." The evidence of these arrangements has not yet been produced, and they cannot be reconciled with Herodotus.

¹ Clem. Coh. p. 44. *Ξενοκράτης Χαλκηδόνιος, ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν θεοὺς τοὺς πλάνητας, ὁγδοὺν δὲ τὸν ἐκ πάντων αὐτῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον αἰνίττεται. Plat. Epinom. ii. 986. Ἰστε ὀκτὼ δυνάμεις τῶν περὶ ὅλον οὐρανὸν γεγονυίας.*

² Jabl. Proleg. p. lxxi. An Orphic poet (Eus. Præp. Evang. 3, 9) thus enumerates the eight principles: Fire, Water, Earth, Night, Day, Counsel (Metis), Love, and Zeus, who comprehends them all.

numbers. The Pythagoreans considered it as the number of justice. The *Dii Selecti* of the Romans were eight; the *Cabiri* according to one reckoning eight². An alleged inscription from an Egyptian *stèle* enumerates as the gods of Egypt, Wind, Heaven, Sun, Moon, Earth, Night, Day and Love, in all eight³. Were the evidence more satisfactory that the Egyptian gods originally represented the elements, the number eight would be the best adapted to it, since they reckoned them four, and supposed them to have a double nature, male and female⁴. According to the view, however, which has been already proposed, it is not likely that the whole system originated in any *one* principle. There appear in it traces of at least three, the worship of the heavenly bodies, the personification of the powers supposed to be engaged in the creation, preservation, and government of the world, and the assignment of personal symbols to abstract qualities. The worship of Ra (the Sun) is clearly an example of the first; that of Khem or Pan (the productive power of Nature) of the second; and that of Thoth (the Reason and inventive faculty of man) of the third.

Whatever may have been the occasion of fixing the number eight, it is probable that it was composed of four male and four female gods; for we generally find that the Egyptian deities were arranged in triads, a god, a goddess and their son. The following arrangement has no positive authority, and only professes to bring together the eight deities who appear to have held the chief place in the veneration of the Egyptians. In some cases the relation of consort existed, in others not.

¹ Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 5, p. 17.

² Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 1, 10, from *Sanchoniatho*.

³ *Jabl.* 1, 18. According to the fanciful explanation of Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Math.* 5, p. 733, Bekk.) the Egyptians reckoned all the celestial bodies as eight, viz. the Sun and Moon, five planets, and the fixed stars.

⁴ Senec. *Quæst. Nat.* 3, 14. *Jamblich. de Myster.* 8, 3.

Amun	Mant, Mut or Buto.
Khem (Pan)	Athor, Leto.
Kneph	Neith.
Ptah	Pasht, Bubastis.

I have placed AMUN (or AMMON) at the head of the system, because the Greek authors are unanimous in considering him to correspond with their Jupiter¹, and this must have been from their relative place in the Greek and Egyptian systems, as there was nothing in their physical attributes to identify them. The meaning of the name appears to have been uncertain to the Egyptians themselves; Manetho *thought* that it denoted concealment; but this sense hardly belongs to the Coptic root². Hecateus of Abdera agreed in the statement that Ammon was a concealed God, inasmuch as he was the first, and denoted the universe, but explained his name as signifying *come hither*, being a common form of compellation. *Amou* or *Amoun*, in fact, in Coptic signifies *veni*³; but it is not very probable that the name of the god should have originated in this way. The most obvious etymology is from the Coptic *amoun*, which signifies *glory*, *celsitudo*, and would be appropriate to the chief of the gods⁴.

Amun is usually represented, especially at Thebes, with a human face and limbs free, and therefore not apparently symbolizing a concealed divinity, having two tall straight feathers on his head proceeding from a red cap. In front of these plumes a disk is sometimes seen⁵. The body is colored of a deep blue. The Greeks and Latins agree in describing Amun as having the head of a ram.

¹ Herod. 2, 42. Diod. 1, 13. Plut. Is. et Osir. 354 C.

² The verb *amoni*, from which it is supposed to be derived, means to *detain*, not to *conceal*. See Peyron, Lex. s. v.

³ Jabl. Panth. Æg. 1, 179. Peyron, Lex. Copt. p. 6.

⁴ The reference of the name Amun to Cham or Ham is destitute of all probability.

⁵ Birch, Eg. Ant. in Brit. Mus. P. 1, p. 2.

Herodotus says¹, “ The Thebans and those who, like them, abstain from sheep, say they do it for this reason, that Jupiter (Amun), when Hercules desired to see him, at first refused ; but, on his persisting, cut off the head of a ram which he had flayed, and held it before him, clothing himself in the skin, and showed himself to him in this form. And for this reason the Egyptians represent Jupiter with the head of a ram. And once a year, on the festival of Jupiter, they kill and flay a ram, and clothe the statue of Jupiter in the manner described, and then bring near to it another statue of Hercules.” We may conclude from this ceremony that the statue of Amun was not always represented with the head of a ram ; and in fact the figures thus distinguished have usually the name of another god, to be mentioned hereafter. But the ancients have been too hastily charged with error in calling Amun ram-headed. The name of Amun is found beside figures so characterized² ; the temple of Ammonium was dedicated to the ram-headed god³ ; and we have here already an instance of the difficulty of preserving an exact line of distinction between the Egyptian divinities. Jablonsky supposed that Amun represented the Sun in Aries, in accordance with his theory, that the positions of this luminary at the four great seasons of the year had each a symbol among the Egyptian gods, Amun, Horns, Serapis, and Harpocrates⁴. The monuments give no confirmation to this opinion ; nor do they on the other hand afford us much light as to the primary conception ; but the epithet *Ra*, Sun, often subjoined to Amun, seems to indicate an original connexion with the solar god. His worship prevailed in Nubia and Meroë according to the ancients ; and this is to a certain extent confirmed by the monuments, the ram-headed god being found there⁵. It has been conjectured that this affinity of the worship of Thebes and the higher regions of the Nile, gave rise

¹ 2, 42.² Wilkinson, M. and C. pl. 22.³ Minutoli, Reise, Atlas, fig. 8, 9, 19. See p. 72.⁴ Proleg. p. lxx. lib. 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.⁵ Hoskins's Ethiopia, pl. 10.

to the story of Jupiter and the rest of the gods annually visiting the Ethiopians, and feasting for twelve days among them¹. But the custom to which Diodorus and Eustathius² allude in explanation of this story was something different; for the statue of the god was carried not *up*, but *across* the river, into Libya, not Ethiopia; and the account given by the priests bears marks of being devised in order to appropriate to Egypt another passage in the *Iliad*³.

A remarkable circumstance connected with the name of this god has been noticed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. On many monuments of Egypt, the hieroglyphics or phonetic name of *Amunra* have been substituted for others, which have been so carefully erased that he was unable to ascertain what the original had been⁴. The *figure* of the god, however, remains unaltered. This substitution has been so systematically made, that it must have been the result of some general order; and as it is confined to monuments erected previous to and during the reign of the 3rd Amunoph, it is probable that it was done by his authority. Before this time the traces of Amun in the Egyptian theology are few. Ammenemes, in the twelfth dynasty, is the earliest king into the composition of whose name that of Amun enters. The motive of the substitution has not been explained⁵, but it has probably been connected with some change in the religious system of the Egyptians.

¹ Hom. Il. 4, 423.

² Diod. 1, 97. Eustath. Comment. ad loc. Hom.

³ Hom. Il. 5, 346. The carpet of flowers which sprung up under the embrace of Jupiter and Juno was, according to these commentators, derived from the custom of carrying the shrines of the gods to the top of a mountain, and strewing flowers beneath them.

⁴ Manners and Customs, 4, 244. As in the statue of Amenophis in the British Museum, and on the obelisk of the Lateran at Rome. See Dr. E. Hincks, in Trans. of R.I.A. vol. 21, P. 1. He thinks that *Amun* has been effaced and re-inserted.

⁵ According to Major Felix, the obliterated characters were a vulture flying, its body formed by an eye, holding in its claws a signet (Birch, Gall. of Antiq. p. 2, note 12). The flying vulture was the emblem of the goddess

The god who has sometimes the ram's head, sometimes the horns of a goat, is in the great majority of instances designated in the hieroglyphical inscriptions as NOUF NOUB or NUM (Pl. III. C. 3), with the figure of a ram subjoined. His image is of more frequent occurrence in Nubia and Meroe than that of Amun. He is supposed to be also the Κνήφ of the Greeks, of whom Plutarch says that the inhabitants of the Thebaid considered him to be without progenitor and immortal¹, and on that account did not contribute, like the rest of the Egyptians, towards the maintenance and interment of the sacred animals. It is probable that this is the same god whom Damascius calls Καμήφτις², and who in the text of Iamblichus appears as Ἡμήφ, the ruler of the celestial gods. According to Eusebius the Egyptians called the creator (demiurgus) Kneph³, though this attribute is more commonly given to Ptah. Strabo says that there was a temple at Elephantine dedicated to Chnuphis⁴, which appears to be the same name; and an inscription has been found at Elephantine "to the god Chnoubis⁵." Hence he is called in the legends "Lord of Ebo," the name of Elephantine⁶. We have proof again of the confusion or blending of him with Amun, for a Greek inscription in the oasis El Khargeh declares the temple to be dedicated "to the great god Amennebis," *i. e.* Amun Neph⁷. At Syene an inscription of Eilithyia, who corresponded with the Lucina of the Latins. Bunsen supposes that the ithyphallic Khem was the god for whom Amun was substituted (Eg. vol. 1, p. 438). On the obelisk of Karnak it appears to have been Athom or Atmou.

¹ Θνητὸν οὐδένα θεὸν νομίζοντας ἀλλὰ ὃν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ ΚΝΗΦ ἀγέννητον ὄντα καὶ ἀθάνατον. (Is. et Os. p. 359.)

² Cory, Ancient Fragm. p. 321. ΚΑΜΦ, which is a various reading, is not very remote from ΚΝΗΦ.

³ Præp. Ev. 3, 11.

⁴ Lib. 17, p. 817.

⁵ Wilk. M. & C. 4, 238.

⁶ Rosellini, M. del C. 94.

⁷ Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. & Thebes, 2, 369; or is this *Amun-neb*, Amun Lord?

tion has been found *Jovi Hammoni*¹ *Cenubidi*. The description which Porphyry gives of Kneph², as having a human figure, a dark blue color, a girdle and a sceptre, and a royal feather on his head, accords with the representations of Amun, not of Kneph. The same author says that from his mouth was produced an egg, out of which came the god whom the Greeks call Hephais-tos, and the Egyptians Ptha. The monuments do not confirm this account ; but in the temple of Osiris at Philæ he appears, fashioning upon a wheel or lathe the limbs of Osiris, while the figure of the god Nile stands by and pours water on the wheel. Elsewhere he is called the potter, and at Elephantine appears working a lump of clay upon the lathe³. We may therefore safely conclude that he was worshipped as the power which reduced all things to order and form in creation ; and hence, while the philosophising interpreters of later times made him to be an intellectual principle, he was according to more material conceptions the element of Water⁴, or the Sun. In a statue in the British Museum he wears the disk of this luminary on his head.

Another title which has been given to Noum is Agathodæmon. According to Sanchoniatho, as quoted by Eusebius⁵, the Phœnicians represented this god by a serpent ; and the Egyptians gave a similar title to Kneph, from which we may infer that his attributes were regarded as beneficent. The serpent, we know, was among the Greeks and Romans the emblem of a beneficent genius, and the author from whom Eusebius derived this statement may

¹ Wilkinson, 2, 289.

² Euseb. Præp. Ev. 3, p. 115.

³ Rosellini, M. del C. 151. To such a figure Porphyry seems to allude, when he describes a statue at Elephantine, in human shape, of dark blue color, the head of a ram, the horns of a goat, and a circular disc upon them ; *Κάθηται δὲ, παρακειμένον κεραμένον ἀγγεῖον ἐφ' οὗ ἀνθρώπον ἀνα πλάσσειν*. Euseb. 3. 12.

Birch. Gall. of Ant. p. 9, 10.

⁴ Præp. Evang. 1, 10.

have had in view the serpent with the winged globe, placed by the Egyptians over the doors and windows of their temples as a tutelary god¹. This emblem however belonged not specially to Kneph. The asp, which was a royal emblem, appears to have been appropriate to him, and was the "horned serpent," which according to Herodotus² was sacred to Jupiter in the Theban district. Jupiter indeed was in his interpretation Amun; he knows nothing of Kneph; but this is only a fresh instance of the confusion of these two divinities. Antipater of Sidon, in an epigram in the 'Anthologia³,' calls Ammon "the renowned serpent." The *cerastes* is often found embalmed in the Thebaid, especially in the tombs of Qoorneh.

KHEM or AMUN KHEM is the ithyphallic god, whose representation occurs so frequently among the sculptures at Thebes⁴. His head-dress, of long straight feathers, shows his identity or at least connexion with Amun, as the peculiarity of his form is only a coarser indication of creative power. His right hand is lifted up, not *holding* a scourge, but with a scourge bent in an angle over the fingers; the face is human, like that of Amun; the body, including the left arm, is wrapped in bandages. He is supposed to be the Pan of the Greeks, partly from his form, partly from an inscription on the Kosseir road, in which he is called the Pan of the Thebans⁵, partly from a passage in Stephanus Byzantinus⁶, in which the statue of the god of Panopolis is described with circumstances corresponding with the ordinary representations of Khem. No such name as Khem has been found connected with the

¹ See p. 219 of this volume. *Ægyptios dracunculos Romæ habuit quos illi Agathodæmonas vocant.* *Æl. Lampr. Heliogabalus*, 28.

² 2, 74.

³ Jacobs, vol. 2, p. 6.

⁴ Wilkinson, M. & C. 4, 258.

⁵ *Ibid.* 4, 263.

⁶ Πανός πόλις. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγαλμα μέγα ὀρθιακὸν ἔχον τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰς ἑπτὰ δακτύλους· ἐπαίρει δὲ μίστιγας τῇ δεξιᾷ σελήνῃ ἣς εἰδωλὸν φασιν εἶναι τὸν Πᾶνα [οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἰδωλὸν φασιν εἶναι τοῦ Πανός]. Steph. Byz.

figures of this god ; when a phonetic name is placed beside him, it is Amun, or Amunra ; or a group of characters, whose pronunciation is uncertain, but which includes a bolt. That his name was Khem or Khemmo is inferred from the circumstance that Diodorus says the town of Chemmis in the Thebaid bears the same name as the god, and is *interpreted* Panopolis¹. On the authority of Herodotus², it has been supposed that Khem is the god whom the people of Mendes represented with the head and legs of a goat. He adds that both the goat and Pan are called in the Egyptian language *Mendes*. But Khem is never represented with the head and legs of a goat, nor indeed has any such representation been found on the monuments, and the Coptic for *goat* is not *Mendes*, but *Baampe*. The goat, however, was evidently consecrated to the god of Mendes, if not employed as his symbol, since the type appears upon the coins of the nome in Greek and Roman times³ ; nor could Herodotus be mistaken as to the honor paid to the goat in the Mendesian nome. The Greeks supposed that the Egyptians called a cat, Bubastis, and a dog, Anubis, from the consecration of the animals to the divinities of these respective names, in both cases incorrectly. Pan, however, was represented with attributes indicating him to be in propensity like Khem⁴, and hence the application of the name was natural. Their place in the popular mythologies of Greece and Egypt was indeed very different ; the admission of Pan into the list of gods was, according to Herodotus, one of the most recent events in the Greek religion ; whereas the Egyptian Pan, in the representation of the Mendesians, was one of the eight original gods. But their functions were not dissimilar ; both evidently represented the fertilizing principle ; and as Khem is often accompanied by plants and trees, and kings are represented in his presence turning the

¹ Diod. 1, 18.

² Her. 2, 46.

³ Tochon d'Anney, *Recherches sur les Médailles des Nomes*, s. voc.

⁴ Κατωφέρης καὶ συνουσιαστικός.

ground with a hoe¹, it may fairly be inferred that Khem, like Pan, was connected with agriculture and gardening. The description which Suidas gives of the god whom he calls Priapus, and whom he says the Egyptians named Horus², shows that he is the same as Khem, who sometimes is called the victorious Horus, though widely different in his attributes from the god who commonly bears that name. The bull which generally accompanies Khem on the monuments has no doubt an allusion to the productive power; the vulture, the emblem of maternity, sometimes follows. His worship holds a conspicuous place among the ceremonies of the coronation of Rameses Meiamoun, represented on the walls of the palace of Medinet Aboo³. The king stands before the shrine of Amun-Khem, and offers him incense and libations; and his statue dismounted is afterwards borne by twenty-two priests on a rich palanquin, in the midst of fans and branches of flowers. The king walks on foot before the god, preceded by the white bull, his symbol, to which a priest burns incense. In another part, the statue of the god having been replaced in his shrine, the king cuts with a golden sickle the ears from a sheaf of corn, and a priest offers them to the god, in allusion it is probable to that connexion of Amun-Khem, as the principle of fertility⁴, with agriculture which has been noticed above.

¹ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, Pantheon, pl. 26. The sceptre of the Ethiopian kings, according to Diodorus (3, 3), was in the form of a plough or hoe. See p. 156 of this volume.

² Τὸ ἀγάλμα τοῦ Πριάπου, τοῦ Ὁρου παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις κεκλημένον, ἀνθρωποειδὲς ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον κατέχον· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐσωνίμῳ κρατοῦν τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμένον, διότι τὰ κεκρωμένα ἐν τῇ γῇ στέρματα φανερὰ καθίστησι. The *πετερά* which he says he bore on his head are the tall plumes of Amun-Khem, which have sometimes, as Suidas describes, the disk of the sun.

³ Wilkinson, M. and C. pl. 76.

⁴ Is. et Osir. 371 F. Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπομορφον Ὁσίριδος ἀγάλμα δεικνύουσι ἱεροθιάζον τῷ αἰδοῦν διὰ τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ τρώγιμον. From another passage of the same treatise (365 E.), it has been concluded that

Amun-Khem appears to be really the god whom Plutarch describes as a form of Osiris, with whom he might the more easily be confounded, as the scourge or flail which appears above his raised hand is the same, in a slightly different position, as that which Osiris commonly holds. The inscription "Amun-ra," followed by the bull and vulture, is also found over a figure of the god with the head of the ram, so that here we have the three gods Amun, Kneph, and Khem united under one form. Another combination is Amun-Hor, with the head of a hawk, the bird especially consecrated to Horus; and on the Kosseir road is a tablet in which the god Khem is represented as a hawk with human legs, holding up the flagellum and with the plumes of Amun¹.

These were the great male deities of Thebes; the chief god of Memphis was PTAH or PTHAH. He was connected with those of Thebes by the legend which Eusebius quotes from Porphyry², that Kneph produced an egg from his mouth, from which Ptah was born. But he was probably as much an independent and self-derived god to the Memphites, as Kneph or Amun to the Thebans. The representation of the universe by an egg, however, in the Orphic theology³, makes it probable that the Egyptians used a similar figure for creation, and at Philæ, in a sculpture of a late date, Ptah is represented as "setting in motion the egg of the sun and moon⁴." According to Iamblichus, the Egyptians held him to be the divine artificer, a notion which the Greeks may have lowered and popularized to that of a skilful artist, fashioning all objects by means of the element of fire. A figure at Dendera is Osiris, in this form, was called *Ἀρσάφης* (Jabl. 1, 289), but this does not appear to have been Plutarch's meaning.

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 4, 265. It is of uncertain age.

² Præp. Evang. 3, 11, p. 115.

³ Jablonsky, Pantheon Eg. 1, 41. Aristoph. Aves, 695.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, p. 146, tav. xxi.

supposed by Wilkinson¹ to represent him sketching, as preliminary to the act of creation.

On the Rosetta Stone Ptolemy is described as beloved by Hephaistos, and the corresponding shield in the hieroglyphic inscription (P. 322, No. 5) fixed the phonetic group for Ptah. He is commonly represented with a cap, fitting close to the skull; the body is enveloped in bandages from which the hands alone protrude, holding a sceptre or staff. Sometimes he is standing on a pedestal divided in steps, and carries in his hand, or has near him, a graduated pillar or stand, which from its representing on the Rosetta Stone the words *established in perpetuity*², is generally called the emblem of stability³. A figure with the ostrich feather on her head, supposed to be Truth or Justice, is seen accompanying Ptah, who, according to Iamblichus⁴, “perfects everything with truth.” He is also found bearing in his hands the scourge and hook of Osiris, as if identified with this god⁵. Perhaps the swathed body and protruded hands may symbolize the first putting forth of a creative power in action, which had been previously hidden and quiescent. The idea of power imperfectly developed may be conveyed by another common mode of representing Ptah⁶. When Cambyzes entered the temple of Hephaistos at Memphis, he greatly ridiculed the statue of the god, which resembled the pygmy images called *pataikoi*, carried by the Phœnicians on the prows of their vessels; the images of the Cabiri also resembled those of the Hephaistos of Memphis. It is probable that the Pataikoi derived their name, which is certainly not Greek, from the word Ptah. Pygmy figures, with disproportioned heads, phallic, bowlegged, with a physiognomy approaching the Ethiopic, are found in great

¹ Manners and Customs, 4, 253. Pantheon, pl. 23, 5.

² Hierogl. Text. l. 5. Greek, l. 6. *διαμενούςας*.

³ Champ. Dict. p. 261.

⁴ De Myst. Eg. 8, 8.

⁵ According to Suidas he was identified with Dionusos. *Ἀφθας ὁ Διώνυσος*.

⁶ Her. 3, 37.

numbers at Gizeh, in the ruins of Memphis, and especially in the mummy-pits of Saccarah. Though not accompanied by the group of characters denoting Ptah, it seems probable that they represent one conception of him. They have often a scarabæus on the head, an emblem particularly consecrated to Ptah¹. At Philæ the scarabæus is substituted for the head². These pygmy figures sometimes carry in their hands the ostrich feather, which is the emblem of Truth³. The god was also called Ptah Socari. A group of characters which reads thus is found near figures which partake of the attributes of Ptah and Osiris, and the word *Socari* is sometimes joined with the name of one, sometimes of the other, and sometimes of both⁴. The epithets which are added appear to indicate, that in the character of Socari, Ptah was a god of the unseen world⁵.

According to Horapollo, Ptah combined both sexes. The monuments give no countenance to this statement, which however was in accordance with ancient mythology, and especially with the Orphic doctrines, at least in the representations of them by which alone they are known to us⁶. Plutarch says, the scarabæus, which was the emblem of Ptah, had no distinction of sex⁷.

In Amun, Khem, Noum, and Ptah we have four gods of the highest rank. Each, except perhaps Ptah, had a consort, but these generally fill inferior places in the Pantheon. Amun at Thebes is often joined with a goddess named MAUT, a name which signifies

¹ Horapollo, 1, 12. The monuments do not confirm what this author adds, that the vulture is also given to Ptah.

² Rosellini, M. del C. 152.

³ Birch, Gall. Brit. Mus. pl. 9.

⁴ Wilkinson, pl. 24. The name Πααμύλης was given by the Egyptians to a phallic god, who was also called Σόχαρις. The representations of Ptah Socari are sometimes phallic. Hesychius s. voc. Πααμύλης. Birch, p. 15.

Birch, p. 15.

⁶ Ζεὺς ἄρσεν γένετο, Ζεὺς ἀφθιτος ἐπλετο νόμῳ. Orph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. 3, 9.

⁷ Is. et Osir. 355.

mother, and is expressed by a vulture. As Amun was understood to correspond with Jupiter, Maut would be Juno. She is represented with the *pschent* on her head, and has such titles assigned to her as “mistress of heaven,” “regent of the world,” &c.¹ According to Plutarch *Muth* signifies mother, but he identifies the goddess of this name with Isis. As the divinities of Egypt frequently resolve themselves into one another, and especially into Osiris and Isis, there is no reason to doubt that Muth and Maut are the same. “Mother of the world” is an epithet of the moon; but Isis was the moon. The name Βούτω, Buto, of the Greeks, is nearly allied to Muth, M and B being interchangeable letters; but there is not sufficient evidence to identify these goddesses².

The female companion of Noun or Kneph is SATE. The Greek and Roman writers have not preserved her name, but from a Greek inscription discovered by Rüppell on a small island near the Cataracts, she appears to be the same as Here³. As Kneph has been confounded with Jupiter Ammon, Sate, the consort of Kneph, would naturally be considered as the wife of Jupiter. The name is ascertained by the hieroglyphics which accompany the figure, an arrow (in Coptic *sat*) piercing a banner⁴; the arrow is supposed to allude also to the sunbeams, and *sate* in Coptic is *splendore*.

Khem is joined in worship with a goddess named THIRIPHS, who in Greek inscriptions at Athribis and Panopolis, of the Roman times, is called, “most great goddess;” but no representation of her has been identified. Sir G. Wilkinson⁵ supposes her to be one of the lion-headed goddesses, whose special names have not been ascertained. Nothing indicates that she stood in the relation or consort to Khem; this office seems rather to belong to a female deity whose name is written AMUNT or TAMUN, and who is often conjoined with him in a triad at Thebes⁷. PASHT, the Bubastis of

¹ Birch, pl. 4. ² Is. et Osir. 374.

³ Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 20.

⁴ Minutoli, Reisen, p. 375.

⁵ Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 21.

⁶ M. and C. 4, 265.

⁷ Wilk. M. and C. 5, 66.

the Greeks, is represented with the head of a lion or a cat, and frequently accompanies Ptah. In the Pharaonic times the figure has commonly the lion's head ; that of the cat is found in later works. The disk on her head, as well as the lion, is supposed to indicate her connexion with the solar deity¹, of whom among the Egyptians this animal was the symbol. Neither her attributes nor the inscriptions connect her with the Moon, though the Greeks considered her as the same with their Artemis², and Artemis as the Moon. The Moon in the Egyptian mythology was a male deity. Pasht appears with the title *Toer-Mouth*, Great Mother, and this has been supposed to be the origin of *Thermuthis*, a name the Greeks gave to one of the goddesses of Egypt³. The name of *Merepthah*, "beloved of Pthah," is frequently given to Pasht⁴, yet it does not appear that she was properly his consort. She sometimes carries the emblems of life in her hands⁵, and has various titles, according to the different forms in which she is represented, which do not, however, give any clue to the original conception of her character. According to Herodotus⁶, Bubastis was the Egyptian name for Artemis, sister of Horus (Apollo) and daughter of Osiris and Isis, a genealogy which would refer her to the latest family of gods. Amun and Mautare frequently accompanied by a youthful figure, their son KHONS or KHONSO (Pl. III. C. 6). He is represented under the form of a mummy with protruded hands like Ptah, and carries a staff with the emblem of stability ; but he has also a crescent and globe on his head, as if in allusion to the Moon⁷. The author of the *Etymologicum Magnan*⁸ says that the Egyptians called Hercules *Chon*, and the similarity of the sound has led some

¹ Æl. Hist. An. 5, 39. Horapollo, 1, 17.

² Pasht, lion headed, appears as the tutelary goddess of the *Speos Artemidos* or grotto of Benihasan. (Wilkinson, Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 55.)

³ Jablonsky, 1, p. 116. Rosellini, M. Stor. iii. 1, 405.

⁴ Birch, p. 16.

⁵ Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 27.

⁶ 2, 156.

⁷ Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 20.

⁸ S. v. Χῶνες.

authors to suppose that he had Chonso in view ; but with the exception of his being the son of Amun, the Theban Jupiter, there is no resemblance between him and the Grecian Hercules. His relation to Amun, the king of the gods, is marked by the manner in which his hair is gathered in a large lock falling over the side of the head. The young princes are distinguished in the historical paintings by this arrangement of the hair ; and in the case of the youthful Horus, also, it marks his relation of royal son to Osiris and Isis.

A goddess named ANOUCHE appears as the companion of Noum or Kneph and Sate in the monuments of the Thebaid, especially near the Cataracts, and from the usual relation of the deities who are thus grouped together, she may be concluded to be their daughter. In a Greek inscription found by Rüppell¹ on a small island near Philæ she is called Hestia (Vesta), a goddess who was unknown to the Egyptians², and who was not believed by the Greeks to be a daughter of Jupiter and Juno, but the eldest child of Saturn³. In her dress and general attributes Anouke much resembles Neith, but is distinguished by a head-dress of feathers, arranged in a circular form and placed upon a cap.

Khem or Amun Khem and the goddess Amunt are accompanied by a youthful god, called Harka⁴, whose attributes are nearly the same as those of Horus and other deities, who complete the triads found in the principal temples. No deity appears to stand in such a relation to Ptah.

We have not found any representative of Leto, whom Herodotus

¹ "To Chnubis, who is also Ammon, and to Sate, who is also Hera, and to Anoukis, who is also Hestia, and to Petempamentes, who is also Dionysus, and to Petensetes, who is also Saturn, and to Petensenes, who is also Hermes, great gods, and to the other dæmons of the cataracts." (Minutoli, Reisen, 375.)

² Her. 2, 50.

³ Apollod. Bibl. 1, 2, 5.

⁴ Champollion, Lettres, p. 209.

places among the eight gods. In some points she resembles *ATHOR*, whom the Greeks identified with their *Aphrodite*¹. There was a temple at *Atarbechis*² in Lower Egypt consecrated to *Aphrodite*, and as the termination *bechis* represents the Coptic *baki*, 'town,' it is probable that the first syllable is derived from *Athor*. At *Chusæ*, a village in the nome of *Hermopolis*, the *Celestial Aphrodite* was worshipped, and a white cow was honored as her representative³. The *Celestial Aphrodite* was the oldest; her worship prevailed extensively in *Assyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia* and *Libya*, without our being able to say which of these countries was its original seat. At *Momemphis* in Egypt, according to *Strabo*⁴, a sacred cow was maintained in honor of *Venus*, as *Apis* at *Memphis*, and *Mnevis* at *Heliopolis*. And he adds the remark, that these three were held divine, in distinction from the bulls and cows kept in many other temples, which were held sacred, but not divine. In all these cases it is probable that *Athor* was the goddess really meant. It was so at *Tentyra*; *Strabo*⁵ says that the *Tentyrites* worshipped *Venus*. Now the larger of the beautiful temples which remain at *Denderah* has the capitals of its pillars composed of heads of the goddess *Athor*, and is covered with sculptures in her honor. She is generally represented wearing a head-dress surmounted with horns and a solar disk, and is figured under the form of a cow. In the temple of *Aboosimbel* she appears in this form, and receives libations and flowers from the king and queen. The representations of *Athor* at *Denderah*, *Gebel-el-Birkel* and *Aboosimbel*, with a human face and the ears of a cow, as well as those with cows' horns, have been generally given to *Isis*, but they are discriminated by the name. That of *Athor* is expressed by the

¹ Etym. M. s. voc. 'Αθήρ. Τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν Αἰῶρ.

² Her. 2, 61.

³ Æl. Hist. Anim. 10, 27. Πεπιστεύκασιν αὐτὰς προσήκειν τῇ δὲ τῇ δαίμονι. Πνοίαν γὰρ εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἰσχυρὰν ἔχει ἐκείνος βοῦς ὀψλως.

⁴ Strabo, 17, 803.

⁵ Strabo, 17, 815. See p. 37 of this volume.

hawk of Horus in a square enclosure (Pl. III. C. 8), the whole being read *Tei-hor* or *Eit-hor*, "habitation of Horus." She appears also in the form of a spotted cow¹.

Athor had very little resemblance to the Greek Aphrodite. It has indeed been remarked, that setting aside the cow's ears, there is more beauty in the face of Athor than any other of the Egyptian divinities; and she is said to be called the mistress of sports², but her ordinary titles are very different, and seem to connect her with the region of the West³. Jablonsky endeavored to assign a cause for this in the character which he supposed the Greek Celestial Venus to have sustained, viz. Primæval Night, the parent of all things⁴. We learn indeed from Hesychius⁵ that there was a temple in Egypt to Ἀφροδίτῃ Σκοτία, but that by this epithet primæval darkness was intended does not appear. The Orphic Hymn to Night⁶ gives her the epithet of Venus, but it would be too bold an inference that this doctrine must have been originally Egyptian. It is not wonderful that Athor should have been so frequently confounded with Isis, and that the Greeks should have referred to Isis the figures with the head or horns of a cow, and have founded upon them the legend of Io and her identification with Isis; for without their respective names it is difficult

¹ Rosellini, M. del C. pl. 29, 3.

² Birch, Gall. B. M. p. 20.

³ The western part of Thebes was called Pathyris, and the nome Pathyrites (the Pathros of Gen. x. 14, Is. xi. 11), and is supposed to have taken its name from Athor. (Wilk. M. and C. 4, 387. Peyron, Pap. Gr. P. 2, p. 30.)

⁴ Panth. Eg. L. I, c. 1.

⁵ Hes. Lex. s. v. Σκοτία. Another explanation was given of the name, Σκοτίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Φαίστῳ λερὸν εἶναι φασὶ ὡς Κρυψιπόθου. (Etym. M. voc. Κυθήρεια.)

⁶ Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

Νύξ γένεσις πάντων, ἦν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν.

(Orph. II. 3, 1.) The second line seems out of its place, but it is probably Orphic.

to discriminate them. A figure in the British Museum¹ with horns and a disk upon her head, placed upon the vulture or fowl (see p. 208), would from its attributes be supposed to be Isis; but the name beside it is "Athor, mistress of heaven." Athor appears combined in a triad with various gods; at Apollinopolis Magna with Hor-hat or Horus, and a youthful god, Hor-Sened-To; at Ombi with Sevek, the crocodile-headed god, and Khonso; the same whom at Thebes we saw as the son of Amun and Maut.

NEITH, the goddess of Sais, is another of great celebrity. Though her principal temple and the chief seat of her worship was at Sais, it is evident that it extended through the whole country; for on the night on which those who had assembled at Sais, to her *panegyry*, lighted lamps in her honor around the houses, the same rite was celebrated in every part of Egypt². Plato, in the *Timæus*, assures us that the tutelary deity of Sais was called in Egyptian *Neith*, and this is confirmed by other authors³. *Nat* in Coptic signifies a *web*, and as weaving was one of the principal functions of Minerva, according to the Greek conception, it has been thought that it gave origin to the name. It is written NT, and a figure accompanies these letters (Pl. III. C. 4), which has been taken for a shuttle⁴; but it has not the form of the shuttle, as represented in the paintings, nor indeed from its long curved ends does it seem very capable of being applied to such a use. Neith does not appear on any monument exercising the art of weaving, but is sometimes armed with a bow and arrows, cor-

¹ Gall. Brit. Mus. pl. 11, fig. 36.

² Herod. 2, 59.

³ See Jablonsky, *Panth. Eg.* l. 1, c. 3. It is a most improbable notion that *Athene* was derived from *Neith* by inversion of the letters, when the Greek mode of writing was substituted for the Egyptian. *Athene* was known to the Greeks by her present name, long before they began to write from left to right; nor are languages learnt from written characters.

⁴ Wilk. plate 28, 5.

responding to the warlike Minerva of the Greeks. If the Egyptians really conceived of her as weaving, it was probably in a figurative sense for creating. In the Egyptian theology she held a much higher character than the Greek. According to Plutarch¹ and Proclus² her temple at Sais contained this inscription ; “ I am the things that have been and that are, and that will be ; no one has uncovered my skirts³ ; the fruit which I brought forth became the Sun.” That while she declares her perpetual virginity, she also calls the Sun her fruit, may be explained from what Horapollon says, that the Egyptians considered her (and Ptah) as uniting both sexes in themselves⁴. One of her titles is, “ the great cow, engenderer of the Sun⁵.” She is, however, not always to be distinguished from the other goddesses : Plutarch, in the passage which we have just quoted, calls her Isis⁶ ; and she is sometimes confounded with Amunt, Athor and Maut. Lower Egypt was the chief seat of her worship, and she wears the crown of the lower country ; but her monuments are found also in the Thebaid, and her name, Neith, is of early occurrence in the history of the Pharaohs, as *Nitocris* in the sixth dynasty of Manetho, and *Aseneth* (worshipper of Neith) in the history of Joseph⁷. The Saïtes, according to Strabo, paid honor to the ram, like the Thebans ; and Proclus says that the constellation Aries and the whole equinoctial circle was consecrated to her ; but no trace of such a connexion appears in the monuments.

¹ Plut. Is. et Os. 354, with Wytttenbach's note.

² Proclus in Timæum, p. 30.

³ Τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω ἀπεκάλυψεν. Comp. Deut. xxli. 30. Plutarch seems to have mistaken the meaning of the words, referring them to the mysterious nature of the goddess, instead of her virginity.

⁴ Horapollon, 1, 12.

⁵ Birch, Gall. Brit. Mus. p. 12.

⁶ The hieroglyphic epithets of Neith show her original identity with Isis (Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 310, note 4).

⁷ Jablonsky, u. s. § 8.

Many of the Egyptian gods are identified with the Sun, as we find that in later times those of Greece and Rome were ; but Ra or Re was *Heli*os, the physical Sun. *Rra* or *Erra* is the Coptic name for “king¹,” appropriated to the Sun, like the names *Baal*, *Melck*, *Adonai*, which in the Syro-Arabian languages denote monarchy, and were also titles of the Sun. That Ra was specifically the Sun, as a portion of the astronomical system, is probable from the circumstance that Heliopolis was the chief seat of his worship, and that here solar astronomy was specially cultivated. The phoenix is manifestly a symbol of some astronomical solar period ; and it was to the temple of Heliopolis that he was reputed to bring his father². The name which is read *Ra* is not a phonetic character, but a disk symbolical of the Sun, and therefore it is by no means certain, that wherever this character occurs, it is to be interpreted of the God of Heliopolis ; on the contrary, it may mean the Sun under some other of the various symbolical characters which he sustains in Egyptian mythology. The same sovereign is found designated as the Sun (Ra), and as “approved by the Sun,” showing that such phrases as “born of the Sun,” applied to other gods, cannot be considered a proof of filiation from the god of Heliopolis. The name *Ra* does not occur in the Greek authors, but it is probable that they have substituted Apollo for him, whom the later Greeks identified with the Sun. The hawk is his symbol ; he often appears with the head of a hawk and the disk of the sun, the uræus-serpent, the scarabæus. His attributes closely resemble those of Horus, and it is only by the subjoined characters that the two can always be discriminated.

In speaking of Noum or Kneph, we have mentioned the god whose symbol is the disk of the sun, supported by two asps and the

¹ With the Coptic article prefixed, it becomes *Phra* or *Phre*. Jablonsky (Proleg. § ix.) interprets the name of Potipherah priest of On (Heliopolis), Gen. xli. 45, *Phout phre*, sacerdos Solis.

² Herod. 2, 73.

extended wings of a vulture, so frequently sculptured over doorways, propylæa and other openings of buildings, as to make it probable that it represents a tutelary genius. The temple of Edfou, or Apollinopolis Magna, was especially dedicated to him as HOR-HAT-KAH, or the "Horus of the land of Hat," the name of this region. As Horus, his type is the hawk, also an emblem of the Sun; and the sculptures of the temple of Apollinopolis¹, which represents the progress of the Sun, called Phre-Hor-hat, Lord of Heaven, in his bark or *bari* through the hours, point to the same character. As an emblem of dominion, the hawk has the *pschent*, or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He is also represented as of a human figure, hawk-headed. With the addition of *oer* (*ouer* Copt. *quantus*), *great*², the name Haroeris or Aroeris, Horus the Great, seems to have been formed, whom the Greeks identified with their Apollo. He was worshipped at Ombi³, and there formed a triad with a goddess *Tsenenofre* and a youthful god, *Penebto*. At Edfou, Horhat forms a triad with the goddess Athor and *Horsened-to*. These youthful gods, who are represented pointing their finger towards their mouths, all passed, before the discovery of the hieroglyphic character, as figures of Harpocrates, with whom indeed they are closely allied.

SEBEK or SEVEK, the crocodile-headed god, was principally worshipped at Ombi, Silsilis and Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoitic nome. According to Strabo, the Egyptian name of the crocodile, worshipped in this latter place, was *Souchos*⁴; and as the Egyptian *b* seems to have been vocalized into *ou*, the name is probably the same as Sebek, denoting the god, or the animal worshipped

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, p. 240, tav. xxxviii.

² Ἀρωήρει θεῷ μεγάλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι. (Inscr. at Ombi, Ham. *Æg.* p. 75. *Plut. Is. et Os.* 355 E.)

³ Rosell. *Mon. del C.* p. 201.

⁴ The zoological name of the crocodile was χάμψα. *Her.* 2, 69 (Copt. *msah*).

as the symbol of the god¹. The disk of the sun, joined to his titles, seems to indicate some relation to this luminary²; which may have consisted in this, that the ancients believed the crocodile, when out of the water, to be the most sharp-sighted of all animals³. What Ælian and other writers⁴ say of the crocodile's laying *sixty* eggs, which are *sixty* days in being hatched, living *sixty* years, &c., as it has no foundation in the natural history of the animal, has probably been invented, because it was supposed to be sacred to the sun, and this was an astronomical number. Tamed, the crocodile seems to have been considered as an emblem of gentleness and justice⁵; in its natural state, of rapacity and cruelty, whence it was the symbol of Typhon⁶. In the former character it seems to have been a natural emblem of the gently swelling and beneficent Nile⁷; and Wilkinson observes after De Pauw⁸, that the places in which it was worshipped, and therefore of course tame, were those to which the Nile could only reach by the maintenance of the canals which diffuse the inundation.

ATMOO or ATHOM⁹ is one of the manifold deities having reference to the Sun, and as he does not appear to have any particular connexion with the Osirian circle, we place him in the second class. He probably represented the western setting or nocturnal sun, *i. e.* the sun below the horizon, or in Amenthe, the Egyptian Hades. In paintings he is colored red, and he wears the crowns

¹ Str. lib. 17, p. 811.

² Wilk. M. and C. 5, 36.

³ Her. 2, 68. Arist. H. Anim. 2, 10.

⁴ Æl. Nat. An. 10, 21.

⁵ Damasc. ap. Phot. Bibl. 242. Σοῦχος δίκαιος· ὄνομα δὲ κροκοδείλου καὶ εἶδος ὁ Σοῦχος· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικεῖ ζῶον οὐδέν.

⁶ Plut. Is. et Os. 371 C.

⁷ Euseb. Præp. Evang. 3, 11.

⁸ M. and C. 5, 533.

⁹ It is written Atmoo, but according to a remark of Lepsius (Lettre à M. Rosellini, p. 40), the vowel which was written at the end was often pronounced in the middle, *e. g.* Anpu, Anubis, Chnsou, Chons. The name is very commonly written only TM.

of the upper and lower region, placed one beside the other.¹ He has sometimes the prefix of *Nofre* or 'the good,' in which case his head is adorned with a lotus or two straight feathers².

MONTH or MANDOO appears also to have a reference to the sun, since his name is sometimes followed by the solar disk, or the figure of the god Ra, and he is represented with the head of a hawk. He has been supposed to be the same as the Mendes of the Greeks, but if the names have any connexion, the attributes of the two deities are entirely different. There is a deity, Mandoulis or Maloulis, mentioned in some Greek inscriptions, whose name suggests his identity with Mandoo, but it is written with entirely different characters, nor do their attributes agree. According to Champollion, he appears at Kalabsché or Tahnis as the son of Isis by Horus (who would thus be the husband of his mother), and with the attributes and ornaments of Khons³. Nor is there anything in the attributes of Mandoo to identify him with Mars, to whom he has been supposed to answer⁴. In inscriptions, however, the kings of Egypt are said to style themselves "Mandoo towards the nations," from which it would seem as if the office of protector or avenger belonged especially to him.

Of the direct personification and deification of the parts of nature, we find few traces in the Egyptian theology. We have seen that the sun was worshipped as Ra; the Moon as a male deity was connected with Thoth, and as a female with Isis, both belonging to the Osirian circle; but neither of them appears to have been primarily or exclusively the representative of the Moon. The starry heavens, in Coptic *Tpe*, were personified and represented as a female figure, of which the trunk formed a horizontal line, the arms and legs depending parallel to each other, and stars covering the intermediate space. The day and the year also appear to have been represented in a corporeal form. The Greeks,

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 5, 25.

² Birch, Gall. Brit. Mus. 1, 21.

³ Lettres, p. 156.

⁴ Wilk. M. and C. 534.

who call Isis Demeter, must have understood her to represent the Earth, but this was not her exclusive nor probably her primary character. Osiris was also said to be the Nile¹, equally without foundation, as regards the primary conception ; but the river was certainly personified and received divine honors². A festival called Niloa was celebrated at the time of the first rise of the waters³, *i. e.*, about the summer solstice, with sacrifices and universal rejoicing, the amount of the inundation and consequently the fertility of Egypt being supposed to depend on the performance of these rites in an acceptable manner. A priesthood specially dedicated to him must have existed in several parts of Egypt, since we learn from Herodotus that it belonged to them exclusively to bury the corpse of one who had been drowned in the Nile. It does not appear that any of the existing temples were devoted to his sole worship ; but Hecataeus mentions one, in the town called Nilus⁴, which stood in the Heracleopolite nome, near the entrance of the Fyoun. Several stelæ in the quarries at Silsilis are inscribed with acts of adoration to the river, who is joined with Phre and Ptah⁵. On the Egyptian monuments, the god is designated by a group of characters, the last of which is a symbol of the waters⁶, and is read *Moou* ; the others are phonetic and have been read *Hapi* or *Phe*. He is represented usually of a blue color, of a round and plump figure, sometimes with female breasts, indicative of his

¹ Tibull. Eleg. 1, 7, 27. Plut. Is. et Osir. says the Nile was 'Οσίριδος ἀπορροή.

² Heliod. Æth. 9, 9. Θεοπλαστοῦσι τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ κρειττόνων τὸν μέγιστον ἄγονσιν. Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4, 99. ὁ Νεῖλος παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τιμᾶται ὡς θεός.

³ Heliodorus, *ibid.*

⁴ Steph. Byz. s. voc. Νεῖλος.

⁵ Rosellini, M. del C. 214.

⁶ According to Lucian (Jup. Trag. § 42), the Egyptians sacrificed to the element of Water, and this was not a local but universal worship among them.

efficacy in nourishing vegetable and animal life¹. Two figures sometimes appear, as on the base of the throne of Amenophis-Memnon at Thebes, similar in other respects, but one crowned with lotus to denote the upper course of the river, the other with papyrus to denote the lower.

The later Greek and Latin writers speak of Æsculapius as one of the gods of Egypt, but he was not identified among the sculptures till a Greek inscription was found at Philæ in which his name occurs. It is written Eimopth², and he is called the son of Ptah; his attributes, also, have some resemblance to those of the great god of Memphis³; he wears the same close-fitting skull-cap, which probably gave occasion to his being said to be bald⁴. His arms and limbs, however, are free, instead of being, like those of Ptah, involved in bandages. The Greek mythology made Æsculapius the son of Apollo; but according to the Phœnician, Æsculapius was one of the Cabiri⁵, whose worship at Memphis and elsewhere was connected with that of Vulcan or Ptah⁶. The Egyptian Eimopth has no attribute which specially refers to the art of healing, and it may have been an arbitrary interpretation of

¹ Birch, p. 25. In Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, tav. lxxiv., the Nile is represented of a blue color, *bringing* offerings of aquatic plants, flowers and birds. A female figure alternates with the males, which Rosellini supposes to denote the *regions* of Egypt. The original is in the tomb of Rameses Meiamoun.

² Salt's Essay, p. 50. Ἱατρικῆς καθηγητῆς ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ Ἡφαίστου. *Herm. Stob.* Heeren, p. 1090, 1092. Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ Ἰμνίουθης, Πάνος καὶ Ἡφαίστου θύλης. *Herm. ap. Stob. Heeren*, p. 392. Elsewhere (1092) he is made the author of poetry.

³ *Ann. Marcell.* 22, 14. From the mention of Memphis as celebrated for his worship, it should seem as if he had confounded him with his father Ptah.

⁴ Synesius, quoted by Jablonsky, P. 3, p. 196.

⁵ Euseb. *Pr. Evang.* 1, p. 39.

⁶ Kenrick, *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 254.

the Greeks which gave him the name of *Æsculapius*, as some applied the same name to *Serapis*¹.

The name of *SEB* was not known from the Greek or Roman writers, but has been found on the monuments and in the enumeration of the gods. He is called "the father of Osiris," and as Osiris was said to be the son of *Cronos*², *Seb* has been identified with *Cronos*, but there appears no particular analogy between their attributes³. He is also called "father of the gods," which may have led the Greeks to call him *Cronos*, but this title seems to have a special reference to his connexion with the gods of the Osirian circle. *NETPE*⁴ answers to *Rhea* in the same way as *Seb* to *Saturn*, *i. e.* as the mother of *Osiris*. They form therefore the natural transition to the Osirian mythe.

Herodotus observes that "all the Egyptians do not worship the same gods in a similar manner, except *Isis* and *Osiris*, the latter of whom is said to be *Dionusos*; these all worship in a similar manner⁵." His words do not imply that there was a diversity of belief, but of worship manifesting itself in the sacrifice of certain animals in some of the nomes, which in others were held sacred to particular gods, and therefore never used for victims. The inference which has been drawn from this passage, that the other deities were *merely* local, *Osiris* and *Isis* national, is not warranted by his words, and the difference was probably owing to the later origin of the Osirian worship, which was diffused from some one point with a rapid development and a uniform system. Such an event, though relatively late, still lies beyond the historical times of Egypt; for we find the proofs of his worship

¹ Tac. Hist. 4, 84. Jabl. P. 3, p. 197.

² Wilkinson, 4, 311. Pauth. pl. 31.

³ Diod. 1, 27. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 355.

⁴ "I give you the years of *Seb*," is said to be a frequent address of gods to sovereigns. Wilk. *u. s.*

⁵ Wilkinson, 4, 312. Pantheon, pl. 32.

⁶ 2, 42.

on the oldest monuments. "The tombs in the vicinity of the Pyramids," says Sir G. Wilkinson¹, "belonging to individuals who were contemporary with their founders, show that Osiris had at that time the same offices as in the age of the Ptolemies and Cæsars." This remark, however, does not apply to the Typhonian history and phallic rites of Osiris. They appear to have been of decidedly later origin. Herodotus² ascribes the introduction of the Egyptian gods into Greece to the age of the Pelasgi; that of Dionusos-Osiris to Melampus, much later. This is good evidence of relative antiquity. With the worship of Osiris was connected that of Isis and Horns, their son; and Anubis, Thoth and Typhon bear part in his mythic history.

The names of Osiris and Isis give us no insight into the primary conception of these divinities; the Greek etymologies possess no authority, nor does the Coptic language furnish any on which we can rely³. Herodotus tells us that Isis was the Demeter of the Greeks; and without urging this as a proof that the worship of Dionusos and Demeter originated in Egypt, we may at least infer a marked similarity of attributes. Dionusos, from the variety of his own attributes and the uncertain etymology of the name, affords us no means of fixing the attributes of Osiris; but the name Demeter is "Mother Earth." It is probable, therefore, from the usual relation of male and female divinities, that Osiris had an original connexion with the earth. We find a Solar character attributed to Dionusos, but only in later times; and the idea that Osiris represented the Sun⁴, is not supported by the monuments.

¹ Wilk. M. and C. 4, 323.

² 2, 49, 50.

³ See Pl. III. C. 2, 7. The *throne* in both groups was once considered as a symbol of *dominion*, the *eye* in that of Osiris of *providence*. Now the throne is read phonetically *Hes* (Isis), the eye, *iri* (Osiris or Hesiris). No such word as *Hes* exists in the Coptic; *Oss* is a seat. See Peyron *s. voc.* Plutarch (Is. et Os. 355 A.) says *os* signifies *many*, and *iri* eye. *Osh* in Coptic does signify 'many,' but *iri* is 'to do.' Hellanicus said the Egyptian priests pronounced the name *Usiris*.

⁴ It was the opinion of the age of Diodorus, 1, 10.

He is indeed occasionally identified with the Sun, by the titles under which he is invoked : but so are most of the other gods. The Greeks regarded Dionusos chiefly as the giver of the vine ; but this seems not likely to have been the original character of Osiris, since the vine was very partially cultivated in Egypt ; and there is nothing in his attributes or mythic history to assimilate him to Bacchus, considered in this character. The gift of the vine appears indeed to have been attributed to Bacchus, as representing generally the principle of fertility residing in the earth and manifesting itself in the luxuriance of vegetable nature¹. Isis again has been identified with the Moon, and the appropriation to her of the cow or heifer as a symbol has been supposed to have a reference to her horned shape. The cow, however, is a very natural emblem of productiveness. Herodotus², speaking of the sacrifice of swine by the Egyptians, says it took place only on the day of the full moon, and in honor of the Moon and Dionusos ; but as he has elsewhere declared Isis to be the Greek Demeter, it is not probable that he here means the same divinity by the Moon.

If Osiris originally represented the Earth, we can readily understand how he may have acquired the character which is most prominently his in the Egyptian mythology, of a ruler of the unseen world, and judge of the dead. The earth is the repository of bodies from which life has departed, and its deep and gloomy caverns realize the idea of a land of darkness and silence. Here the Hebrews placed their *Sheol*³, in which the dead rested in insensibility ; here was the Tartarus of classic and the Hela of northern mythology. The Πλούτων of the Greeks appears to have been the same, as Πλούτος⁴, and to have acquired his name either from the

¹ Τῶν ἀκροδρύων καὶ ὅλων τῶν φυτευτικῶν ἡ δύναμις, Διόνυσος ὀνομάζεται. Euseb. Præp. Evang. 3, 11, from Porphyry.

² 2, 47.

³ Isaiah xiv. 9.

⁴ See Hesych. voc. Πλούτος. Æsch. Prom. V. 806. Aristoph. Plut. 727. The Greek name of Proserpine is explained, as meaning 'the produce of the

mineral riches of the earth, or more probably from its productive power. The *Dis* of the Latins is contracted from *Dives*¹. It seems to have been in virtue of his original connexion with the earth, that Dionusos became identified with Pluto².

The reserve with which Herodotus always speaks of the gods, and especially of Osiris, makes it difficult to know what conception he had formed of him, or what were the grounds on which the Greeks identified him with Dionusos. It is probable, however, that the chief point of resemblance was the sufferings which each god was said to have undergone and which were set forth in their respective mysteries³. What he mentions of Melampus and his doctrines⁴, shows plainly that he had introduced into Greece the story of the death of Osiris and the mutilation and discription of his body⁵. Whatever this might imply, it had a strict analogy in the mythic history of Bacchus, who, under the name of Zagreus, was said to have been torn limb from limb by the Titans⁶. This was an Orphic doctrine⁷, and we know from Herodotus, that the

year.' Hesych. Φερσεφόνηια. The root of Πλούτος and Πλούτων is probably φλέω, which signifies 'to be fruitful.' Hes. φλεῖν ἐκαρπεῖν. Hence φλέων or φλέως, an epithet of Dionusos. ÆL. V. H. 3, 41. Etym. Mag. s. voc. Βασίλειος.

¹ Cic. N. D. 2, 26. Terrena vis omnis atque natura Diti Patri dedicata est; qui *Dives*, ut apud Græcos Πλούτων, quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriantur e terris. Trophonius (τροφή), the son of Phoronis (φορή), who was the subterranean Mercury (N. D. 3, 22), appears to represent the same idea.

² Ὀυτὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης καὶ Διδωνυσος Clem. Alex. Coh. p. 30, ed. Potter.

³ Ἐν τῇ Μυμῇ ταῦτα τὰ δεικνῆλα τῶν παθίων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῖσι, τὰ καλεῖται μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. Her. 2, 171.

⁴ 2, 49.

⁵ These were the usual subjects of the mysteries. Min. Felix, c. 21, 195. Considera sacra ipsa et mysteria; invenies exitus tristes, fata, funera miserorum deorum.

⁶ Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 553. Schol. Pind. Isthm. 7, 3.

⁷ Macrobi. in Somn. Scip. 1, 12.

Orphic and Bacchic doctrines and usages were really Egyptian¹. The description of a Roman poet² can have little weight in deciding, whether Osiris originally represented the principle of fruitfulness as existing in the earth and manifested in vegetation ; but the mode in which he is figured on the monuments gives countenance to this opinion. He bears in his hands two instruments, a flail and a hook, or *pedum*, one connecting him with agriculture, the other with pasturage³ ; or if the former should be considered as a scourge, rather than a flail, the allusion to agriculture will remain, since this scourge appears from the paintings to have been used for urging and guiding oxen in the plough. Possibly the hook may also belong to agriculture, as it appears that the reapers carried such an instrument to collect the ears of corn for the sickle. The mystic *van* of Bacchus was also an emblem of agriculture, being the basket in which the corn was shaken, that the wind might separate the grain from the chaff. The other attributes of Osiris throw little light upon the original conception of his character. His body is swathed, because in his character of the King of Hades, he is the type of all the deceased. He wears, in colored monuments, a white crown, which is said to represent the celestial hemisphere. The title which is often given to him in inscriptions, "Manifester of good⁴," suits well with the notion of his originally representing the productive power of the earth ; and it is easy to explain how, from such a primary conception, the idea that Osiris was the Nile or the Sun should arise ; since each of

¹ Her. 2, 81.

² Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.

Primus inexpertæ commisit semina terræ,

Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.—Tib. Eleg. 1. 7. 29.

Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 33.

⁴ Ouôn-nofre, "the opener of good." Plut. Is. et Os. 368 B. says Omphis was a title of Osiris.

these is in itself a principle of fertility. Those who philosophised more deeply made Osiris to be not only the Nile, but the humid principle generally, as the source of production¹. The notion that he represented the Sun was thought to be countenanced by his hieroglyphic containing an eye². The appellations said to be given to him in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, if rightly interpreted, are of that general kind which would be applicable to any chief divinity; one of them, "Lord of *Ebot*" or Abydos, has reference to his worship in this ancient town of the Thebais, which, as the place of his supposed burial, was chosen for their interment by his votaries throughout Egypt. The various legends of his birth or burial here or at Memphis, Philæ, Busiris, Taphosiris³, have no historical significance. The two latter rest on fanciful etymologies; the former indicate only the importance of the sacred establishments in his honor at these places, and the desire of his worshippers to exalt the glory of their respective temples.

The character of Isis must depend on that which we assign to her consort Osiris, since in the ancient religions the male and female divinities who are thus paired together represent usually the same principle, considered in that difference of relation which a difference of sex suggests. If Osiris were the Sun, it was natural that Isis should be the Moon; or the Earth, to which he communicates his fertilizing power; if Osiris were the Nile, the land of Egypt which he overspreads and impregnates would be represented

¹ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* p. 363 D, 364 A.

² "Osirin *Aegyptii*, ut Solem esse asserant, quotiens hieroglyphicis literis exprimere volunt, insculpunt sceptrum, inque eo speciem oculi exprimunt." (Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 21.) See note³ on page 335. The *sceptre* is the hooked staff which is found in the hands of Osiris, but not as a part of the hieroglyphic, as Macrobius erroneously supposed. See also Plut. *Is. et Os.* p. 371 E.

³ Plut. *Is. et Os.* 359 A.

as his consort¹; while those who made Osiris to be the Reason and Intellect which rules and guides all good things², conceived of Isis as the material nature which receives impression and form. According to the simpler view which we have taken of the original conception of Osiris, Isis would represent merely the power of nature, sustaining the part of the female in the work of production, receiving and nourishing the germ of life. The representation of her which is the most common and popular, as nursing the infant Horus, the joint offspring of herself and Osiris, agrees well with this view, and the horns of the cow were placed upon her head³, probably to symbolize the same conception. Its very vagueness favored the extension of the worship of these divinities, since every devotee could identify them with what god he pleased. "Some," says Diodorus (1, 25), "think the same goddess to be Isis, some Demeter, some Thesmophoros (the Eleusinian Ceres), some the Moon, some Juno, and some call her by all these appellations. Some think Osiris to be Serapis, some Dionusos, some Pluto, some Ammon, some Jupiter, some Pan." Each could allege some circumstance in favor of his opinion.

But that which made the Osirian worship so popular in Egypt in the times of the Pharaohs, as it served afterwards to diffuse the Isiac religion through the Roman empire, was its connexion with the mysterious subject of the state of man after death. To other gods, as Ptah or Athom, the office of presiding in Amenthe, the unseen world, was attributed only occasionally and by substitution; Osiris was the Pluto of Egyptian mythology, and bore the title of Pethempamenthes, or president of Amenthe⁴. It is in this character that we find him so generally represented in the papyri which

¹ Τὸν μὲν Ὀσεριν εἰς ἔδωρ μεταλαμβάνουσι, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν εἰς γῆν. Origen a. Cels. 5, p. 257.

² Plut. Is. et Os. 371 A.

³ Herod. 2, 41.

⁴ See the Inscription in Minutoli, Reisen, 375, where he is identified with Dionusos.

accompany the mummies. In these delineations Osiris appears seated on a throne, attended by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. Near him are the four genii, as they are called, of Amenthe, variously represented, sometimes in the form of mummies, sometimes of short vases, which antiquaries have called *Canopi*, in which the different *viscera* are supposed to have been preserved, embalmed. Each has a different head; one with a human head, called *Amset*, held the stomach and larger intestines; *Hapi*, with the head of a cynocephalus, the smaller; *Smaulf* or *Sioutmauf*, the lungs and heart; *Kebhsnauf*, the liver and gall-bladder¹. It has been conjectured that these genii really represent the god himself, as we find them at Philæ armed with the crook and flail which belong to Osiris². It seems however more natural to consider them as belonging essentially to the scene of the judgment. The intestines had according to the Egyptian notion a very important connexion with the moral qualities of the individual, and upon them the blame was laid of any sin of which he might have been guilty. It is true, that, according to Porphyry³ and Plutarch the bowels were cast into the Nile. But this is certainly inconsistent with the account of Herodotus, who says that the bowels when taken out were washed with palm wine and pounded spices, a process evidently designed for their preservation⁴; and in the paintings which represent the process of embalming⁵, these four vases are placed beneath the table on which the dead body is laid. If therefore they did not always contain, they may be considered as representing the viscera in the judgement-scene, and thus the whole body was brought before Osiris. They are frequently placed on the lotus, which grows out of the water over which the throne of Osiris stands⁶. At the opposite end is the deceased, introduced by Horus,

¹ Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 61. Birch, Gall. of Brit. Mus. pl. 22.

² Bunsen, 1, p. 501, Germ.

³ Porphyr. de Abstin. 4, 10.

⁴ 2, 86. So Diodorus, 1, 91.

⁵ Rosellini, Mon. del Cult. xxiii. xxvi. Mon. Civ. cxxix. Sext. Emp. p. 174.

⁶ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. cxxxv. Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 87, 88.

or by the goddess of Truth. The centre is occupied by a large scale-beam which Anubis has erected; in the one scale is a vase, shaped like a heart, and supposed to represent the moral qualities of the deceased; in the other is a figure of the goddess of Truth, with the ostrich-feather on her head, and the emblem of life in her hands. Thoth, standing by, notes the result of the weighing in a tablet or roll of papyrus. Horus then, holding Thoth's record in his hand, advances towards Osiris, who is supposed to pronounce sentence of reward or punishment, according to his report. In some of the judgement-scenes other figures are introduced, representing the assessors¹ who aided in the judgement. Their full number was forty-two, after the analogy of the number of the earthly judges, by whose sentence it was to be determined, whether the deceased should be conveyed to the tomb of his ancestors, or remain in his own house². The figure of some voracious animal, called by the Egyptian antiquaries a *Cerberus*, but not triple-headed, appears in some of the judgement-scenes, keeping watch over the entrance of a sepulchre. It more resembles a hippopotamus, and as Eusebius tells us³ that this animal represented the West, and was supposed to swallow the Sun, it would be an appropriate symbol of the world of darkness and of the western side of the Nile, in which, with very few exceptions, the Egyptian tombs were placed. We shall have to speak elsewhere of these things in connexion with the Egyptian doctrine of a future life; at present we consider them only in reference to the functions of Osiris.

Osiris is the only Egyptian god who has a detailed mythic history, similar to the legends of the Greek mythology; and doubtless this analogy to their own religion recommended the Osirian and Isiac rites to the Greek and Roman devotees. It is thus related by Plutarch:—

“Rhea having secretly united herself with Saturn, the Sun, who was indignant, laid upon her a curse, that she should not bring

¹ Οἱ κάτω πάρεδροι, Diod. 1, 49.

² Diod. 1, 92.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evang. 3, 12.

forth in any year or month. Mercury, however, who was also a lover of Rhea, playing at dice with the Moon, took away the seventieth part of each period of daylight, and from these made five new days, which are the *epagomenai* or intercalary days. (Seventy here stands, as elsewhere, a round number instead of the precise one, for seventy-two; five being the seventy-second part of three hundred and sixty.) On each of these five days Rhea bore a child. On the first was born Osiris, the son of the Sun, at whose birth a voice was heard proclaiming that the Lord of all was coming to light; or, according to another version, Paamyles, drawing water in the temple of Jupiter, heard a voice which enjoined upon him to proclaim that the great and beneficent king Osiris was born. This Paamyles received him to nurse, and hence the festival of the *Paamyliæ*, which was a *phallegoria*. On the second day was born *Aroeris*, son of the Sun, whom they call Apollo, and the Elder Horus. On the third was born *Typhon*, not in the usual course, but bursting out with a sudden stroke from the side of Rhea. On the fourth day was born Isis¹, the daughter of Hermes; on the fifth Nephthys, who was called Teleute (the end), and Aphrodite, and according to some, Nike. Typhon and Nephthys were the children of Saturn, and married to each other². In consequence of the birth of Typhon, the third day of the *epagomenai* was a *dies nefastus*, and the kings of Egypt neither transacted public business, nor took the usual care of their persons till night. Isis and Osiris united themselves, even before their birth, and their son was called, according to some, Aroeris, or the Elder Horus. The more common account, however, made the son of Osiris and Isis to be the Younger Horus.

“Osiris being king, instructed the Egyptians in the arts of

¹ According to the text of Plutarch (Is. et Os. 355 E.) Isis was born *ἐν πανόγγοις* (in præriguis locis palustribus). The reading is doubtful, and Bunsen conjectures *ἐν πανηγύρεσι*.

² According to the probable reading *γηρασθαι* for *τιμᾶσθαι*.

civilization, teaching them agriculture, enacting laws for them, and establishing the worship of the gods, and afterwards traversed the world for the same purpose, subduing the nations, not by arms, but by persuasion, and especially by the charms of music and poetry, which gave occasion to the Greeks to identify him with Dionusos. In his absence Isis administered the regency so wisely, that Typhon was unable to create any disturbance; but on his return he conspired against Osiris with seventy-two men and the Ethiopian queen Aso; and having secretly obtained the measure of Osiris, caused a coffin splendidly adorned to be brought into the banqueting-room, promising to give it to the guest whom it should fit. Osiris put himself into it to make the trial, and Typhon and his associates immediately pegged and soldered down the case, and set it afloat on the river. It floated to the Tanitic mouth, which on that account the Egyptians held accursed. These things were done on the seventeenth of the month Athyr, in which the Sun enters the Scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign, or as some said of the age, of Osiris. The Pans and Satyrs who lived about Chemmis, hearing of these events, and being agitated by them, sudden terrors obtained the name of Panics: Isis cut off her hair and put on mourning, at the place at which she first heard the news; whence it obtained the name Coptos¹. Meeting some boys, she heard from them to what place the coffin had been floated, and hence the Egyptians deemed the words of boys to carry with them a divine meaning. Osiris had by mistake united himself with Nephthys, and a son had been born to him, whom Nephthys hid immediately upon his birth. Isis sought him out, and found him by the guidance of a dog, who attended her thenceforth, and was called Anubis.

“Meanwhile the chest had been floated to Byblos, and cast ashore; the plant *erica* had grown up about it and enclosed it, and in this state it had been made use of as a pillar to support

¹ Κόπτεσθαι, plangere, is the Greek word for ‘to mourn for the dead.’

the palace of the king. Isis arrived, divinely conducted, in search of it, and recommending herself to the queen's maidens, had the charge of the young prince committed to her. She thus obtained possession of the chest, and opening it, carried it to Buto, where Horus was being brought up. The event of her return was celebrated by sacrifices on the seventeenth day of the month Tybi, and the figure of a hippopotamus bound was impressed upon the sacrificial cakes, as an emblem of the defeat of Typhon¹. Here she deposited the body in secrecy, but Typhon, hunting by moonlight, found it and cut it into fourteen pieces. Isis, in a *baris* made of papyrus, traversed the marshes, and when she found one of the members, buried it there; whence the number of reputed places of interment of Osiris. In the end she found all the members but one, which had been devoured by the fishes *phagrus* and *lepidotus*. Isis therefore made an emblem of it, whence the honors still paid to it by the Egyptians. (Probably, though Plutarch does not expressly say so, Isis was conceived to have recomposed the body from the limbs thus recovered.) Osiris returned from Hades and gave his aid to Horus, who was preparing to overthrow the power of Typhon. Typhon fell into the hands of Isis, but she released him, at which Horus was so enraged that he plucked his mother's diadem from her head, and Mercury supplied its place by a helmet in the form of a cow's head. Two other battles took place before Typhon was finally subdued. Harpocrates was born from the union of Isis and Osiris, after the death of Osiris, and was consequently imperfect with a weakness in his lower limbs."

Such is the mythe as related by Plutarch, who intimates that there were other portions of it more revolting², which he had suppressed, as the discription of Horus and the beheading of Isis. It

¹ Plut. Is. et Os. 371 D.

² P. 358 E. Τῶν δυσφημοτάτων ἐξαιρεθέντων.

has evidently been framed, like many of the Greek mythes, to account for existing religious usages and ideas. In the first place, it clearly assumes that the worship of Osiris, in connexion with the other personages of this mythe, is subsequent to the formation of the Egyptian pantheon. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "were the first people who assigned every day in the year to the god to whom it was appropriated." Three hundred and sixty days originally composed their year, and the memory of this number was preserved in religious rites; at Philæ 360 cups, which were every day filled by the priests with milk, and 360 priests were employed in carrying daily water from the Nile, to be poured into a perforated cask at Acanthus¹. The year being thus filled up, it was necessary to find a new time for the new gods. Mercury, that is Thoth, the god of numbers and science, gained this at play with the Moon; the Egyptian months being twelve, all of thirty days, a seventy-second part of each made in the whole five entire days². Though the fiction, however, proceeds upon the assumption that the Osirian circle was later than the rest of the gods, it by no means follows, as an historical fact, that its introduction was coincident with the addition of five days to the calendar. There are other traces of a connexion with astronomy, in the number 72 assigned to the fellow-conspirators of Typhon; and 28, the days of a lunation, assigned as the year of the reign or life of Osiris, at the time of his destruction by Typhon; and in the Sun's entrance into the Scorpion, assigned as the season of the year when this took place, being that at which, after light and darkness have been equally balanced at the equinox, darkness appears to triumph through the months of winter. The order in which the different events of the mythe succeed to each other, accords very well with the supposition, that they relate to the disappearance of the sun from the northern hemisphere, and the train of consequences which it produces to the earth. His burial and disappearance took place in autumn; the

¹ Diod. 1, 22, 97.

² See p. 278 of this volume.

voyage of Isis to discover his remains in the month of December; the search for them in Egypt about midwinter; and in the end of February, Osiris, entering into the Moon, fertilizes the world¹.

The representation of Osiris, as god of the invisible world, and his being figured as a mummy, naturally produced an explanatory mythe. It accounts for an immortal god being subjected to death, and for the association of Thoth and Horus, Isis and Nephthys with him in his capacity of ruler of Amenthe. The erection of the coffin at Byblos alludes to the use of Osiride pillars in Egyptian architecture. (See pp. 216, 217.) The story of the discription of his body explained the circumstance that the honor of his interment was claimed by so many different places in Egypt, and the ceremony of the *phallegphoria* in his honor. The co-operation of a queen of Ethiopia in the plot against his life is significant of the national hostility of that people against the Egyptians, and the prevalence of female dominion. The plotting against him in his absence may have been borrowed from the history of Sesostris, as the account of his expeditions to distant countries for the purpose of civilizing them, betrays its origin in times when the Egyptians had become acquainted with foreign nations, and were disposed to glorify themselves as the original source of knowledge and the arts. The story of the dog, who assisted Isis to discover the son of Nephthys, and attended her ever afterwards, explained the form of the god Anubis, who belongs to the Osirian circle: that the animal with whose head this god is represented is not a dog, but a jackal, shows that the mythe was accommodated to the general conception, not to the fact. The respect paid by the Egyptians to the words of children, a feature of their excessive superstition, is explained by the aid which children gave to her in her researches.

Another object of the mythe was to explain the affinity which existed, or was believed to exist, between the worship of Isis in Egypt, and that of the same or a similar divinity in Phœnicia, and

¹ See Prichard's Analysis, p. 103. Plut. Is. et Os. 43.

especially at Byblos. The identity of these goddesses was believed, and was the foundation of the legend of Io's wanderings. There was at all events a close resemblance between the rites which related to the death and revival of Adonis at Byblos, and of Osiris in Egypt¹. Some of the people of Byblos claimed to have the sepulchre of Osiris among them, and maintained that all the rites commonly referred to Adonis properly related to Osiris. Their connexion appears from the story related by Lucian², that a head formed of papyrus, or a vessel of papyrus containing a letter, was annually thrown into the sea at Alexandria, and floated to Byblos; and by its arrival there informed the women of Byblos that Adonis was found. Now this mourning for Adonis is evidently the same as the mourning for Thammuz, spoken of by Ezekiel (viii. 14), and therefore the Egyptian mourning was probably an ancient custom, not one introduced by the Greeks at Alexandria. Since the papyrus grew in Phœnicia as well as in Egypt³, it would be easy to keep up this ceremony of the annual exhibition of the head, or the vessel of papyrus at Byblos.

We do not find any representation of the mythical history of Osiris on the older monuments of Egypt, and this confirms the suspicion that, at least in the form in which we have received it from Plutarch, it is comparatively modern. The most remarkable sculptures illustrative of this history are found at Philæ, but in a building which belongs to the latest age of the Ptolemies and the commencement of the Roman dominion. They are preserved on the walls of an interior secret chamber over the temple⁴. Osiris is first seen in his usual form, as god of the invisible world, namely as a mummy with the crook and flail, and with the inscription

¹ Mövers die Phönizier, vol. 1, c. 7.

² De Syria Dea, 9, 89, ed. Bipont.

³ Steph. Byz. s. v. Βύβλος. The name Byblos seems to indicate its abundant growth there.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, tav. xxi-xxvii.

Osiris Pethempamentes. In a succeeding compartment the head of Osiris is represented placed on the short column or stand, called a Nilometer, or the emblem of Stability, and two female figures are before it, probably ministers of the temple. A third compartment exhibits the limbs of the dismembered god, upon which a head is placed, as if to indicate that the life of the entire body is still subsisting in it. Isis and Nephthys stand one at each end. Next comes a mummy, borne by the four genii of Amenthe, succeeded by the representation of a funeral chest, in which are the lower limbs and *torso* of the god, while two genii stand by and receive in a vessel the fluid which spirits from it. In the following compartment the body appears extended upon its funeral bed, but the motion of the limbs gives evident signs of life¹. Isis and Nephthys stand by as before. It should seem as if here some transposition had taken place in the order of the scenes, for the next exhibits the mummy in its usual state, with Anubis standing by; and another scene follows in which it lies amidst a bed of twenty-eight lotus flowers², while Anubis pours water over it. In the last compartment a goddess with the head of a frog stands at the feet, and the mummy exhibits partial signs of revival³. The frog was emblematic of the embryo stage of life⁴, and is found at the bottom of the notched palm-branch which represents human life. There was a male as well as female divinity with the head of a frog⁵.

It is remarkable that Typhon, who acts such an important part in the mythe of Osiris, as related by Plutarch, does not appear committing violence upon him, nor indeed in any special relation to him, either in this or any other Egyptian monument. It is even doubtful what was his specific representation. The deformed and

¹ The figure is *ισοφαλλικός*.

² Wilkinson, 4, 189. See p 346 of this volume.

³ It is *ισοφαλλικός*.

⁴ Horap. 1, 25. Ἀπλαστον ἄνθρωπον γράφοντες βάτραχον ζωγραφοῦσι ἵνα εἰδῇ ὅτι τοῦτου γένεσις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰλῆος ἀποτελεῖται.

Wilkinson, 4, 256. Pantheon, 25.

pigmy god who appears in the sculptures of some temples, which have hence been called *Typhonia*, is now considered to be the representative of Ptah-Socari, not of Typhon. There is a figure of a god with square ears, supposed commonly to be those of an ass, but by Lepsius of a giraffe, which has been effaced from the monuments in which it occurred, as on the Flaminian Obelisk at Rome, where it forms one of the characters in the shield of the king, whose name has been read *Setei Menephthah*. It remains untouched in the *pyramidion* and in the compartment immediately below¹, apparently because it was not deemed worth while to raise a scaffolding so high for the purpose of destroying it, but wherever it could be reached it was chiseled out and the character of another god substituted. Now this same god appears on other monuments in relations and offices which are inconsistent with the idea that he represented the evil principle and murderer of Osiris. Thus he is seen, in conjunction with Horus², placing a crown on the head of Rameses the Great, and elsewhere instructing a young king in archery³. From these circumstances combined it has been concluded that a change took place in the Egyptian worship subsequently to the reign of the king in whose shield his name last appears, and that this god became odious to his former worshippers. This however is not the only instance in which the figure of a god has been erased from the monuments. The figure of Amun has been treated in this way on the obelisk of the Lateran⁴; yet Amun retained his high rank among the gods to the latest period of Egyptian history. Nor is it probable that a god originally of beneficent attributes should be all at once converted into a representation of the principle of Evil. The name which commonly appears over the head of the god has been read by Sir G. Wilkin-

¹ See Bonomi's drawing, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 1, 177. The margin shows how the substitution has been made.

² Wilkinson, plate 78.

³ *Ibid.* plate 39.

⁴ See p. 312 of this vol.

son *Obtaut* or *Ombte*, by Lepsius *Nubei*. The same figure, however, is sometimes accompanied by a phonetic group which reads *Set*¹, and as this appears to have been the name of a deity worshipped not only by the Egyptians but by the neighboring Asiatic nations², some circumstance connected with their hostilities may have led to his disfavor. This figure occurs it is true in a group with those of Osiris and Isis, Nephthys and Aroeris, in the same relative position in which Plutarch mentions Typhon³. On the other hand, the different names which this divinity bore, according to the explanations of Plutarch, all denoted violence, turbulence and opposition, and therefore indicate that the nature of the god was also conceived of as something antagonistic to the principle of good. The animals which were emblematic of Typhon, the ass, the hippopotamus, the crocodile and the bear, all suggest the same idea of stupidity and malice, cruelty and rudeness. The god with the head of a giraffe, notwithstanding the apparent coincidence of *Set* and *Seth*, must therefore be distinguished from Typhon, who from the first origin of the Osirian mythe denoted hostility to Osiris, the good and beneficent principle.

This idea is capable of assuming a great variety of forms, according to the aspect under which we view Osiris. And free scope seems to have been given to the fancy by the Greeks and later Egyptians in devising physical and metaphysical explanations of the mythe. So general a contrast between the good and evil principles as that between Ormuzd and Ahreiman in the Zoroastrian mythology does not appear to belong to the Egyptian system, or we should find other gods whose attributes are beneficent assailed by other Typhons. It is probable, therefore, that we are to seek the explanation in some special character of Osiris. Though this

¹ Typhon was called Babys, Bebon, Smu, *Seth*. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 371 B, C. 367. Hellanicus ap. Athen. 15, p. 679 F. *Ses* or *Seth* is Coptic for *pullus asinae*. Comp. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 362 F.

² Osburn's Egypt, p. 91.

³ Wilkinson, M. & Q. 4. p. 415, 416.

god originally may not have represented the Nile, it is certain that he was identified with it in the minds of the Egyptians, as the Nile was with the principle of moisture, to which everywhere, but most obviously in Egypt, vegetable life and fertility are due. The Greek word Typhon denoted a fiery and mephitic blast, a violent wind; "the Egyptian priests¹," says Plutarch, "call *Typhon* everything that is arid and fiery and dry and hostile to moisture, and the conspiracy and dominion of Typhon is the power of the drought which dissipates the moisture of the Nile, the source of production and increase." The month of Athyr, or November, is fixed upon for the enclosure of Osiris in the *soros* or coffer, because it is in that month that the Nile after the inundation retires within its channel². The general explanation will suit equally well with the supposition that Osiris is the Sun and Typhon the power of darkness, since the time of low Nile is that in which the influence of the Sun is withdrawn. Other nations represented this luminary as in a state of feebleness and suffering during the winter; the Phrygians thought that he slept at this time, and celebrated his wakening with joyful rites; the Paphlagonians represented him as bound in winter and loosed at the return of spring³. Others explained Typhon of the fiery heat of the solar rays, by which the earth's moisture is exhaled and large portions of it made arid and uninhabitable. The opposition of moisture and drought seems likely to have been the primary idea of the mythe. It offered, however, a ready symbol of those antagonist forces which are everywhere found in nature; Plutarch declares it to be his opinion that Typhon was not drought, causing the Nile to shrink, or the sea-water, swallowing it up, or wind, or darkness, absorbing the light of the sun, but whatever in nature was destructive and injurious was a part of Typhon. This was probably an extension of the original conception; and when the same author makes Typhon the principle of Evil generally,

¹ Οἱ σοφώτεροι τῶν ἱερέων. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 364, 366 C.

See p. 70 of this volume.

² Plut. p. 378 F.

which always resists Good, but is always overcome by it, he confesses that he accommodates the theology of the Egyptians to the philosophy of Plato and the doctrines of Zoroaster¹.

Two divinities appear under the name of Horus, and are connected with the Osirian mythe. The elder Horus was the brother of Osiris, born on the second day of the *epagomenai*. The Greeks identified him with Apollo²; and Apollo, at least in later times, was held to be the same with the Egyptian Aroeris³. As *Har* is the Egyptian name for Horus, and *oer* is *great*, it is probable that Aroeris means "Horus the Great." He is represented with the head of a hawk, and being a personification of the Sun (which led the Greeks to consider him as Apollo), it is probable that this bird was chosen as his emblem from the brilliancy of its eye. Many of the titles attributed to Horus in the inscriptions, indicate his relations to the Sun⁴. He is called Horus the son of Isis (*Hor si Esi*), but he was properly the brother of Isis; no consistency is observed in these fanciful relationships. In the judgment-scenes in Amenthe, he appears introducing the deceased or presenting him to Osiris, probably because the Sun, from his wide range and piercing vision⁵, might naturally be supposed cognizant of all the actions of mankind. A hawk, as his representative, was often placed in the tombs⁶. He does not appear in the Typhonian mythe, as related by Plutarch, in the capacity of a defender or avenger of Osiris; but he is represented in the monuments as piercing with a spear the serpent Apop, who is connected with the giant Apophis, said to have made war on Jupiter, another version probably of the

¹ Ὡς τὰ ἐπίοντα δηλώσει τοῦ λόγου, τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν θεολογίαν μάλιστα ταῦτα τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος. Is. et Os. p. 370, 371.

² Herod. 2, 156.

³ Hamilton, Egypt. p. 75. Ἀρωήρει θεῷ μεγάλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι. Plut. Is. et Os. 355 E.

⁴ Birch, Gallery of Antiquities, p. 36.

⁵ Eurip. Med. 1247. Soph. Ajax, 845.

⁶ Wilkinson, M. and C. 4, 401.

story of Typhon's attack on Osiris¹. At Hermopolis, Typhon was represented by a hippopotamus, on which was mounted a hawk, fighting with a serpent².

The avenger of Osiris, the youngest of the gods, and the last of them who reigned over Egypt, was the youthful Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris. He is represented as a boy, naked, having his skull entirely bare, except a single lock which is plaited and worn on the right side. For this, a mystical reason was assigned³; but as the princes of the blood-royal were distinguished by this fashion of wearing the hair⁴, it probably was only designed to characterize him as a youthful prince. He sometimes appears with the hook and flail to indicate his relation to Osiris, and with the royal cap or *pschent*. His finger is raised towards his mouth, a gesture which the Greeks interpreted as enjoining silence, and called him Harpocrates, the god of Silence⁵. The first syllable of this name, which, notwithstanding its apparent Grecism, must be of Egyptian etymology, is evidently *Har*, Horus, the two last *pechret* (Copt. *hrot filius*), the son⁶. He often appears with his limbs bent, and this the Greeks supposed to be indicative of lameness; and Plutarch accounted for it from the peculiar circumstances under which the union of his parents had taken place. Jablonsky⁷, assuming the correctness of the Greek opinion, hence explained Harpocrates, as *Ar-phoch-rat*, lame in the feet, and supposed him to be an emblem of the Sun, weak and just beginning to recover his power, at the

¹ Plut. p. 365. Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 42. Diod. 1, 36.

² Plut. 371 D.

³ Macrobi. Sat. 1, ch. 21. *Ægyptii, volentes ipsius Solis nomine dicare simulachrum, figuravere raso capite, sed dextra parte crine remanente. Servatus crinis docet Solem naturæ rerum nunquam esse in operto; dempti autem capilli, residente radice, monstrant hoc sidus, etiam tempore quo non visitur a nobis, rursum emergendo, uti capillos, habere substantiam.*

⁴ See p. 208 of this volume.

⁵ Varro, Ling. Lat. 4, p. 17, ed. Bip. "*St Harpocrates digito significat.*"

⁶ Bunsen's Egypt, 1, p. 434, Eng.

⁷ Panth. Æg. 2, 247.

winter solstice. But this all rests on misapprehension. The finger of Horus pointing to the mouth, is expressive of his having acquired the power of speech; a human figure with the hand raised towards the mouth being the general determinative of verbs which have a relation to the ideas voice, mouth, speech, writing¹; and a youthful figure in this attitude specifically represents a child². The most common representation of Horus is being nursed on the knee of Isis, or suckled at her breast; she is then frequently figured with the horns of a cow on her head. Sometimes he is seated on an opening lotus, which is supposed to be an emblem of the opening day, or in the sepulchral scenes of the return to life. The Christian fathers speak of a mourning of Isis for the loss of her child, but they mean Osiris, not Harpocrates³.

NEPHTHYS is another personage who belongs to this series of the Osirian gods, and the last in order of birth. There is a goddess who appears very generally united with Isis, in the judgment-scenes in Amenthe and the representation of the suffering of Osiris, wearing on her head an emblem composed of a basket and the representation of a house, which is read phonetically *Nebtei*⁴. As a sister of Isis she shared her functions, and is scarcely to be distinguished from her. Thus she appears with the cow's-horns and disk and the vulture cap, which are the usual insignia of Isis⁵. According to Plutarch, Nephthys represented that which was unseen and below the earth, and Isis that which was conspicuous and above it⁶, thus dividing the earth as it were between them.

¹ Champ. Dict. Egyptien, p. 33.

² Champ. p. 31.

³ Min. Fel. c. 21. Isiaci miseri cædunt pectora et dolorem infelicissimæ matris imitantur; mox invento parvulo gaudet Isis, exultant sacerdotes. Lactant. Ep. Div. Inst. c. 23. filium parvum, qui dicitur Osiris, perdidit et invenit.

⁴ Wilkinson, Panth. pl. 35.

⁵ This close resemblance explains what Plutarch relates, that Isis discovered συγγεγονέναι δὲ ἄγνοισαν τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὥς ταυτὴ τὸν Ὀσίριν.

⁶ Plut. p. 368.

According to the same author, Nephthys was married to Typhon and was the mother of Anubis. This may be explained from her character as representative of the dark and unseen part of the earth; as Anubis was the guardian and emblem of the invisible world, and Typhon the enemy of the light. Isis represented the beginning and Nephthys the end¹, and when a dead body is introduced, Isis stands at the head and Nephthys at the feet. She appears to have been confounded by the Greeks with Athor or Aphrodite, which is not wonderful, since Isis and Athor have been very generally mistaken by them for the same.

ANUBIS alone remains of the five gods included in the Osirian mythe. He is not mentioned by Herodotus, but among the later Greeks and Romans none of the Egyptian gods attracted more notice. His image formed a part of the ritual processions which accompanied the diffusion of the worship of Isis throughout the Roman world²; and those who, either as philosophic theists, or as adherents to the established religions of Greece and Rome, disapproved of the animal worship of Egypt, found an especial subject for their contempt in a god represented under the form of a dog³. It is indeed doubtful whether the animal whose head forms a mask for Anubis were a dog or a jackal; the nocturnal habits of the latter animal, and its feeding on dead bodies, make it a more natural emblem of a deity, whose seat was the world of darkness and the repositories of the dead. The ancients, however, universally conceived of Anubis as represented by the dog, and we have seen that Plutarch explains the Osirian mythe in conformity with

¹ Plut. *u. s.*

² Ovid, *Met.* 9, 689. Apul. *Met.* 11, p. 262, quoted by Jablonsky, *Panth. Æg.* lib. 5, p. 13, 15.

³ Virg. *Æn.* 8, 698.

Omnigenūmque deūm monstra, et latrator Anubis,
Contra Neptunum, et Venerem, contraque Minervam
Tela tenent.

this idea. His name is phonetically spelt Anep or Anepo (Pl. III. C. 5), and his chief function, according to the popular theology, was to bear a part in the embalmment of Osiris, and assist in the judgment of the dead, when he commonly appears along with Thoth, adjusting the balance in which the merits of the deceased are weighed. Some of his titles allude to his funereal functions; thus he is styled "chief of the hills," the dead being usually deposited in sepulchres excavated in the rocky banks of the Nile; and in interment-scenes in the funereal papyri, he appears at the loor of the tomb, receiving the mummy in its case from the mourners. He also took charge of the soul in Amenthe and conducted it on the way of its wanderings¹. Hence it was natural that he should be identified by the Greeks with their Hermes ψυχοπομπός. From the accounts of later writers it would seem as if Anubis had been represented under a double character, as a subterranean and also as a celestial god; and that his images were sometimes black and sometimes of a golden hue, to represent these opposite relations². According to Plutarch, Anubis was the horizon, the line which separates between light and darkness; and according to Clemens Alexandrinus, the two dogs by which he was represented were the upper and the lower hemisphere³. These conceptions may seem to derive some support from the monuments in which the jackal of the north and the jackal of the south are distinguished, the former the guardian of the terrestrial world, the latter lord of heaven⁴: but they hardly belonged to the popular religion.

The last personage to be mentioned as taking part in the judgment-scene in Amenthe, is THOTH, the ibis-headed god, who stands beside the scales and notes the result of the weighing. He is con-

¹ Birch, Gallery of Antiq. p. 44.

² Birch, *u. s.*

³ Apuleius, Metam. xi. p. 775, ed. Elmend. Ille superum commenor et inferum, nunc atra nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis cervices arduas.

⁴ Jablonsky, Panth. Æg. lib. 5, p. 26.

⁵ Birch Gall. of Ant. p. 43.

nected with the Osirian mythe as having gained from the Moon the five days in which the gods were born, but he appears in these scenes in his capacity of the god of writing. The Greeks, in their endeavors to find an historical origin for the personages of mythology, represented Thoth as a divine man, if not a god¹, who invented the distinctions of articulate language into vowels and consonants, and fixed the numbers and letters of the alphabet, besides arithmetic, geometry and the game of tables², and made his inventions known to the contemporary king of Egypt, Thamus. This Thoth, sometimes called *Tat*, was the same as the Hermes of the Greeks. The fifth Mercury, says Cicero³, is he who is said to have taught laws and letters to the Egyptians; they call him Thoyth, and the first month of the year among them bears the same name. According to Diodorus, Hermes was the hierogrammat of Osiris, and having invented language, music, letters, the gymnastic art and astronomy, accompanied his master in his progress over the world and communicated these inventions wherever he came⁴. It is evident that Thoth is only a personification of the inventive powers of the human mind: the dispute whether he were Hermes simply or Hermes Trismegistus⁵, whether he invented letters or only arithmetic, in what king's reign and in what year of the world he lived, proceeds upon a groundless assumption that he was an historical personage. The name, which the Alexandrians spelt Thoth and the other Egyptians Thouth⁶, denotes in Coptic a *column* or *stele*⁷; and the historical fact that the oldest specimens

¹ *Εἰρή τις θεὸς εἰρε καὶ θεὸς ἄνθρωπος*. Plato, *Phileb.* 2, 18, ed. Steph.

² Comp. Plat. *Phileb.* 2, 18. *Phædr.* 8, 274.

³ N. D. 3, 22.

⁴ 1, 16.

⁵ Hermes Trismegistus appears to have been specially worshipped at Pseleis (Dakkch, see p. 22 of this vol.) in Nubia, with the title of *Patnouphis*; but all the inscriptions are of the Roman times. Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 320.

⁶ Philo-Byblius apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 1, 9.

⁷ Peyron, *Lex. Copt.* s. voc.

of the art of writing were preserved on stone was expressed by giving this appellation to its supposed inventor. The art of writing is immediately connected with arithmetic and musical notation, with geometry and astronomy; that Hermes was also the inventor of gymnastic was an addition to the Egyptian mythe made by the Greeks, among whom the office of presiding in the Palæstra was assigned to him. Thoth appears to have been especially the symbol of the knowledge possessed by the sacerdotal caste in Egypt, which was comprised in forty-two books of Hermes, and included, besides properly sacred literature, astronomy and geography.

The ibis was consecrated to Thoth, and the figure of this bird stands as a phonetic symbol, with the sound of *Thoth* or *Tet*, in the shield of several kings of the name of Thothmes or Tethmosis¹, though there is no reason to believe that it is the Coptic word for ibis. The name Athothis (*ha-thoth*), interpreted by Eratosthenes Ἐρμογένης, occurs as the second in his list of Egyptian kings, proving that this deity belongs to the oldest period of the monarchy. With a name nearly similar, *Taut*, he appears also in the Phœnician history, and in the same character of the inventor of letters.

Thoth in the Egyptian monuments commonly has the head of the ibis, and holds a tablet and reed pen in his hand, or the notched palm-branch, which is said to be an emblem of the month² or of time. Why the ibis was chosen as the emblem of this god is uncertain; various fanciful reasons have been assigned for the selection; perhaps the most obvious may be the most true—that the contrast of black and white, which is remarkable in the plumage of this bird, made it a suitable symbol of writing, and also of the bright and dark parts of the moon. The Cynocephalus or

¹ See Pl.² II. No. 9, and p. 252 of this volume.

² Horapollon, 1, 4, Μῆνα γράφοντες βαίει ζωγραφῶσαι. According to the same author, the palm put forth a branch every month, twelve in the year.

Ape was an emblem of the same god ; it appears both holding the tablet and pen, and with the disk of the moon upon its head ; answering to the double character of Thoth. A multitude of reasons, manifestly absurd and having no foundation in the natural history of the ape, have been assigned for this selection¹. Probably the near approach which this animal makes to the possession of reason, and its power of imitating the actions of man, suggested it as a fit representative of the rational faculty, Thoth being not merely the inventor of writing, but the author and patron of all the exercises of the human intellect. For the connexion of the Cynocephalus with the moon, it is difficult to imagine any special reason ; but astronomy belongs naturally to the god who invented arithmetic, and the earliest and simplest form of astronomy is derived from the changes of the moon.

Hermopolis (Eshmoon) was a principal seat of the worship of Thoth, and the ibis and the cynocephalus were among the conspicuous ornaments of the portico of its temple, now destroyed. The name, which in Coptic signifies *eight*, is supposed to allude to some function of Thoth, who is called in inscriptions "the Lord of Eshmoon," but no satisfactory explanation of this title has been given.

The hall in which the judgment-scene takes place is called the "Hall of the two Truths," and the region of the West, Amenthe, "the land of the two Truths²." Thmei, the goddess of Truth, is represented by a sitting figure, with an ostrich-plume on her head ; an emblem of truth or equity, because the filaments of the feathers were said to be all of the same length. Sometimes she appears blindfolded, like the image which the chief judge in the Egyptian courts wore around his neck.

We have not attempted to discriminate the gods of the second and third order, but have enumerated those to whom temples were

¹ They may be seen in Horapollon, 1, 14.

² Birch, Gallery Brit. Mus. P. 1. p. 28.

consecrated, or who occupy a prominent part in religious representations. Egypt had also its *Dii minorum gentium*, objects of limited and local veneration, whose nature is usually even more obscure than those whom we have described. Some appear to owe their existence to the custom of matching together a male and female divinity, whose union was supposed to result in the birth of a juvenile god. Others are slight variations of the attributes of the greater deities; others, personifications of towns and districts and parts of nature. Since the number of Egyptian gods was so great, that every day in the year was consecrated to one, and every sign and subdivision of the zodiac had its own genius, we may suppose that there were many who were not even the objects of local and limited veneration, but were introduced for the sake of symmetry and completeness. Their multiplication to supply the demands of poetry, art or superstition is characteristic of the expansion which the simple elements of a popular theology receive in process of time¹.

The Egyptians are commonly said to have had nothing answering to the hero-worship of the Greeks. They did not believe in those unions of gods with mortals, which, according to the Greeks, gave birth to a race half human, half divine². But they paid religious honors to eminent persons after their decease, not unlike the Greek hero-worship in those ages in which the notion of a divine descent had long ceased, and when Miltiades, Brasidas and Aratus had each his *heroum*³. Thothmes III. on the tablet of Karnak presents offerings to his predecessors; so does Rameses on the tablet of Abydos. Even during his lifetime the Egyptian king was denominated "beneficent god."

¹ In the earlier books of the Old Testament we find no enumeration of angels and no distinction of their offices, as after the Captivity.

² Il. μ', 23. Her. 2, 143. The Egyptian priests denied ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἡρώων.

³ Wachsmuth, Hell. Alt. II. 2, 105.

We have not found among the gods of the Pharaonic times any representative of Serapis, whose worship was introduced from Sinope in the reign of the first Ptolemy, and who became very celebrated, along with Osiris and Isis, in the Greek and Roman times¹. According to the narrative of Tacitus, derived from the Egyptian priests², Ptolemy, when he was adorning Alexandria, then recently built, with temples and other religious edifices, was warned in a dream to fetch from Sinope in Pontus the statue of Jupiter Dis, who was held in great reverence there. He accordingly sent emissaries, who succeeded in bringing off the statue, in spite of the reluctance of the inhabitants to part with their god. When it reached Egypt, Timotheus, the Greek *exegetes*, and Manetho, the high priest of Sebennytus, being consulted by the king, pronounced that the statue represented the god Serapis, arguing from the Cerberus and the serpent which were its accompaniments. It is evident from this that Serapis was a god previously known in Egypt; and according to Tacitus there had been a temple at Rhacotis, the site of Alexandria, of small dimensions, from ancient times consecrated to him. There was also a still more celebrated temple of the same god, under the title Zeus Sinopites³, near Memphis, and according to one account it was from this place, and not from Sinope, that the god was transferred to Alexandria. The nature of the god himself was variously interpreted; "some deemed him, from his healing powers, to be Æsculapius; others Osiris, the very ancient deity of the Egyptians; many Jupiter, the chief ruler of all things; but the majority Dispater, arguing from his insignia, or from doubtful indications." The temple appears to be that which Strabo describes under the name of a Serapeum, near Mem-

¹ Clem. Alex. 1, p. 42, Pott. Τὸν μεγαλοδαιμόνα δὲν κατ' ἐξοχὴν πρὸς πάντων σεβασμοῦ κατηξιωμένον ἀκούομεν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν.

² Tac. Hist. 4, 83. Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit.

³ Dion. Perieg. 255. Eustath. ad loc.

phis, which in his time was nearly buried in the sand, so that only the heads of the sphinxes in the dromos were visible¹. Such was its sanctity, that no stranger was allowed to set his foot within it, nor was it visited even by the priests, except for the interment of Apis². This appropriation, and the circumstance that the temples of Serapis were placed without the walls of towns³, indicate a god who was connected with the invisible world⁴, and suggest that Apis may be the last part of the name. It is difficult, however, to refer him to his exact representative in the old Egyptian pantheon. The statues and coins of Serapis, which are chiefly of Asiatic cities, and all of the Greek or Roman times, usually exhibit him with the lineaments of Pluto, and accompanied by Cerberus, but distinguished from that god by having a *modius* on his head⁵, to indicate his being the author of abundance, a character well-suited to the primary meaning of Dis and Πλούτων. He also carries a cubit, supposed to have a reference to the rise of the Nile⁶, or else to his function as judge in the infernal regions. None, however, of the representations of the ancient Egyptian gods at all correspond with this description, nor do we know with what attributes the Serapis of Memphis or Rhacotis had been figured, before the influence of Greek art, and the mixture of Greek mythology. That he was considered to be Æsculapius was owing to the multitude of cures which were performed in his temple, rather than to any peculiar

¹ Strabo, l. 17, p. 807. ² Pausanias, lib. 1, c. 18.

³ Macrobius (Sat. 1, 7) says this was owing to the reluctance of the Egyptians to receive a strange god; but he must have been very ignorant of the old Egyptian religion to assert "nunquam fuit fas Ægyptius pecudibus aut sanguine sed precibus et ture solo placare deos."

⁴ The statues of Serapis were painted black (Clem. Alex. 1, p. 43, ed. Potter).

⁵ Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Pl. lxxxvii. No. 346. Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clem. 2, 1.

⁶ Suidas, Σέρapis. The graduated pedestal of Ptah is supposed to refer to the rise of the Nile (Birch, Gallery of Antiquities, pl. 6.).

correspondence in their attributes. The Greeks and Latins concluded probably from the sound, that the name was connected with Apis, Osirapis or Soroapis, "the coffin of Apis;" we find a representation of Osiris in the character of Apis, that is, with a bovine head¹, but with none of those insignia which the Greek and Latin authors attribute to Serapis. This god was known to the Macedonians before the death of Alexander; after his illness at Babylon, Python, Seleucus and several of his attendants slept in the temple of Serapis, for the purpose of ascertaining² whether it would be better to remove him to the temple for the chance of his recovery; and the god replied that it was better he should remain where he was. There was at Seleucia³ in Syria a temple consecrated to a divinity of this name. If Ptolemy, partaking in this reverence for Serapis⁴, wished to introduce his worship into Egypt, it was natural that, to avoid offending the religious feelings of his new subjects, he should identify him with some former object of their worship, and Manetho appears to have lent his aid for this purpose. If this god were Osiris, it will be easily understood how Serapis should be considered as corresponding with Pluto, with the Sun and the Nile, all these attributes being combined in Osiris⁵.

There are some gods mentioned by the ancients, to whom we find it difficult to assign representatives among the figures on the monuments. Herodotus says⁶ that Mars was worshipped at Papremis, and describes the bloody affray which occurred when one body of his priests endeavored to force their way with his statue

¹ Wilkinson, pl. 31, Part 2.

² Suet. Vesp. 7. The blind man and the cripple whom Vespasian healed, had been encouraged in a dream by Serapis to apply for his aid.

³ Tac. 4, 84.

⁴ Comp. Arrian, Exped. Alex. 7, 26. Plut. Alexand. § 73.

⁵ SOLI SARAPI, ΗΛΙΩ ΣΑΡΑΠΗΔΙ, are common in Latin and Greek inscriptions. Jablonsky, P. 1. p. 225. Serapis, sol inferus. Id. P. 2, p. 234. Orelli, Inscr. c. 4, § 32.

⁶ 2, 63, 64.

into the temple, and another resisted his entrance. A figure of the same deformed proportions as Ptah-Socari, armed with a sword and shield, has received the name of Mars, but with little probability¹. An armed male figure, having the name of *Rampo*, seems more exactly to answer to the character of Mars². The river-horse was held sacred in the Papremite nome³, and therefore from analogy we should conclude was sacred to the god of Papremis; but it was an emblem of Typhon⁴, and perhaps the god whom Herodotus calls Mars may have been a form of the Evil principle. Hercules again is repeatedly mentioned as an Egyptian god; but Chons, with whom he has been identified (see p. 322), has nothing resembling his Greek attributes. It is uncertain what goddess answered to the malignant Tithrambo⁵, whom Epiphanius calls Hecate, or to Thermuthis⁶, who appears to have been a divinity of the same unfriendly character. On the other hand, there are several figures which appear from their attributes to be divine, whose functions it is difficult to assign, and who have no correspondence with any divinity mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors.

Upon the whole, we have abundant evidence that the Egyptian theology had its origin in the personification of the powers of nature, under male and female attributes, and that this conception took a sensible form, such as the mental state of the people required, by the identification of these powers with the elements and the heavenly bodies, fire, earth, water, the sun and moon, and the Nile. Such appears everywhere to be the origin of the objective form of polytheism; and it is especially evident among the

¹ Birch, Gall. p. 48. This figure is evidently not of the Pharaonic times. Comp. Wilkinson, Pantheon, pl. 24, A. 4.

² Wilkinson, pl. 69, 70.

³ Her. 1, 71.

⁴ Prichard, Analysis, p. 122. Comp. Her. (2, 63), "εβέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξας," with Horap. 1, 56, "Ἰπρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα ἐπὶ γάμον ἤκει," of the hippopotamus.

⁵ Jablonsky, P. 1, p. 103-121.

⁶ Ibid. P. 1, p. 116

nations most closely allied to the Egyptians by position and general character—the Phœnicians, the Babylonians; and in remoter connexion, the Indians on the one side and the Greeks on the other. The conception of a god, however, is formed within man himself; it is from his own consciousness that he derives the idea of power, which he transfers to the outward world, along with the ideas of volition and intelligence, which in himself are inseparable from power. He is hence subjected, in the formation and expression of his religious conceptions, to two counteracting influences, which variously predominate, according to individual and national character; one leading him to multiply the objects of his worship, as his knowledge of the powers of nature extends; the other suggesting the idea of one spiritual essence, informing the material world, in analogy with that by which the human body is animated and controlled. Of the extent to which the latter prevails, it is impossible that we should have satisfactory evidence in regard to an extinct people who have left us no written record of their sentiments. The material symbol of the most refined religious conception, when it comes to stand alone and without commentary, necessarily appears anthropomorphic or even idolatrous. If we had no other means of judging of Christian doctrine but by Christian art, we should suppose that its Deity was represented under a human form, or that it admitted more than one object of worship. It will not therefore follow, that the Egyptian Kneph did not represent the spiritual essence which pervades all nature, or even the Intellect which presides over all, because he is figured as a man, with the head of a ram.

If in the absence of positive information we might venture to draw a distinction, we should say that the older gods, to whom Kneph belongs, appear to represent rather the principles and powers to which the world owes its existence; while Osiris and Isis more distinctly and palpably personify the parts and elements of the material world, and perhaps from this circumstance, among

others, became the gods of the whole nation, and representatives to foreigners of the whole Egyptian theology. It might have been expected that the discovery of the hieroglyphic character would have produced more certainty in regard to the original conceptions of the Egyptians respecting their gods, but they have added little to our knowledge. Even if correctly interpreted, they do not exhibit a more spiritual system of belief than we had previously cause to attribute to them.

We can find no sufficient evidence for the opinion that the various gods of Egypt are but symbols and personifications of the attributes and powers of one Being, whom the priests, if not the people, recognised as the only true god. This opinion seems to have been adopted not so much from any direct evidence, as from its appearing the necessary consequence of another assumption, that the doctrine of the Unity of God, being the primæval belief of mankind, must have been held by the original population of Egypt. The only approach to the idea of Unity which we find is that the functions of a supreme god appear to be assigned to subordinate deities, as if all were really but the manifestation of one power. Of the ancients, some represent the Egyptians as believing in no other gods than the elements of nature and the heavenly bodies; others as being the source whence Orpheus and Pythagoras derived their doctrine, that God dwells in the world as the soul in the human body. Each opinion may have been held in Egypt when the Greeks became acquainted with it, and the partisans of each have claimed it to be the genuine sense of their religion. The recognition of God, however, as the intellectual principle, wholly distinct from matter, which presided over creation (the clear doctrine of the Hebrew Scriptures), appears to have been, as regards the Pagan world, the original and independent merit of the school of Anaxagoras¹. This is the only kind of monotheism which has any definite

¹ Ar. Met. lib. 1, c. 3. Others say Thales, Cic. N. D. 1, 10.

character or moral value ; the rest are a pantheism, which is easily changed into polytheism on the one side, or atheism on the other.

SECT. II.—SACRIFICIAL RITES.—THE SACERDOTAL ORDER.

Sacrifice, the universal expression of the religious sentiments in the ancient world, has a natural origin in the transference of his own feelings from the worshipper to the object of his worship. He takes for granted that his god is pleased with a costly gift, and demands, as a proof of his gratitude for an abundant harvest, a fruitful season, or the increase of his flocks and herds, the offering of the best and choicest of what he has bestowed. If his gift be of an imperishable nature, he suspends it in his temple ; if capable of being consumed, it is either laid upon the fire of the altar, or poured out in a libation, or given to the priest as the visible representative of the divinity. These are *eucharistic* sacrifices, expressing gratitude for benefits received, in a mode analogous to that in which it would be manifested towards an earthly benefactor. Such sacrifices are also naturally supposed to be *propitiatory*, and to produce towards the worshipper a kindly feeling on the part of his god, disposing him to bestow further benefits. The darker passions of humanity, however, are transferred to the heavens, as well as those of benevolence and pity ; occasions arise, when the consciousness of guilt or the experience of calamity produces the belief, that the god is angry, and has inflicted or is preparing to inflict evil on the object of his displeasure. Human resentment in similar circumstances is not discriminating. It is not always to be mollified by submission and repentance, but its vengeance may be diverted to some other than the person by whom the offence has been committed. If the penalty of divine displeasure is not wholly to be avoided, it may be commuted ; an *expiatory* sacrifice less costly than the life of the offender may be accepted ; the shedding of the blood of animal victims may procure for him a remission of the sen-

tence against himself; or if human blood must absolutely flow, some life over which he has power, that of a slave, a captive, or a child, may be offered for his own; if one sacrifice be not sufficient, numbers may prevail, and divine vengeance be averted by a hecatomb.

Human sacrifices were so common in the ancient world, even among nations by no means barbarous¹, that it is in itself not at all incredible that they should have been practised by the Egyptians, notwithstanding the humanity which generally characterized their institutions. We have besides the positive testimony of Manetho², that "men called Typhonian were burnt alive in the town of Idithya (conjectured to be Eilithya) and their ashes scattered to the winds." Diodorus informs us what was meant by Typhonian, namely men of a red color, which was believed to be that of Typhon. This color, he remarks, was rare among the Egyptians, though very common among foreigners, and these Typhonian men were sacrificed by the ancient kings at the tomb of Osiris³. The Greeks believed that a king of Egypt of the name of Busiris had rendered himself memorable and odious by this sacrifice of strangers who had ventured into Egypt, or been driven by storms on the coast. As no such king is found in the lists, it was conjectured that Busiris means "tomb of Osiris⁴;" and whether the etymology is sound or not, it is very probable that the tale originated in the custom of offering red-haired strangers, that is, natives of northern regions, to Osiris. Manetho adds, that a king named Amosis abolished the custom, and substituted a waxen

¹ Of this practice among the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, no evidence needs to be offered. Of the Arabs see Porphyr. de Abst. 2, p. 225. Of the Greeks, Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 2, 225. Its prevalence among the inhabitants of Palestine, and its abolition by Amosis, who expelled the Hyksos, may lead to the supposition that it was introduced by the Phœnician Shepherds.

² Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 380 D. Athen. 4, p. 172.

³ Diod. 1, 88.

⁴ Diod. 1, 88.

image for the human victim¹. There is no conceivable reason why a high-priest of Egypt should invent a story so little creditable to his nation; while it is quite credible that an inhuman custom, time-honored and sanctioned by religion should have existed along with civilized manners, and institutions in their general character humane. No doubt the Egyptian considered a Typhonian man as acceptable a sacrifice to his god, as a Jew or a heretic was deemed by a Spanish Inquisitor; nor does the circumstance that in the latter case it was called a penalty, and not a sacrifice, make any difference in the quality of the act. Herodotus indeed denies the existence of the practice at any time in Egypt; but the reason which he gives for his disbelief is not convincing. "How is it likely," he says, "that the Egyptians, to whom it is not lawful to sacrifice even animals, with the exception of sheep, and pure oxen and male calves and geese, should sacrifice men?" He has himself, however, related that swine, so impure commonly in the eyes of the Egyptians, that a touch of one rendered purification in the river necessary, were nevertheless on one day in the year offered in sacrifice to the Moon and Dionusos². It is not safe to apply reasoning to a thing so capricious as superstition, or to conclude that a custom has never prevailed, because it is incongruous to the manners of a people as we see them. The Mexicans were a highly civilized people and their works of art not unworthy to be compared with those of Egypt; yet we know that their *teocallis* were profusely stained with the blood of human victims, even of their own countrymen. The Egyptian priests had contrived to retort the odium of human sacrifices upon the Greeks; they related that Menelaus, when driven into Egypt, seized two youths of the country, and sacrificed them

¹ Porphyr. de Abstin. 2, p. 223. Euseb. Præp. Ev. 4, c. 16. Comp. Ovid, Fasti 5, 621, of the custom of throwing images of bulrushes into the Tiber, as a substitute for an ancient custom of drowring men.

² 2, 45.

³ 2, 47.

to obtain a favorable wind for his departure—a story evidently framed when they had heard from the Greeks of the sacrifice of Iphigenia¹. The monuments give us no positive evidence on this subject; for the representation of kings grasping a score of captives by their hair, and preparing to strike off their heads, if not altogether symbolical, has reference to military slaughter, not to sacrifice. It is found on monuments of the Ptolemies, and therefore certainly represents no real fact². It is remarkable, however, that the seal which the *sphragistes* placed upon the victim, in order to mark it as lawful for sacrifice, bore according to Castor³ “the figure of a man kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword pointed at his throat.” A stamp has been found on which three bound and kneeling human figures appear, beneath the jackal of Anubis, the emblem of the infernal world⁴. Wilkinson says that he has seen in the sculptures a group still more exactly corresponding with the description of Castor⁵.

The period of the abolition of human sacrifices, or the substitution of some symbolical rite for an actual shedding of the blood of life, is usually placed by tradition in those remote ages, in which the mythical and the historical element are with difficulty discriminated. Thus in Greece, while the narratives of the heroic age are full of human sacrifices, in the historical times they were of rare occurrence, being confined to a few localities⁶ and exceptional occasions⁷. When they had ceased in ordinary circumstances in Greece,

¹ Herod. 2, 119.

² Rosellini, Mon. Reali, clxv. 3.

³ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 363, B.

⁴ Leemans' Horapoll. Hierog. pl. 47 a.

⁵ Manners and Customs, 5, 352. This author disbelieves the accounts of human sacrifices in Egypt.

⁶ If the eldest born of the family of Athamas entered the temple of the Laphystian Jupiter at Alos in Achaia, he was sacrificed, crowned with garlands like an animal victim (Her. 7, 197).

⁷ Themistocles sacrificed three Persians to Διόνυσος Ὀμφίηνος, before the battle at Salamis (Plut. Them. 13). The omission of any mention of this by Herodotus cannot weigh against the precise account by Plutarch.

the Athenians yearly put to death two malefactors at the festival of the Thargelia, with the ceremonies of a sacrifice¹; and the sacrifice of foreigners in Egypt, who were forbidden by law to enter the country, exhibits the same mixed character of a judicial execution and a sacred rite. Those who, as an expiation (*ἀποτροπῆς χάριν*), were precipitated from the Leucadian promontory, were in later times at least malefactors².

There appear to have been few sacrifices exclusively expiatory among the Egyptians, but whenever a victim was offered, a prayer was repeated over its head, "that if any calamity were about to befall either the sacrificers themselves, or the land of Egypt generally, it might be averted on this head." The head, after being cut off, was not eaten by the Egyptians³, but thrown into the Nile, or sold to the Greeks in towns where they trafficked. This mode of averting evil was very analogous to the practice of the Jews in regard to the scape-goat. Aaron was commanded, once in the year, to take a live goat, chosen by lot for the purpose, and laying his hands upon his head, to confess over him all the iniquities and transgressions of the children of Israel and put them on the head of the goat, and send him away into the wilderness⁴. By this

¹ Wachsmuth, ii. 2, 227. Ovid relates how the intended command of a human sacrifice was eluded by the ingenuity of Numa (*Fasti*, 3, 338):

Cæde caput, dixit. Cui Rex, parebimus, inquit;

Cædenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.

Addidit hic hominis. Summos ait ille capillos.

Postulat hic animam. Cui Numa piscis ait.

² Strabo, 10, p. 452.

³ Wilkinson observes (*M. and C.* 2, 377), that the head sometimes appears to be used for food by the Egyptians. There may have been exceptions even in the time of Herodotus (2, 39), and the sculptures in general belong to an age much earlier than his.

⁴ Levit. xvi. 21. Deut. xxi. 1-9. If the author of a murder could not be found, a heifer was to be brought to the brink of a torrent, and its head struck off. So, according to Lev. iv. 1-12, the high-priests and elders were

ceremony the people's apprehension of punishment for their sins was removed, and they could resume their worship without fear of its being unacceptable.

This ceremony was practised with all victims, but the evisceration and burning differed. In a sacrifice to Isis, which was one of the most solemn of all, the animal having been flayed, and the intestines, but not the other viscera, and the internal fat taken out, the neck and limbs were cut off, and the cavity of the body filled with bread, honey, raisins, figs and frankincense, with other odoriferous gums. The whole was then burnt, being plentifully basted with oil. The rites of Isis were partly of a lugubrious character, representing the death as well as the recovery of Osiris. A fast, therefore, preceded, and during the burning the worshippers beat themselves. When it was over, the portions of the victim which had been reserved were eaten, probably by the priests in conjunction with the offerers. Strabo¹ observes respecting the worship of Osiris at Abydos, that no music was used in the rites preliminary to the sacrifice, which was elsewhere the usual accompaniment, as among the Greeks and Romans. We find in the monuments no confirmation of the opinion that the Egyptians originally made only unbloody offerings to their gods². It was probably a fiction, illustrative of the innocence of the primitive times, when the shedding of blood even in sacrifice was avoided³. They exhibit, however, a great variety of unbloody offerings. Almost all the characteristic productions of the country appear as gifts on the altars to lay their hands on the head of the victim, and thus transfer to it the sin of ignorance.

¹ *Ἐν τῇ Ἀβύδῳ τιμῶσι τὸν Ὀσίριν' ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὔτε ᾠδὴν οὔτε αὐλητὴν οὔτε ψάλτην ἀπάρχασθαι τῷ θεῷ καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς* *lib. 17, p. 814.*

² *Macrob. Saturn. 1, 7, p. 150. See p. 363 of this volume, note²*

Vetus illa setas cui fecimus Aurea nomen

Fœtibus arboreis et quas humus educat herbis

Fortunata fuit, nec polluit ora cruore.—Ov. Met. 15, 97.

of the gods, especially the papyrus and the lotus, with the vegetables most esteemed for food, the water-melon, the radish and the onion, the grape and the fig, cakes, milk, wine and ointment. Birds, especially the goose or duck of the Nile, were offered in sacrifice by the Egyptians, as by the Jews; a practice less common among the Greeks and Romans. Gifts of objects not to be consumed were also made to the gods, among which the sitting figure of Truth is one of the most common, emblematic of the sincerity of the worshipper. An image of Thoth, the god of knowledge, is frequently presented, or the *sistrum* with the head of Athor, a sceptre, a feather fan, a necklace¹. The spoils taken in war were also offered to the gods in great variety², and *ex votos* suspended in their temples in commemoration of benefits conferred, especially in the cure of diseases³. The statues of the gods were anointed with perfumed ointment, which was also placed in vases as a gift before their shrine. The Egyptians were celebrated for the composition of ointments, among which were the Cyprine, perfumed by the Al-henneh plant, and the *sagdas*, of which the composition is unknown⁴. Wine, besides being poured in sacrifice over the head of the victim, was also used in libations. Incense of various kinds was burnt before the images of the gods. In the temple of the Sun, resin was burnt in the morning, myrrh at noon, and *kuphi* at sunset⁵. The composition of this last was complex and elaborate; sixteen fragrant substances entered into it, and those who were employed in compounding it read a formulary from the sacred books⁶.

¹ Rosell. M. R. tav. cxlvi. cxx. cxv. Wilk. M. and C. 5, 372.

² Rosell. M. R. lii. lix. lxxi.

³ Wilk. M. and C. 3, 395.

⁴ Athen. 15. p. 689. The *sagdas* was also called *psagdas*, *p* being the Coptic article.

⁵ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 383.

⁶ In the composition of the sacred ointment of the Jews, myrrh, cinnamon, sweet reed, cassia and olive oil were employed (Exod. xxx. 22). Stacte, onycha, galbanum and frankincense were to be mixed together, for the perfume which was to be kept in the Tabernacle (ver. 34).

A priesthood numerous, richly endowed, and freed from the care of providing for themselves, like that of Egypt, naturally employs itself in making its ritual more minute and elaborate, in multiplying ceremonies and processions¹, and widening the separation between itself and the laity. Frequent and careful ablution is enjoined in Egypt by a regard to health and propriety; the priests bathed themselves in cold water, twice every day and twice every night. They shaved their bodies every other day, to prevent the possibility that vermin should harbor upon them, and wore garments of linen and sandals of papyrus only, that neither wool nor leather, being of animal origin, should be in contact with their persons. Their diet was chiefly flesh of oxen and geese²; fish they were forbidden to taste, and beans; both probably from dietetic motives originally³, though the sanitary rule grew into a religious prohibition⁴, and mystical reasons were devised for it, so that to the priest even the sight of a bean was a pollution. In regard to this the practice of different temples varied. The priests of the Casian Jupiter near Pelusium never touched onions, nor those of the Aphrodite (Athor) of Libya garlic; in other temples they abstained from mint, sweet marjoram, or parsley⁵. These refinements, which are recorded by late authorities, indicate a state

¹ Their ritual was comprised in ten books, "concerning sacrifices, first fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, festivals and such like." Clem. Al. Strom. 6, 758.

² Οὐ μόνον σὺν, ἀλλὰ προσέτι αἰγῶν, καὶ οἰῶν καὶ βοῶν (cows) καὶ ἰχθύων ἀπέχονται οἱ Αἰγυπτίων ἱερεῖς. Orig. c. Cels. 5, p. 264. With the exception of swine, cows and fish, it may be doubted if the prohibition extended beyond the nomes in which these animals were sacred.

³ Herod. 2, 37. Cic. Div. 1, 30; 2, 58. Fish, though not absolutely an unhealthy, is an impoverishing food, and the fish of the Nile are watery and insipid. Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 222.

⁴ Plutarch, Is. et Os. p. 383 B. Ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀγνείαις καὶ διατράαις εὖχ' ἥττον ἐστὶ τοῦ δαίου τὸ ἐγγινώσκον.

⁵ Sext. Emp. p. 178, Bekker.

in which the leisure of the priesthood was employed in systematizing superstition.

The practice of circumcision appears in its origin to have been national and not sacerdotal, and to have had no religious character¹. According to Herodotus it was first introduced in Egypt, and imitated by other nations. He had found it among the Colchians², attesting the presence of the army of Sesostris in his Asiatic expedition; and from them it had been learnt in recent times by the Cappadocians and some other neighboring tribes. He was uncertain whether the Ethiopians had learnt it from the Egyptians or the Egyptians from the Ethiopians, but inclined to the latter opinion. The Syrians in Palestine, among whom he says it also prevailed, are evidently the Jews. Among the Mesopotamian Syrians it appears to have been unknown. The Phœnicians, who practised it generally, had abandoned it where they had much intercourse with the Greeks. It appears from Diodorus (3, 31) that it was in use among the Troglodytes, who lived chiefly on the shores of the Red Sea, and were probably of Arabian origin. Besides the Jews, the Idumæans, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Ishmaelites³ had the same practice. The inhabitants of the cities of the Philistines⁴, however, certainly had it not, nor those of the land of Canaan generally⁵. The Jews, however, appear to have been the only people in ancient times among whom it was strictly a national religious rite, and who therefore did not wait like the Egyptians till the age of fourteen, when reasons of health or purity might prompt to it, but submitted infants of eight days old⁶ to circumcision. The

¹ Her. 2, 37. Περιτμήνοντες καθαρότητος εἴνεκεν προτιμῶντες καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸ εὐπρεπέστατον.

² Her. 2, 104.

³ Hieron. ad Jerem. 9, 25.

⁴ 1 Sam. xviii. 27.

⁵ Gen. xxxiv. 14. In the time of Josephus (c. Ap. 1, 42) the Jews alone practised it of all the nations of Palestine.

⁶ The narrative of the circumcision of her son by Zipporah (Exod. iv. 24) appears to indicate that it had begun to be neglected by the Jews in Egypt.

words of Herodotus imply that it was general among the Egyptians, but not that it was strictly universal or commanded by law¹. From the language of the book of Joshua (v. 9), in which uncircumcision is called "the reproach of Egypt," it should seem as if then it was held disreputable among the Egyptians not to have undergone this rite; in later times it appears to have been confined to the priests², and to those who devoted themselves to science and letters. Upon them it was probably imposed by the priesthood, as a troublesome initiation which would assist in excluding those who had no other motive than an idle curiosity³. It is even said by Origen, who could not be ignorant of the customs of Egypt at least in his own time, since he was a native of Alexandria, that without submitting to this rite, no one was allowed to study the hieroglyphical character⁴. From the examination of the mummies it

and that Moses had omitted to perform it on his own sons. It must, however, have been known to Zipporah, since upon the sudden and dangerous illness of her husband, she conceives this to be the cause of the displeasure of Jehovah, and immediately performs the rite with such an instrument as she had at hand.

¹ Just before, speaking of the custom of washing their brazen vessels, he says very emphatically, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ἀλλὰ πάντες* but this is not said of circumcision.

Τοῦς ἱερέας ἐνθάδε μὲν Ἰσραηλίτους νόμος
Εἶναι· κατ' ἑμὴν δ', ὡς ἰστικὸν ἀπηργμένους.

Anaxandrides Athen. 7, 55.

² Ἀνάρχεσθαι was the action of the sacrificer, who cut off a small portion of the victim, and offered it to the god. Her. 4, 61. Hom. Od. γ'. 446, § 422. Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 22; 2, 13.

³ Pythagoras is said to have been compelled to submit to circumcision, before the priests would admit him to the knowledge of their doctrines. Jablonsk. Panth. Proleg. § vii.

⁴ Apud Ægyptios nullus aut geometrica studebat, aut astronomiæ secreta rimabatur, nisi circumcissione suscepta. Sacerdos apud eos, aruspex aut quorumlibet sacrorum minister, vel ut illi appellant prophetæ, omnis circumcissus est. Literas quoque sacerdotales veterum Ægyptiorum quas hiero-

appears that the practice was very limited, not extending to one in fifty¹; but it must be remembered, that a large proportion of these are not of very high antiquity.

According to Diodorus², the priests married only one wife, while polygamy was allowed to the rest of the population. The sons were brought up by their fathers and instructed by them in the two kinds of writing, the sacred and the demotic³. It appears to be implied by Diodorus⁴, though he does not expressly assert it, that the study of geometry and astronomy was also confined to the priests. There was a gradation of ranks among them. Besides the high priest there was an order of *prophetæ* who were the presidents of the temple, and whose duty it was to commit to memory the ten sacerdotal books, which contained everything relating to the laws and the gods and the education of the priests. To them also belonged the administration of the temple revenues. The *pastophori* had the charge of the books relating to medicine; the *stolistes*, from his name, must have had the superintendence of the sacred vestments, and also kept the vessel for libations and the cubit of justice, the standard of long measure. He was also specially charged with the books which contained the rules for the sealing of the victims. The sacred scribes, or *hierogrammateis*, possessed the knowledge and had the regulation of everything relating to the sacred utensils, to measures of capacity, the furniture of the temple, *glyphicas appellant nemo discebat nisi circumcisa*. Origen, Comm. Ep. Rom. 2, 18.

¹ Madden, as quoted by Pettigrew on Mummies, p. 168. The French Commission, Mem. 3, 88, attest its existence. Wilkinson says—"The antiquity of circumcision in Egypt is fully established by the monuments of the Upper and the Lower Country, at a period long antecedent to the Exodus and the arrival of Joseph," but without specifying the evidence on which he relies. M. and C. 5, 318.

² 1, 80.

³ 1, 81. See p. 274 of this vol.

⁴ Οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς, at the beginning of the section, appears to have its correlative in τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πλεῖθος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, a few lines from the end.

ples and the places specially consecrated to them; the course of the Nile and the topography of Egypt, the order of the sun, moon, and planets, geography, cosmography, and hieroglyphics. The *horoscopus* was required to be familiar with the four books of Hermes which treated of astronomy (*astrologia*), and the *odos* or singer with those which contained the hymns to the gods, and the regulations for the life of the king¹. It appears that the same degree of strictness was not required from all the orders of priests. According to Chæremon, quoted by Porphyry (*de Abstin.* 4, 8), "true philosophy" was found in the *prophetæ*, the *hierostolistæ*, the *hierogrammateis*, and the *horologi*; the rest, including the *pastophori* (who carried shrines) and the *neocori* (who had the charge of the edifice and its cleanliness), and the rest of the subordinate ministers, were bound to personal purity, but not the same strict abstinence as the others.

Herodotus says that in Egypt no woman was invested with a sacerdotal office². It is evident, however, that women were not excluded from all functions about the temples, since he explains the origin of oracles at Dodona and Ammonium by the carrying off of sacred attendants from Thebes³. The monuments confirm his statement, when explained with this limitation, for nowhere does a female appear discharging a properly sacerdotal office; nor does the hieroglyphic for priest occur with the feminine termination. Women, however, are found making offerings to the gods; under

¹ The priests of Memphis are enumerated on the Rosetta Stone as *ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν θεῶν καὶ πετροφόροι καὶ ἱερογραμματεῖς*. Others are mentioned by the general name of priests, who appear to have come by delegation from the other temples of Egypt.

² 2, 35.

³ 2, 54. Ἐφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θηβαίου Διὸς, δύο γυναῖκας ἱρητάς ἐκ Θηβῶν ἡλαῖσθαι ἐπὶ Φοινίκων. One of these he describes afterwards as ἀμφιπολιέσσαν ἱεὸν Διὸς

the Ptolemies, in imitation of the Greeks, they were invested with the office of priestesses¹.

When Herodotus (2, 83) declares that the art of divination in Egypt belonged not to men, but to some of the gods, we learn from his words that the Egyptian priesthood retained in their own hands that powerful instrument for governing the minds of men, the power of predicting the future, or giving commands in the name of the Divinity. In other countries this power was hereditary in certain families, or was supposed to be possessed by individuals, who by superior sanctity had been admitted to the knowledge of the divine mind, or by mystic rites and invocations had obtained it from superhuman sources. In Homer, for example, we find that Calchas among the Greeks, and Helenus among the Trojans, are possessed of a gift of divination, which proceeds from the gods, but is so far inherent in themselves, that they have no need to consult them in special cases. So Tiresias, though he appears specially as the soothsayer of the Ismenian Apollo, predicts, commands and threatens by virtue of the divine knowledge inherent in him, without consulting Apollo. The *gens* of the Iamidæ, the Clytiadæ, and the Telliadæ at Elis, appear for successive generations to have exercised the office of diviners. Others wandered through Greece, offering their skill to individuals or communities. These practices seem to have been unknown in Egypt, where the monopoly of the priesthood would have been encroached upon, by the intervention of those who did not belong to it. It is said indeed by the prophet Isaiah (xix. 3), describing the terror and confusion of the Egyptians, that they should seek to the idlers, *and to the charm-ers, and to them that have familiar spirits*. But he is describing a time of general panic, when "the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof, and the counsel thereof be destroyed;" a state in which men are tempted to try new and forbidden means of delivering themselves from their perplexities; as Saul, deprived of the oracle of God, sought the witch of Endor.

¹ Rosetta, Inscr. *Hierog. of Egyptian Soc.* pl. 17, l. 2.

The most celebrated oracles in Egypt were those of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, Jupiter, and above all that of Latona in the city Buto¹. The oracle of Hercules was probably at Canopus, where the god had a temple, and its fame seems afterwards to have been transferred to that of Serapis. The chief oracle of Apollo was at Apollinopolis Magna; of Minerva at Sais; of Diana at Bubastis; of Mars at Papremis; of Jupiter at Thebes and Ammonium. The modes of divination in these, Herodotus says, were different, without informing us what they were. One probably practised in all was divination by sacrifices. As the Greeks are said to have learnt their system from the Egyptians, we may presume that in the country in which it was indigenous, as in that into which it was imported, it implied the examination of the entrails of the victims, as well as the manner in which they burnt away upon the altar, with a clear and steady blaze, or a dull, sputtering and divided flame. We read in later times of an oracle at Abydos, in which a god named Besa was consulted by means of written tablets² containing inquiries or petitions. The god of Baalbek, whose worship is said to have been introduced from Heliopolis in Egypt³, was consulted in the same way, and returned his answers in writing; so did some of the Grecian oracles. Ordinarily, however, it is probable that the votary propounded his question, and the *prophetes* (who derived his name from presiding over the oracle⁴, not from *foreseeing* or *foretelling*) gave the answer.

It does not appear that augury, or divination from the flight of birds, was in use in Egypt; and we may conjecture the cause to have been, that superstition always attaches itself to something imperfectly known, and that in a country like Egypt, without woods or other hiding-places for birds, their habits would be too familiar to influence the imagination. Its uniform climate, in

¹ Herod. 2, 111, 133.

² Ammian. Marcell. 19, 12.

³ Macrob. Sat. 1, 23.

⁴ At Delphi and Dodona ἱερεὺς was the equivalent title. Herod. 2, 55, 5, 66, Comp. 8, 135, where the names are used as synonymous,

which rain and thunder are unknown, prevented divination from celestial phenomena, which in the electrical atmosphere of Etruria became a most important branch of the art. A thunder-storm would be reckoned among the prodigies, which Herodotus¹ says they most carefully recorded in writing with all their circumstances and consequences, inferring that whenever the prodigy recurred it would bring with it similar results. From these records the priests would expound to the people those events, which excite the curiosity of the popular mind, such as monstrous births, the speech of animals, unusual appearances of the Nile. The vulgar had besides, no doubt, their own modes of judging of the future. Good or evil was anticipated from the actions of Apis, and from his accepting or rejecting the food which visitors offered him; and probably a similar superstition attached to the other sacred animals. From the anecdote which Herodotus relates of Amasis², it appears that the oracles did not disdain to answer such questions as with us are proposed to "cunning men and women³." Before he came to the throne he had supplied himself by theft with the means of a voluptuous life, and had been often brought by those who suspected him before different oracles, some of which had acquitted and others had condemned him. Having the best possible evidence that the latter were correct, after his accession he paid all honor to their gods as speakers of the truth, neglecting the former as liars, and giving nothing for the repair of their temples. From the books of Genesis and Exodus, we learn how great was the authority of dreams in Egypt, and that the interpretation of them belonged to the wise men and magicians⁴, the *hierogrammateis* and

¹ 2, 82. Τλουράσφι πλεῖστα ἀναβήσεται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀπασι ἀνθρώποις.

² 2, 174.

³ Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 6, where Saul is represented as resorting to Samuel, to obtain information respecting his father's asses.

⁴ In Hebrew כְּהֹנֵמִים, a name probably denoting *writers*, Gen. xli. 8.

horoscopi of the priestly body. Herodotus relates circumstances which show the same influence of dreams¹.

According to Champollion², the tomb of Rameses V. at Thebes contains tables of the constellations and of their influences for every hour of every month of the year. Thus in the latter half of the month *Tobi*, "Orion rules and influences at the first hour the left arm; Sirius, at the second, influences the heart; the Twins, at the third, the heart;" and so on³. A papyrus in the British Museum, of the age of Rameses III., contains a division of the days of the year into lucky and unlucky⁴. On the sarcophagus of Rameses IV., the twenty-four hours are represented, showing the antiquity of this division. Each has a star placed above it and a figure; twelve male, representing the day, have their face turned towards the god Horus, the representative of the Sun; twelve female, towards a crocodile, the symbol of darkness⁵. In a great astronomical picture from the tombs at Bab-el-Melook, a variety of circumstances, connected with the rising and setting of the stars, are evidently indicated⁶, but in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to give the meaning of the Egyptian characters.

Herodotus⁷ enumerates, besides sacrifices and divination, three religious ceremonies which the Egyptians had devised, and which the Greeks had borrowed from them. The *introductions*⁸ are fre-

¹ 2, 139.

² *Lettres*, p. 239.

³ Lepsius (*Einleitung*, 1, 110) denies that the constellations are represented as having an influence upon the parts of the body, which he supposes to refer to some distribution of the heavens, represented under the symbol of the human figure.

⁴ *Dublin U. Mag.* v. 28, p. 187.

⁵ See the posthumous publication of Champollion's *Drawings of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. 3, 272, 274.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. 3, p. 277.

⁷ 2, 58. Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ ποιεσάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

⁸ *Comp. Eph.* ii. 18 Δι' οὗ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

quently represented in the monuments. Sometimes a god, sometimes a priest appears conducting a king by the hand to the presence of the tutelary god of the temple¹. At other times the priest follows, offering a prayer or presenting a gift to the god². The *processions*, *πομπαί*, were very numerous; spacious temples, lofty colonnades, and avenues of trees or mystic figures afforded an opportunity of making them most impressive to the spectators. The variety of garments by which the priests were distinguished, still more their symbolical head-dresses and the insignia which they carried in their hands, furnished additional means of gratifying the eye, while the religious character of the spectacle was maintained. Clemens Alexandrinus³ has described the order in which the five different classes of priests appeared on these occasions, the Singer opening the procession, followed by the Horoscopus, the Hierogrammat and the Stolistes, the Prophetes as highest in dignity closing it. The monuments exhibit these different orders, but not in exact correspondence with this description. The most splendid processions were those in which the images of the gods were carried about and displayed to their worshippers, from whose view they were ordinarily hidden in the recesses of the temples, or if not the images themselves, more portable copies of them. Such processions were called *Comasiæ* by the Greeks, and the priests who carried the images *Comastæ*⁴. It has been supposed that an early reference to this custom is found in the *Iliad* (*α'*, 424) where Jupiter and the gods are said to have gone to feast for twelve days

¹ Rosellini, *M. del Culto*, vi. 2, viii. 1. M. Reali, clxiv. 3. In all these cases Horus is the conducting god, if it be not rather a priest wearing the insignia of Horus.

² Rosellini, *M. R.* cxlix. 1, 3. The priest who is represented as following may be understood according to Egyptian art, as standing *beside* the king.

Strom. 6, p. 757, ed. Potter. Compare p. 378 of this volume.

⁴ Strom. 5, p. 671, Potter. 'Εν ταῖς καλουμέναις παρ' αὐτοῖς κομασίαις. Diod. Sic. 3, 4, with Wesseling's note.

“with the blameless Ethiopians.” According to Diodorus¹, this originated in the custom of carrying the image of Jupiter across the river into Libya and bringing it back some days after. It is very probable, considering how many of the religious edifices of Thebes were on the Libyan side of the river, that such a custom existed; we have indeed positive proof of it in the Ptolemaic times², but it could never give rise to a story of his going *up* the river into Ethiopia. These Ethiopians, whom Homer places on the verge of the ocean, that is the remotest point of the world towards the South, were invested, like the Hyperboreans who lived in the extreme North, with qualities which fitted them to be the associates of the gods; and hence the story of the annual visit of Jupiter and the Olympian deities to them for twelve days. The account of Diodorus betrays itself to be one of those accommodations of Egyptian history and customs to Greek mythology which had begun in the time of Herodotus, but greatly increased before Diodorus wrote. That processions with the images of the gods, however, were made by water, is probable not only from the circumstance that the Nile was the nation’s highway, and that the temples generally stood near it, but also from the manner of their transport, even when not taken beyond the limits of the temples. The image of the god, or the sacred animal which was his symbol, is seen placed in a boat (*bari*), sometimes exposed to view, at other times concealed in a shrine; and we find an officer of the court of Thothmes V. described in his tomb as “having charge of the *bari* of Ammon³.” No other reason for the adoption of this form is so obvious, as that boats were actually employed in early times, and retained as symbols, even in processions wholly made by land.

In form these processional boats, shallow and highly curved at

¹ 1, 97.

² Peyron, Papyr. Græc. 1, p. 3, l. 2. πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Ἀμμῶνος (p. 8, l. 20).

³ Rosellini, Mon. Storici, iii. 1, 212.

each end, resemble those in which the embalmed bodies are represented as conveyed across the Nile at Thebes to their place of interment in the Libyan hills¹. They are adorned at the stern and prow with the characteristic symbol of the gods, as the ram's head of Kneph, the sacred lotus, the hawk's head of Horus. The god himself is either seated in the centre of the *bari*, or this place is occupied by a shrine richly adorned with sacred emblems, in which he is at times concealed, at others disclosed. On the model of such a shrine as this the Ark of the Covenant of the Hebrews appears to have been constructed, which contained the Tables of the Law, the Pot of Manna and the Rod of Aaron. The mixed figure of the Cherubim which were placed at either end and overshadowed it with their wings, has a parallel in some of those Egyptian representations in which kneeling figures spread their wings over the shrine². Sometimes the shrine was not placed on a boat, but the image of the god stood upright upon a platform, supported by poles which the priests carried³. In this also we see a resemblance to the Ark of the Covenant, which was furnished with rings through which poles were passed for transporting it from place to place. The shrine was thus borne around the sacred precincts, and rested in some conspicuous place, where incense was burnt and sacrifices and offerings made before it. If the temple was dedicated to more than one god, their images were borne together. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions the representations of two dogs (denoting the upper and lower hemisphere), a hawk and an ibis, as carried by the Egyptians in their sacred processions. The figure of Anubis, with the head of a jackal, which the Greeks took for a dog, the hawk of Horus, and the ibis of Thoth, are often

See Wilkinson, M. & C. plates 83, 84.

¹ Wilkinson, M. & C. 5, 276. The word **כְּרִיבִים**, which has no etymology in the Semitic languages, is probably allied to the *γρῦψ* of the Greeks.

² Jer. x. 5: "They (the idols) are upright as the palm tree; but speak not; they must needs be borne because they cannot go." Also Ia. xlv. 7.

seen among the sacred emblems thus carried; but it does not appear on what occasion these four alone were used.

On the walls of the great temple at Esneh and the palace of Medinet Abou¹ we find portions of the sacred calendar of these places, in which the order and ceremonies of sacrifice and procession throughout the year have been recorded. These, however, are mere local rubrics for the worship of each place. Unless we should be fortunate enough to discover, among the remains of Egyptian writing, some work analogous to the *Fasti* of the Romans, we must remain ignorant of the yearly cycle of the festivals and sacrifices which the whole nation celebrated. Some of them from their nature were appropriate only to certain seasons of the year. Plutarch says that the ceremony called the disappearance of Osiris was celebrated on the seventeenth of the month Athyr (October), and that it represented the decrease of the waters of the Nile, the cessation of the Etesian winds, the increase of darkness and diminution of light, and the nakedness of the land through the fall of the leaf. The rites of mourning, which Plutarch describes as performed by the priests, for four successive days from the seventeenth of Athyr², when they clothed the image of the cow which symbolized Isis with a black veil, belong necessarily to the decline of the year³. The subsequent ceremony at the supposed finding of Osiris when the priests went to the seashore on the 19th of the month, and mixing a portion of earth with fresh water formed an image of the clay, in the shape of a lunar crescent, crying out that Osiris was found⁴, marks the season of the year when the water of the Nile

¹ Champollion, *Lettr. d'Egypte*, p. 203, 360.

² *Is. et Os.* § 39. p. 366.

³ See p. 279 of this volume, note⁴.

⁴ *Plut. u. s.* does not say on the 19th of what month this ceremony was performed; but it cannot have been of Athyr, for the mourning lasted from the 17th to the 20th inclusive. Jablonsky conjectured *Tybi* (January), in which month the lengthening of the days begins to be visible; Wyttenbach *Pharmuthi* (April); Wilkinson, M. & C. 5, 301, *Pachons* (May). None of these alterations has any critical authority, and it appears that Plutarch had omitted the mention of the month.

might be expected to return. The festival kept in honor of the return of Isis from Phœnicia, when cakes were offered to her marked with a hippopotamus, the symbol of Typhon, expresses the triumph of light over darkness, at the winter solstice. The feast called the "Entrance of Osiris into the Moon," was celebrated at the new moon of the month Phamenoth or March, the beginning of spring, and was evidently designed to symbolize the renewed fertility of the earth¹. This was the occasion, probably, on which alone, according to Herodotus², it was lawful in Egypt to sacrifice swine, Dionusos and the Moon in his account answering to Osiris and Isis. On the vigil of the festival every man sacrificed a swine before his own door to Dionusos, and then gave it to be carried away by the swineherd of whom he had purchased it. But on the day of the festival itself, the swine that had been sacrificed was eaten, the internal fat, with the extremity of the tail, having been burnt³. Another festival fixed by its nature to a particular time of the year was the *Niloa*, which Heliodorus⁴ describes as being celebrated about the summer solstice and at the first rise of the waters of the Nile; which was popularly conceived as the mixture of earth and water, the source of all life, but mystically as the union of Isis and Osiris. At this festival the priests were accustomed to drop a piece of money and the præfects gifts of gold into the Nile near Philæ⁵.

The *panegyries* differed from the other festivals, as they brought together, not the worshippers at a single temple, or the inhabitants of a single nome, but of all Egypt. The *panegyries* which in the

¹ Plut. *Is. et Os.* § 43, p. 368.

² Plut. *u. z.* Herodotus, 2, 47, says on the *full* moon, but probably the same festival is meant. Lepsius thinks a festival was kept at the beginning and in the middle of each lunation. *Einleitung*, 1, p. 157.

³ The universality of this festival may account for the circumstance, that notwithstanding their impurity, large herds of swine were kept in Egypt. The tomb of Ranni, a military man, but of the sacerdotal order, at Elilithia, exhibits a *census* of his stock of animals of different kinds, and among them are 1500 swine. Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 1, 266.

⁴ Heliod. *Æth.* 9, 9.

⁵ Sen. *N. Q.* 4, 2, 7.

Rosetta inscription the priests of Memphis decree in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, were to begin on the first of the month Thoth, in all the temples of Egypt, and sacrifices and libations were to be performed. But the panegyries of which Herodotus speaks¹, resembled the Olympian and Pythian games, which collected the people from all parts of Greece at one spot: They were all held at temples in Lower Egypt, where the population was most abundant, and the means of transport by the branches of the river and the canals were most ready. The greatest resort of all was to the temple of Artemis at Bubastis, which was near the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. A crowd of both sexes embarked on one of the large boats called *bari*, which were used for navigating the Nile. As they were carried down the stream some of the men played on the pipe and the women on the cymbals, whose noisy music was especially adapted to excite the passions, while the rest sang and beat time with their hands; and when they reached any town on the bank, they ran their boat along shore. The celebration of the festival of a female divinity seems in Egypt, as in the festival of Ceres at Eleusis, to have given unusual licence to the female sex, and as they danced and shouted, they jeered the women of the place with indecent gestures². When they arrived at Bubastis they offered numerous sacrifices, and more wine was consumed in this festival (the historian means probably in libations) than in all the rest of the year. The numbers who assembled were estimated by the natives at 700,000 persons, besides children. There is a propensity to exaggeration in all such estimates, which besides can never be accurately made; but from the example of the Jewish Passover, the

¹ 2, 58.

² The account given by Clemens Alex. Coh. vol. 1, p. 17, Potter, of the gestures of Baubo, in endeavoring to divert the melancholy of Ceres, exhibits a literal correspondence with the words of Herodotus. Even in Sparta the festivals of Diana were not free from licentious words and gestures. See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1086.

pilgrimage to Mecca and those of the Hindus, we see how congenial is this resort of crowds to a consecrated spot, to the temper of oriental nations. In regard to the number which flocked to it, the festival of Isis at Busiris came next to that of Artemis. The sacrifice to this goddess has been already described; as the festival had a reference to the death of Osiris, the votaries, men and women, beat their breasts while those portions of the victim were consumed which were placed upon the altar. Herodotus remarks that the Carians who settled in Egypt went beyond the Egyptians themselves in the expression of their grief, and wounded their foreheads with knives, according to the barbarous customs of the Asiatic nations¹. The festival of Mars at Papremis, however, was celebrated in a manner more characteristic of the fanatical character of these foreigners than of the Egyptians. Sacrifices were performed, as elsewhere; but when the sun was setting, some of the priests endeavored to wheel back into the temple the image and gilded shrine of the god, which had been taken the preceding day into a sacred edifice near at hand. Their entrance was opposed by the rest, who stationed themselves, armed with clubs, at the gate; and the party who sought admission being aided by the votaries, who had also furnished themselves with clubs, a battle ensued, in which many wounds were inflicted, and, as Herodotus believed, lives lost. The legend of the priests explained the custom as commemorating the forcible entrance which Mars made into the temple, when he wished to visit² his mother after a long absence, in which the priests had forgotten his person. More probably it had a reference to the war-like attributes of the god, and may have been a substitute for a combat with more deadly weapons. The feast of Isis-Neith at Sais

¹ Comp. Deut. xiv. 1. Wounding the forehead at a private funeral is probably there intended; but this was no doubt the origin of the same practice in the funereal mysteries.

² There is a doubt respecting the meaning of the passage in Her. 2, 64. Compare note (*), p. 365.

was accompanied with a general illumination on one of the nights. It was performed, according to the custom of the southern nations, not within, but around the houses, by means of shallow saucers filled with oil and salt, and those who were prevented from attending the festival illuminated their respective cities. Neither Herodotus nor any other author has mentioned at what season of the year this festival took place, or what was its import¹. We may conjecture, that as the inscription in the temple of Neith declared her to be the mother of the Sun², this kindling of lamps may have been intended to celebrate her as author of light. In a country whose religion was less symbolical than that of Egypt, we might have been contented to explain it only as a proof of that association of festivity with artificial light, which shows itself in the customs of all nations. The festival in honor of Latona at Buto, and of the Sun at Heliopolis, consisted only of sacrifices. The sacrifice of a swine to Dionusos has been already mentioned. In other respects the festivals in his honor appear to have been conducted, as among the Greeks, with indecent emblems, and processions led by the pipe, while the women followed singing the praises of the god. The choral dances, which from the first formed a part of the festival among the Greeks, and ultimately gave birth to the drama, were unknown to the Egyptians³, and the festival seems always to have been confined in Egypt to the villages, as it was in its rudest state in Greece⁴. Herodotus believed that Melampus taught the Greeks the custom of phallic processions in honor of Dionusos, having himself learnt it from the Phœnicians who had settled in Bœotia with

¹ There was a *ἱεὺς λόγος*, but he does not mention it (2, 62).

² See note (*), p. 327.

³ Τὴν ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὁρτῇ τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πλὴν χορῶν, κατὰ ταῦτ' Ἑλλήσι. Her. 2, 48

⁴ Her 2, 48. σφί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περι-
ορῶνται κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες. Arist. Poet. 5. Κωμῶδός ἐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμῶδου
λεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀπεριζήμενος ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεως.

Cadmus. The festival which Plutarch¹ calls Paamyliia, and supposes to have derived its name from Paamyles, who announced the birth of Osiris to the world, was evidently a phallic ceremony of the kind described by Herodotus.

There were other rites connected with this god in Egypt, of a very different character from the processions and village-festivals which have been just described. "There is at Sais," says Herodotus², "in the temple of Minerva, a burial-place of Him, whom in such a connection I deem it not lawful to mention," that is, of Osiris; "and adjoining to the temple a lake. In this lake imitative representations of his sufferings are performed by night, which the Egyptians call *mysterics*. I know more particulars about these things; but let them remain buried in silence." These sufferings were no doubt the adventures of Osiris, when he was enclosed in the chest by Typhon, and afterwards cut to pieces. As the body was floated down the Nile, and carried to Byblos, and as Isis embarked on the Nile to collect the portions of his body, we see why a piece of water was chosen for the performance of these mysteries. The mysteries of Ceres, called Thesmophoria by the Greeks, concerning the nature of which Herodotus in the same passage declines to speak, had also been brought from Egypt. The daughters of Danaus had taught this rite to the Pelasgian females of the Peloponnesus. When the Peloponnesus was conquered by the Dorians, and the old inhabitants expelled, Arcadia alone retained its original population and the rites of Ceres. The reason for his silence was in both cases the same; it was inauspicious to mention death and Hades³ in connection with a god; Osiris had been killed by Typhon, and Proserpine carried to the unseen world by Pluto. The mysteries related to the deaths and sufferings of the gods⁴. It does not appear that in Egypt they

¹ Is. et Osir. § 12, p. 355. ² 2, 171. ³ Comp. Her. 2, 132.

⁴ Considera sacra ipsa et mysteria; invenies exitus tristes, fata, funera miserorum deorum (Min. Felix, 21, 195). This will explain Cic. Tusc. 1, 12,

were otherwise separated from the popular religion, than by the circumstance of the nocturnal gloom in which from their nature they were celebrated. Even the Eleusinian mysteries were open to every one who spoke the Greek language and was not stained with crime. Men were excluded by their sex from the Thesmophoria. In the Bacchanalian mysteries, where licence undoubtedly prevailed, means were taken to prevent the entrance of all who did not belong to the association; but these appear to be later corruptions¹.

When we read of foreigners being obliged to submit to painful and tedious ceremonies of initiation, it was not that they might learn the secret meaning of the rites of Osiris or Isis, but that they might partake of the knowledge of astronomy, physic, geometry and theology, of which the priests were supposed to have exclusive possession. It was only when transferred to Greece, where a public religion was already established with which they were not congenial, that the Egyptian rites connected with the history of Osiris became a secret religion. In their origin they had no immoral character²; but large crowds of both sexes cannot be assembled and drawn to a distance from their homes without danger to morals. Secret nocturnal assemblages afford the opportunity of licence, and in the corruption of manners which overspread the Roman empire, the Eleusinian mysteries may have degenerated so far, as to deserve the character given of them by the Christian Fathers. We must not pronounce that the spectacle which would grossly offend our eyes argues a depraved heart in those to whom it bore a sacred character; nor make religion responsible for the mischief which results from *holy fairs*. The Christian Church was compelled to put an

13, without supposing with Warburton (D. L. 1, 152) that Euhemerism was taught in the mysteries.

¹ Comp. Liv. lib. 39.

² The Bacchanalian religion itself appears in its origin to have been ascetic rather than licentious (Eur. Hipp. 959).

end to nocturnal festivals¹ from their flagitious consequences. But it is impossible that either in Egypt or in the days of Athenian independence, licentiousness can have been sanctioned as a part of their religious rites. It was different with the Isiac rites, which make their appearance towards the end of the Roman republic; initiation into them was a source of gain to vagabond priests of both sexes, and they seem often to have been abused. Yet even they numbered many among their votaries who were superstitious, but sincere and ascetic in their practice², at least for the time.

It is probable that the different orders of Egyptian priests would possess in very different degrees the knowledge of their theological system: while the majority were trained in the ceremonial duties of the temple and the altar, few only were acquainted with their import and history, and the metaphysical doctrines which had either given birth to their religion or been devised for its explanation. Such gradations must exist in every body, even through the difference of natural capacity; in Egypt they seem to have been connected with a graduated scale of instruction, each order being taught to read the books, in which their own duties and the doctrines belonging to them were contained³. But it does not appear that the ascent from one step of knowledge to another was accomplished by undergoing a series of trials, increasing in severity according to the sublimity of the truth to be communicated. These have been minutely described by some writers without any warrant either from the monuments of Egypt or from historical sources. They have taken for granted that there must have existed a very close correspondence between the Eleusinian mysteries of Ceres and the ceremonies by which aspirants were admitted to the knowledge of

¹ See Warburton, D. L. 1, 169.

² Propert. Eleg. 2, 33.

³ Αἱ γύπτιοι οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀντιθέεντο μυστήρια οὐδὲ μὴν βεβήλοις τὴν τῶν θεῶν εἰδῆσιν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προΐεναι· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κριθεῖσιν εἶναι δοκιματάτοις ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τοῦ γένους. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5, p. 670, ed. Potter.

the esoteric doctrines of Egypt. There is no evidence, however, that any esoteric doctrines were taught in the Eleusinian mysteries. They were accompanied with various rites, expressive of the purity and self-denial of the worshipper, and were therefore considered to be an expiation of past sins, and to place the initiated under the especial protection of the awful and potent goddesses who presided over them. The mythic history of Ceres, Proserpine and Bacchus, was repeated in symbolical actions; and in these, and in the hymns which were sung, there must have been much that had reference to the unseen world; the very act of initiation into their mysteries was supposed to prepare for the votary a more favorable reception from them, when he reached the realm over which they presided¹. In this sense the doctrine of a future life may be said to have been taught in them; but it was a part of the popular belief, no esoteric doctrine of the mysteries, nor was it inculcated in any purer and more spiritual form, but in the same mythological garb in which it had been long familiar. In Egypt the belief in a future life was mixed with the doctrine of the metempsychosis, but it is very doubtful whether this entered into the Eleusinian mysteries². There is no trace whatever of the communication of any doctrine at Eleusis respecting the gods at variance with the popular creed, or of a system of cosmogony and metaphysics; and therefore as far as an argument from analogy can avail, we are authorized to conclude, that what Herodotus calls the mysteries of Egypt conveyed no such information on these points.

Besides annual festivals, the Egyptians, like the Greeks and

¹ Schol. Aristid. p. 101, quoted by Lobeck, *Eleusinia*, p. 73. *Ελεγον οί Έλληνες ὡς οἱ τὰ μυστήρια μνησθέντες εἰμενοῦς καὶ ἴλατο τῆς Περσεφόνης ἐνέγχαρον. Cicero (Leg. 2. 14) expresses himself less mythologically: "Neque solum (a mysteriis) cum lætitia vivendi rationem acceperimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi."

² See Lobeck, *u. s.*

Romans, must have had others of less frequent occurrence. Such was the finding of Apis, which must have recurred every quarter of a century, if not oftener, as if he survived that term he was put to death. Ptolemy Epiphanes, on the Rosetta Stone, is called "Lord of the Triaconterides," or Panegyry of Thirty Years; and though the corresponding hieroglyphic is wanting, from the fracture of the stone, it has been ascertained from other monuments, and is found as early as the sixth dynasty¹, and is afterwards a regular title of the Egyptian kings. Probably it had reference to some astronomical period, but no satisfactory explanation has been given either of this or of the name *set*, which is found connected with the hieroglyphic of the Panegyries.

SECT. III.—DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

It appears almost impossible for man not to conceive of himself as composed of two elements, a corporeal and a spiritual principle, to which a different destiny is assigned, when their temporary union is dissolved by death. The larger and grosser part is visibly restored to the earth; but it is only by the analogical reasonings of philosophy that men have ever been brought to believe that the soul is involved in the same destruction. The instinct of nature prompts to a belief in its continued existence, which is the more easily cherished, because it has no sensible properties distinct from matter. But wide differences appear among nations, in regard to the degrees of activity and enjoyment attributed to the soul in its separate state. The Jews, before they had become acquainted in the captivity with the Zoroastrian doctrine of a resurrection, conceived of the grave as a place in which the souls of the dead repose

¹ Lepsius, *Einleitung in die Chronologie*, 1, p. 161, 165, quotes Dion Cassius, 62, p. 1023, as the only passage of an ancient author in which mention is made of a *triaconteris*. Thræsea, ἐν Παραβίῳ τῇ παρὸς τραγωδίᾳ κατὰ τὴν κάρπιν ἐν ἑορτῇ τινὶ τριακονταετηρίδι ὑποκρίνόμενος.

in a state of inactivity and unconsciousness¹, though not of extinction. The question of Samuel to Saul, "Why hast thou *disquieted* me to bring me up?"² indicates that the dead were supposed to be simply at rest in the grave, yet in such a state that they might by necromantic arts be temporarily recalled to consciousness. The sublime description of Isaiah³, in which the dead are roused up to meet the king of Babylon, is framed on the supposition that they are ordinarily in a state of unconsciousness, which might, however, be broken by the strong excitement of curiosity to welcome a new visitant, and of revenge to triumph over a fallen enemy. The condition of the dead as described by Homer is not very different from this. The soul is not annihilated by death, but it is removed to a land of mist and shadows, beyond the remotest habitations of men, where it dwells in such a state of feebleness⁴ that it cannot exercise its powers till it has been revived by a libation of blood, and thus in some measure reunited to the former cause of its life⁵. The greatest of the Grecian heroes declares that he would gladly assume the place of a hireling, if he might return to the upper world⁶. Neither among the Jews nor the Greeks was this state believed to be one of retribution for mankind generally. Only a few personages of mythic celebrity are represented as undergoing a special punishment for their crimes, which is itself a prolongation or symbolical representation of their history on earth, not the result of

¹ Even the good Hezekiah speaks of death as a state in which there could be no praise of God, and therefore no conscious existence for the pious. Isaiah xxxviii. 18.

² 1 Sam. xxviii. 15.

³ xiv. 9.

⁴ Πῶς ἔτλης ἀϊδόσδε κατελθόμεν, ἔνθα τε νεκροί

Ἄφραδέες ναίουσιν, βροτῶν εἰδῶλα καμόντων;

Od. x, 474. Il. ψ, 72.

⁵ Od. x, 141, 151. Teiresias is an exception, and by the special favor of Proserpine retains his faculties (x' 490).

⁶ Od. x, 488.

any judgement passed upon them before their entrance into the world of spirits. Minos indeed appears exercising the office of a judge *among* the dead, who plead their causes before him; but this is only a continuation of his earthly office, as Orion chases the shadows of the wild beasts whom he had slain, or the heroes in Virgil's Elysium delight themselves in the care of horses, arms and chariots¹. It was a later conception to make Minos (with Æacus and Rhadamanthys) the judges who decided on the characters of the dead, and allotted them their place with the blessed or the damned². Hesiod in his Works and Days (166) assigns to his heroes a dwelling-place in the Islands of the Happy; but no judgement or probation precedes. The entire race was half-divine, juster and better than its predecessor. Menelaus, according to the prediction of Proteus³, was to be transferred without dying to the Elysian plains in the extremity of the world, where Rhadamanthys dwells, where earth yields an easy sustenance to men, and Zephyrs from the Ocean maintain a genial temperature, without snow or thick rain. In this description also there is no mention of a previous judgment.

The state of belief in regard to a future life and retribution among the Jews, for many centuries after their departure from Egypt, whose rites and worship they were so prone to adopt, leads to the suspicion that it was not an object of *popular* faith among the Egyptians themselves in the earliest ages. If it be true that

¹ Æn. 6, 658.

² Compare Homer, Od. λ', 567, with Virg. Æn. 6, 429.

Ἐνθ' ἦτοι Μίνωα ἴδον, Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν

Χρῆσεν σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νεκέεσσι

Ἡμῶν· οἳ δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ δίκας εἶποντο ἄνακτα.

Nec vero hæc sine sorte datæ, sine iudice sedes.

Quasi tor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum

Conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina *discit*.

³ Od. δ', 560.

the original reason of embalmment was that the soul was believed not to quit the body till the body decayed, and might be detained in a state of consciousness while that change could be averted¹, we can understand the extraordinary pains which they bestowed in ornamenting their tombs and covering their walls with paintings exhibiting the scenes of daily life; not merely those in which the deceased had been personally engaged; for the variety found in a single tomb precludes this idea; but all that could recall to him the remembrance of his actual experience. They could minister nothing to the gratification of the living, since they would be seen only when a new tenant was added to the occupants of the sepulchre. The reason which they assigned for bestowing so much more pains on their tombs than on their dwellings was, that the tomb was man's everlasting habitation, the house only his temporary lodging². But had it been a popular belief that the soul was either entirely detached from the body or performing its rounds through those of inferior animals, such a conception of the tomb could scarcely have originated. If on the contrary it remained connected with the body as long as it could be preserved from putrefaction, that is, by the embalmer's art, for an indefinite period, we see a sufficient motive for surrounding it with the implements which it had used in life and representations of the scenes amidst which it had been passed. The same motive will explain the custom of painting on the mummy-cases, before tombs were so elaborately

¹ Serv. ad *Æn.* 3. 68. *Ægyptii periti sapientiæ condita diutius servant cadavera, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret et sit corpori obnoxia, ne cito ad alia transeat.*

² Diod. Sic. 1, 51. *Τὰς μὲν τῶν ζώντων οἰκῆσεις καταλύσεις ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦντων ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τετελευκῶτων τάφους αἰθέριους οἴκους προσγοροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ᾧδου διατελοῦντων τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα.* Here *Hades* is evidently used for a *state* rather than a place, otherwise the sepulchre could not be called the everlasting dwelling. In *Ecclesiastes* xii. 5, *בֵּית עוֹלָם*, which our Translators have rendered "his long home," is in the Septuagint "his everlasting home," *οἶκον αἰ. ὤς.*

adorned, the various articles of dress and armor which the deceased had worn, and of the food on which he had lived. The Egyptian notion then would differ from the Jewish, inasmuch as according to the latter the usual condition of the departed spirit was complete unconsciousness; and from the Greek, inasmuch as the Greek was a state of imperfect consciousness without activity or enjoyment; whereas, according to the Egyptians, the progress of death could be arrested and the soul kept in a state by which its living condition was closely imitated.

It is generally supposed, however, that the form under which the Egyptians believed in a state after death, was that of the Transmigration of Souls. Herodotus, having mentioned the descent of Rhampsinitus alive into Hades, and the supremacy of Demeter and Dionusos, that is Isis and Osiris, over that region, proceeds¹: "The Egyptians are the first who declared this doctrine also, that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body decays the soul enters into another animal successively at its birth; and when it has gone round all the terrestrial and marine animals, and all the flying creatures, it enters again into the body of a man at its birth; and this circuit of the soul is performed in 3000 years. Some of the Greeks have made use of this doctrine, both in former and in later times, as if it were their own, whose names I write not, though I know them." These no doubt are Orpheus and Pythagoras², or his preceptor Pherecydes.

There is an ambiguity in the construction of this sentence which leaves it doubtful, whether Herodotus meant to say that the Egyptians were the first who taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, or only the first who taught the doctrine of immortality combined with that of transmigration. Evidently the latter part of the sentence must refer to the same doctrine as the former; and

¹ 2, 123.

² Diod. 1, 96. Πυθαγόραν τὴν εἰς πᾶν ζῶον τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολῇ μαθεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

as it was not the doctrine of the soul's immortality only, but also of its transmigration, which Orpheus and Pythagoras taught, it may seem that our author meant to assert the same of the Egyptians. Cicero, however, referring to the same school of philosophy, says that Pythagoras or Pherecydes was the first who taught that human souls were eternal, "*animos hominum esse sempiternos*¹." This may seem inconsistent with the facts already stated respecting the belief of the Greeks in the Homeric age. Yet the existence attributed to the *manes* was of that inert and unconscious kind, which partakes more of the quality of death than life; and therefore Herodotus in speaking of the Egyptian and Cicero of the Pythagorean doctrine, may have meant to imply, that they first attributed a real immortality, an indestructible active existence to the soul.

Another question raised respecting this passage of Herodotus is, whether he meant to say that the soul did not quit the body till it was completely resolved and decayed, so that he may have alluded to the practice of embalmment, as intended to delay this change and the commencement of transmigration indefinitely; or whether by "when the body decays²," he meant merely to describe death by its usual accompaniment. It appears that the latter was his meaning, or he would have used a tense which would have denoted that the act of decay must be completed.

Herodotus does not speak of this transmigration as connected either with reward or punishment. The soul does not, according to him, pass into the body of a clean or unclean animal, one of a higher or lower rank in creation, according to the guilt or merit of its actions in the body. It accomplishes of necessity the whole round of the kingdoms of animated nature, and at the end of 3000 years again enters a human body. So far the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis agrees with the Egyptian; the soul must pass through the bodies of animals; but when it is added, in order

¹ Tusc. 1, 16.

² Καταφθίνοι τὸς τοῦ σώματος.

that by the trials which it endures in this process it may be prepared for re-union with the divine soul, of which it is an emanation, this has nothing correspondent in the Egyptian doctrine as stated by Herodotus, who seems to have supposed that the circuit would be perpetual. In the later Pythagoreans we meet with this doctrine of the ultimate reception of the soul into the divine nature; whether it were a part of the primitive philosophy of Pythagoras is doubtful. Ovid represents him as teaching a perpetual transition from the human to the animal body, and *vice versâ*:

Omnia mutantur; nihil interit; errat et illine
Huc venit, hinc illuc et quoslibet occupat artus
Spiritus, eque feris humana in corpora transit,
Inque feras noster, nec tempore deperit ullo.—Met. 15, 165.

Whether the Egyptian doctrine comprehended an ultimate return to the Divine Essence, or only a perpetual transmigration, it appears to have been a refinement of sacerdotal philosophy¹, rather than an article of popular belief. The funeral ceremonies and prayers have reference to the hope that the deceased may dwell in peace and happiness, under the protection of Osiris in the invisible world². It is very rare to find among the funereal monuments of Egypt anything which alludes to the metempsychosis. In the tomb of Rameses the Sixth, in Bab-el-Melook³, the usual judgment-scene is

¹ Τ ἡν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι τοιαύτην—τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐπιδιαρίνειν καὶ μετεμβαίνειν (Diog. Laërt. Proœm. ii.). Τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν (to obtain assurance of a future life) ἢ τοῦτο; εἰς Αἴγυπτον πορεύσθαι καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀδούτων ἱεροφάνταις καὶ προφήταις φιλιωθῆσθαι (Clem. Rom. Homil. 1, 3, 5, quoted by Creuzer, Comm. Herod. p. 316). Plants are mentioned among the objects into which the soul migrates (Diog. Laërt. Pythag. 4), but this seems an addition to the genuine Pythagorean doctrine. Zoega de Or. et Us. Obelisc. p. 302, not. 15. It was taught by Empedocles, Æl. Hist. An. 12, 7.

² Diod. 1, 92. Παρακαλοῦσι τοὺς κάτω θεοὺς συνοικον δεῖξασθαι τοῖς εὐσεβέσι. Τε δὲ πλῆθος ἐπευφημεῖ καὶ συναποσεμνύνει τὴν δόξαν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ὥς τὸν αἰῶνα διτρίβειν μέλλοντος καθ' ἃδον μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν.

³ Rosellini, M. d. C. lxvi. p. 378. Wilkinson, M. and C. pl. 87.

represented, with the addition of a *bari* preceded by a Cynocephalus, on which is the figure of a sow. Behind the sow is another Cynocephalus, an emblem of Thoth or Mercury Psychopompus, who appears to be driving her on. This has been generally admitted to be a representation of the return of a wicked soul to the upper world, condemned by Osiris for its sin to migrate into the body of a swine. Champollion, following out this idea, read the characters which stand above the sow "gluttony," which he supposed to be the vice for which the soul had been condemned to this penance¹. Rosellini does not confirm this interpretation of the writing, though he agrees in the opinion that the soul's transmigration is here represented. It must seem very strange, however, that the sepulchre of a king should exhibit his soul as condemned to such a degradation, and we may therefore doubt whether the relation of this to the judgment-scene has been rightly apprehended.

If the Egyptian doctrine of transmigration included only the idea of a perpetual round of change, it could hardly exist among the Greeks without being combined with punishment and reward. This combination we find already in Pindar², but in a very modified form of metempsychosis, a return to the human body, without passing through those of brutes. "Let the possessor of wealth," says he, "know, that the proud souls of those who die, forthwith endure retributive pains. The offences committed in this domain of Jupiter some one judges below, pronouncing sentence by a stern necessity. But the good lead a life free from toil, having the sun equally by night and by day; not harassing the earth by the strength of their hands, nor the water of the deep, for an unsubstantial fare; but lead a life free from sorrow, beside the honored gods who delight in the sanctity of oaths³; while the others

¹ Lettres d'Egypte, p. 230. The explanation is repeated in Champollion Figeac's l'Univers, Egypte, p. 131.

Ol. 2, 109.

In a fragment of a *θρήνος* (Heyne Fr. 1, p. 21), Pindar describes the

undergo pain not to be looked upon. But those who, remaining in either world to the third time, have resolutely kept themselves from all iniquity, travel the road of Jupiter to the citadel of Saturn, where ocean-gales breathe around the Islands of the Blessed; and golden flowers glow, some from the ground, some from the bright trees; and others water nourishes, with chains and garlands of which they wreath their hands, by the just decisions of Rhadamanthys, whom father Saturn has ever at hand as an assessor. Peleus and Cadmus are reckoned among them, and his mother brought hither Achilles, when she had moved the heart of Jupiter by her prayers."¹

It is evident that we have here an attempt to connect the old *mythic* notion of place of happiness for heroes, with the more *ethical* conception of retribution and reward for mankind generally; and this again with the doctrine of transmigration. It is not, however, an Egyptian or Indian transmigration through the bodies of brute animals. The wicked at death are condemned to punishment—of what kind or duration we are not told; the good lead a life of abundance and ease, yet after a time return again to the upper world; and are only admitted to the Island of the Blessed, if they have thrice gone through the trial of a mortal life, and kept themselves from all iniquity. Another fragment of Pindar, quoted employment of the good in the invisible world, in language which Virgil has evidently had in view in his description of the Elysian Fields, *Æn.* 6, 640:

Τοῖσι λάμπει μένος αἰλίων

Τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω

Φοινικοροδαίαι τε λειμῶνες

Εἰδὲ προάσπιον αὐτῶν

Καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἱππέοις γυμνασίοις

Τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς, τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τερπονται

Παρά δὲ σφισὶν εὐανθής

"Ἀπᾶς τέθμλεν ὄλβος.—Plut. p. 120 C.

¹ Here the Scolion of Callistratus placed Harmodius the avenger of Athenian liberty (Brunck, *Anal.* 1, 155).

by Plato¹, represents human souls, after having paid to Proserpine the penalty of their ancient transgressions, as returning to the light of the sun in the ninth year; and becoming kings and wise men and heroes. But it would be treating a poet too much as a philosopher were we to attempt to combine this passage with the quotation from the Second Olympian, and suppose that an interval of nine years was to elapse between each of the three visits of the soul to earth, before it was prepared for admission to the Island of the Blessed. In such purely imaginary delineations we can except no consistency, even in the writings of the same author. Among the Greek philosophers the doctrine of the Metempsychosis underwent a great variety of modifications. Plato², combining the Egyptian period of 3000 years with Pindar's threefold probation, declares that the souls of those who have cultivated philosophy with sincerity, or lived without sensual impurity, if they have thrice chosen this life, recover the wings which the soul had lost when united with the body, and fly away to their native home, at the end of the third period of 1000 years. All others at the close of their first human existence undergo a trial. Some of them are condemned to punishment in the world below, others enjoy happiness in heaven. At the end of the first period of 1000 years, both classes choose their second life; and thus the human soul passes into the life of a brute, and he who was once a man, from a brute again to a man. Ten thousand years must elapse before the

¹ Meno, ii. p. 81 B. Pind. Heyn. Fr. Thren. iv.—

Οἷσι γὰρ ἂν Φερσεθόνα ποινὰν
 Παλαιοῦ πένθευς δεξεται,
 Εἰς τὸν ὑπερθεὺς ἄλιον κείνων
 Ἐνάτω ἔτει ἀναδιδοῖ ψύχαν πάλιν.
 Ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοὶ καὶ θένει κραίπνοι
 Σοφία τε μέγιστοι ἄνδρες αὖξονται.
 Ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες
 Ἄγνοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλεῦνται.

² Phædr. § 61, iii. 249.

souls of ordinary men can regain their wings and fly back to their original abode¹. The philosopher, however, is not more consistent than the poet; sometimes he uses the common language respecting Hades and Elysium; sometimes he assumes a transmigration of souls, and again blends both with his own poetical imaginations and philosophical theories².

A writer, under the name of Hermes, preserved by Stobæus³, probably of very late times, thus states the doctrine of transmigration: "All souls proceed from the soul of the universe, and their changes are many, some to the better, some to the worse. Those of reptiles change into aquatic, the aquatic into terrestrial, the terrestrial into aerial, the aerial into man. And human souls as the beginning of immortality are changed into dæmons, and so into the choir of gods; now there are two choirs of gods, one of the wandering, the other of the fixed (stars?). And this is the most perfect glory of the soul. But when it enters into man, if it continue wicked it will never obtain immortality, but will take the backward course to the reptiles." He cannot, however, be received as evidence of the original Egyptian doctrine.

Neither the Egyptian nor the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration appears to have included that of punishment. But the more popular conception of the state of the dead, as subjected to the judgment of Osiris and existing in the invisible world, which the Egyptians called Amenthe, must have acknowledged a retribution for the conduct during life⁴. Of the state of the just after death we have a curious picture in the papyrus rolls which were frequently enclosed in the sarcophagi along with the mummies.

¹ Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θένει ἥκει ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκαστῇ οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἐτῶν μυρίων οὐ γὰρ περὶ οὐρανὸν πορεύεται χρόνου (Phædr. u. s.).

² Phædo, i. 113.

³ Ed. Heeren, p. 1000.

⁴ Ait Mercurius Ægyptius animam digressam a corpore non refundi in animam universi, sed manere determinatam, ut rationem patri reddat eorum quæ in corpore gesserit. Tertullian. de Anima, 33.

They appear, according to Lepsius, who has published one of them under the title of the Book of the Dead, to have been a sort of passport to the soul through the numerous gates of the heavenly dwelling. Champollion had given them the appellation of the Ritual; but they contain no precepts for honors to be paid to the dead, nor hymns or prayers to be offered to him. The deceased is the person represented, and the papyrus describes his adventures after the soul has left the body. So far it may be called a ritual, that it contains the prayers which he offers to the gods. The French '*Description de l'Egypte*' contains an engraving of one of these Papyri; but by far the most complete copy exists in the Royal Museum of Turin, whence the facsimile of Lepsius has been taken. The smaller funeral papyri contain extracts or abridgements of this, some sections being omitted in one, some in another. They appear to have been prepared by the priests; some are in the hieroglyphic, but most of them in the hieratic character. If perfect, they contain a representation of the judgment-scene which we have already described, and which is denominated "Book of the redemption in the hall of the twofold Justice." The deceased addresses each of the forty-two judges by name; it was the business of each of them to punish some particular sin, and of this sin the deceased declares himself innocent. The first step in the progress of the soul through the unseen world is, that it issues from the grave, and under the form of different gods addresses invocations to Osiris as Lord of the lower world. In succeeding chapters Thoth is addressed as the champion of Osiris against his enemies, and the deceased appears armed with a lance, and pursuing the Typhonian animals, the crocodile, the serpent, the tortoise, and the ass. In a subsequent part he is seen offering to the inhabitants of the celestial regions, embarking on the heavenly waters, ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing². These Elysian fields are sur-

Antiquités, vol. 5, pl. 44-46. The funeral papyrus, published in 1805 by Cadet and Hamner, is nearly 28 feet long, and contains 537 columns.

² It is supposed to be in allusion to this future occupation of the deceased,

rounded and permeated by waters; but it is not necessary to suppose that this circumstance gave rise to the Greek fiction of the Islands of the Blessed, which may be purely poetical, or if it have any foundation in fact, may have owed it to the Phœnician settlements in Western Spain, and their discovery of the Canaries or Azores¹. The deity (Seb), whom the Greeks interpreted as Saturn, has no connexion in Egyptian mythology with the unseen world; and Rhadamanthys, though it has been etymologized from the Coptic², appears to be a purely Greek word³. These are the most important contents of the funeral papyri⁴; there are also varied prayers to the gods, who are all designated as forms of Osiris, and hymns, which, from their division by points, appear to be metrical. The most perfect rolls belong to the flourishing times of the Pharaohs, from the fifteenth to the thirteenth century before Christ. In later times they are brief and fragmentary, and of the Ptolemaic times no single copy has been found.

We are not to expect in the papyri any explanation of the fate of those who were found wanting in the trial of the balance by Osiris. Every one who was embalmed and deposited in the tomb was presumed to have been approved by him; the mummy bore the form of Osiris, and the deceased was called *Osirian*⁵ and identified with the god, just as among ourselves, every one who receives

that small representations of a hoe are among the objects offered to the dead. The figures of mummies placed in the tombs have usually a hoe imprinted or painted on the shoulder, along with a bag, supposed to be a seed-bag. Rosellini, *M. Civ.* 1, 291.

¹ Strabo, 3, p. 150. Gesner de Navig. Phœnic. extra Col. Herc. p. 644 of Hermann's *Orphica*.

² Zoega de Obel. p. 296. He supposes the last part to represent *Amenthe*.

³ Παδάμειν (see Hesych.) is βλαστάνειν, which joined with ἄνθος expresses very well the flowery luxuriance by which these islands were characterized. See p. 404.

⁴ Lepsius, *Das Todten Buch*, Leipzig, 1842.

⁵ Thus in the Parisian papyrus "the Osirian Petamon." Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 3, 492.

Christian burial is assumed to die in peace with the Church and in the hope of a happy immortality. Rosellini and Champollion suppose, that in the tombs of the kings, where according to them the mystical doctrines respecting the soul are set forth, the spirits of wicked men are represented as rejected by the Sun, the ruler of those celestial regions through which they have to take their course. The former gives these as the words which accompany the representation—"They (the reprobate) do not see this great god; their eye does not imbibe the rays from his disk; their souls are not manifested or made illustrious in the world; they do not hear the voice of this great god, who towers above their sphere." Of the good, on the other hand, it is said "This great god speaks to them and they speak to him; his glory illuminates them in the splendor of his disk while he is in their sphere¹." Rosellini speaks also of representations in the royal tombs of wicked souls exposed to torments by fire and steel. The connexion of the Sun with the departed spirits is illustrated by a custom which Porphyry records². In the process of embalmment, the viscera were taken out and placed in a chest by themselves, which the embalmer then held up to the Sun, with this prayer:—"O Sun, and all ye Gods who give life to men, receive me, and give me to dwell along with the immortal gods. For I have ever revered the Gods whom my parents taught me, and have honored the authors of my body; of other men I have neither killed any one, nor deprived him of a deposit, nor have done any other grievous wrong. And if throughout my life I have committed any sin, in eating or drinking, I have not done it on my own account, but on account of these, pointing to the chest containing the viscera, which was then thrown into the river, and the body, as pure, submitted to embalmment."

It would be vain to endeavor to combine these different statements and indications of opinion, into a system which should repre-

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 3, p. 323, 328.

² *De Abstinencia*, lib. 4, § 10.

sent the defined and universal belief of the Egyptian people. We can distinguish with some certainty the philosophical dogma of transmigration, the religious doctrine of retribution, and the popular belief of the continued existence of the soul, still dwelling in the undecayed body. But other differences must have existed. Our first impulse is to think of the dead as extinct, and their condition as one of mere negation, rest, and silence; and this view ever returns and obtrudes itself, even amidst conceptions and modes of speech derived from the belief in their continued existence. The popular and the philosophical doctrine could not remain side by side for centuries, without attempts being made to reconcile them, which became a fresh source of variety. Not only is a future state of retribution the universal belief of Christendom, but this belief is founded upon express revelation; yet how variously has it been conceived! A millennium on earth, purgatory or the sleep of the soul between death and the general resurrection, the eternal suffering, final extinction or final restitution of the wicked—these are only some of the diversities of opinion to which this doctrine has given rise. It must be ever so in regard to what lies wholly beyond the sphere of sense and personal experience. We need not wonder therefore if we cannot frame a conception of the Egyptian belief on this subject, which shall explain everything, from writings which have been only partially preserved, and monuments as yet very imperfectly understood.

CHAPTER XXII.

EMBALMMENT, SEPULTURE, AND FUNERAL RITES.

ACCORDING to Herodotus, on occasion of the death of any person of consequence in Egypt, all the women of the family and female relatives daubed their heads and faces with mud, and leaving the corpse in the house, wandered through the city with their garments girt over the waist, just below the bosom, so as to leave it bare¹, and beating themselves with lamentation. The men, formed also into companies, disposed their garments in a similar way and beat themselves with lamentation. In the paintings which represent the funeral processions, we see men and women thus dressed in separate bands, flinging dust or mud upon their heads and beating their bosoms. On occasion of a royal funeral, the mourning was universal throughout Egypt. For seventy-two days, that is, while the process of the embalment was going on², they rent their garments, and divided into companies of two or three hundred, went about twice a day singing in measured verse the praise of the deceased monarch's virtues³. During this time the temples were closed, all sacrifices and festivals suspended, and the people abstained not only from pleasures and luxuries of every kind, but even from the use of animal food and wheaten bread.⁴ In the case of private persons, the mourning appears to have been suspended during the embalm-

¹ *Ἐπεξωσμέναι*, Her. 2, 85. *Περιεξωσμένοι δινδόνας ὑποκάτω τῶν μαστῶν*. Diod. 1. 72.

² Genesis 1. 3.

³ Rosellini thinks he has discovered a metrical *nōnia*, in praise of *Roei*, a priest and basilogrammat of Thebes (M. Civ. 8, 400).

⁴ Diod. 1. 72.

ment¹, which was the next stage. This art was practised by a body of men called *Taricheutæ*, who in the Greek times formed a caste², and who appear to have had ranges of buildings allotted to them in which it might be carried on. As it was connected with the manipulation of dead bodies, these buildings were removed from the neighborhood of the temples. At Thebes they were confined to the Memnonium on the western bank of the river, and as we find a similar restriction placed upon the tanners³, probably this region, like the Transtiberine at Rome, was allotted to disgusting or unwholesome operations⁴. The office itself, however, was not deemed degrading; the *Taricheutæ* were not rendered impure by it, but were allowed to enter the temples and associate with the priests. It appears as if each *Taricheutes* had a district assigned to him, on the inhabitants of which he alone was allowed to exercise his art; since we find one of them bringing an action against another for encroaching on his *walk*⁵.

The embalmers kept models of three different modes of embalmment, of which one was chosen, according to the expense which the relations were willing to incur. The most honorable and most costly was that in which the body was made to resemble Osiris. In preparing it according to this method the brains were first partially extracted by a crooked iron instrument through the nos-

¹ Her. 2, 85. Diodorus 1, 91, represents them as mourning and fasting till the interment.

² They are called τὰ ἔθνος in a Turin papyrus (Peyron, Pap. Græc. 1826, 1, p. 2, 1. 24).

³ Peyron, Pap. Græc. 1, p. 2, 1. 21.

⁴ Ib. 2, p. 41. "Quare colligere licet ad Memnonia detrusas fuisse artes immundas et quidquid politoribus hominibus facile stomachum movisset."—

..... Nec te fastidia mercis

Ullius subeant ablegandæ Tiberim ultra.—Juv. s. 14, 202.

⁵ Peyron, 2, p. 48. One had the Memnonium, the other Diospolis or Eastern Thebes.

trils, or dissolved by some injected fluid and so brought away. Many of the mummies attest the correctness of this account given by Herodotus; the cribriform plate having been broken through in the process of extracting the brain¹. In other cases the brain has been left; or the hollow filled up with bituminous matter and a fragrant resin. The chief of the embalmers, called the *scribe*, probably as being the one who was in possession of the written formula by which everything was regulated in Egypt, marked on the left side of the body, between the breast-bone and the ribs, the size of the incision, which the *paraschistes* with a sharp flint² then made. His service was odious, and having performed it he immediately took to flight, being pursued with stones and curses by the by-standers. The whole of the intestines were then taken out, the kidneys and the heart alone being left, and were carefully washed with palm wine and pounded spices. They are sometimes found within the body³; sometimes enclosed in linen and asphaltum and placed beside it; but more commonly they seem to have been deposited in the four vases, called improperly *Canopi*, which have been already described⁴. The cavity was then filled up, according to Herodotus, with myrrh and cassia and all other fragrant resins except frankincense, and the body steeped for seventy days in a solution of natron. This salt, which is found in great abundance in the Natron Lakes, appears to contain, along with a large proportion of muriate of soda, or common salt, a carbonate of soda. The common salt exercises its usual antiseptic power, and the other ingredient, combining with the adipose particles, leaves the fibrous part of the flesh untouched. Herodotus has probably placed the steeping of the body erroneously after, instead of before the

¹ Pettigrew on Mummies, p. 56.

² Sharp flints with a cutting-edge have been found in Egyptian tombs. Wilkinson, 3, 262. (Comp. Exod. iv. 25.)

³ See p. 341 of this volume. Archæol. 27, 270. Pettigrew, p. 74.

⁴ See p. 341 of this volume. Rosellini, M. Civ. cxxix. 2.

filling up of the cavity with aromatic substances. Diodorus does not mention the immersion in natron, but says that during thirty days the body is treated with *cedria* and other preparations, and afterwards with myrrh and cinnamon and other substances, which not only preserve it for a long time, but give it a fragrant odor. This *cedria* was a kind of liquid pitch, obtained from the Syrian *cedrelate* by burning it, and possessed of strongly antiseptic virtues. The body thus prepared was next enveloped in bandages of linen, which had been steeped in some resinous substance, probably the gum of the Sont (*Mimosa Nilotica*), which is abundant in Egypt. The art with which they have been applied and combined, so as to envelope smoothly all the limbs, has excited the admiration of professional men. According to Dr. Granville, there is not a single form of bandage known to modern surgery, of which examples are not seen in the swathings of the Egyptian mummies. The strips of linen have been found extending to 1000 yards in length. Rosellini gives a similar testimony to the wonderful variety and skill with which the bandages have been applied and interlaced.

Herodotus, in speaking of the dress of the priests, observes that they wore white woollen garments thrown over their linen tunics, but that nothing of woollen was ever carried into the temples, nor buried with them. It had been generally supposed that this was an universal law of Egyptian interment; but at Gebel-el-Mokatam, bodies of the workmen have been found wrapt in woollen (pp. 111, 118), and what is still more remarkable, the mummy of Mycerinus found in the third pyramid had been similarly enveloped. In the most elaborately executed mummies, as those of kings and priests, not only the arms and legs, but the fingers and toes are

• Pliny, 16, 21. Cedrium—cui tanta vis est, ut in Ægypto corpora hominum defunctorum eo perfusa servantur.

* That they are linen and not cotton, has been decided at last, after very contradictory judgments, by the microscopic examination of the fibre. See Phil. Mag. Nov. 1834. Wilkinson, 3, 115.

separately bandaged¹. Compresses are placed in various parts, so as to secure an exact application of the bandage to the body, wherever there might otherwise have been a vacant space, into which the air might have gained admission. Within the folds of the inner and outer bandages various objects have been found. The most important of these are the papyri, the nature of which has been already described, in speaking of the opinions of the Egyptians respecting the state of the dead ; they are not found, however, in all the mummies, but only in those which were expensively prepared ; they have been placed usually on the breast, between the thighs and legs, or the body and the arms. Small figures of Osiris in blue porcelain with hieroglyphical inscriptions are also frequently found either between the bandages or beside the mummies. A scarabæus with a similar inscription was often placed on the breast and in immediate contact with the flesh, or within the cavity of the body, on which the name of the deceased is read ; sometimes, instead of the scarabæus, a small tablet of stone or baked clay, in the form of a funeral stele, inscribed with hieroglyphics, lies on the breast. Besides these, amulets of various kinds, necklaces composed of glass beads or agate and jasper-pebbles, ear-rings and finger-rings, bracelets, hair-pins, and other female ornaments, are of frequent occurrence. The body having been swathed, a case was accurately fitted to it, composed of layers of cloth cemented together and forming a substance nearly resembling pasteboard ; it appears to have been moulded upon the body while moist, so as accurately to take its shape, and the contents were secured by its being sewed up at the back². This case was then ornamented with paintings of the most vivid colors, which even at the present day, when first brought into the light and air, have lost little of their original freshness. The head is covered with a mask extending

¹ Pettigrew, pp. 95, 99. The Greek mummies had the arms bound separately, the Egyptian not (Wilkinson, M. and C. 5, 474, 5).

² Pettigrew, 116.

down the shoulders on which the face is represented ; the conventional color of yellowish-green being adopted for women and reddish-brown for men. The face has sometimes been gilded ; at other times the surface of the body, the head, feet and hands. In a mummy found at Saccara, thin plates of gold were wrapped round each limb and each finger, inscribed with hieroglyphics¹. Artificial eyes of glass are inserted to aid the appearance of life, and a network of beads and bugles is sometimes spread over the whole front of the body. The whole case is covered with columns of hieroglyphics or emblematic figures, among which the scarabæus, the winged serpent, the ibis, the cynocephalus, or the genii of Amenthe and the goddesses Isis, Netpe and (Tpe) the heavens, are the most common². The hieroglyphics contain usually the name and quality of the deceased, but little besides, except formulaary invocations and prayers. Exterior to this is a case usually of sycamore wood, sometimes excavated from the solid tree, at others composed of several pieces and secured by wooden pegs, which fasten the receptacle and the cover firmly together. This is sometimes again enclosed in a second, and that in a third wooden case, the outermost being also adorned with hieroglyphics and with rich colors and elaborate gilding. The outermost case is of various forms, but most commonly adapted to that of the mummy.

The various processes employed in preparing a mummy are represented in one of the tombs of Thebes, described by Rosellini³. Two men are using the drill and bow, as practised by carpenters at the present day ; another is piercing a hole with the same instrument in the eye of the mask for the head and shoulders which has been already described, for the insertion of a piece of black enamel in the centre, representing the pupil. In another compartment a man is preparing the cloth for the bandages by steeping it in a vase

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, vol. i. p. 109.

² See the mummy represented in the *Atlas to Minutoli*, tab. xxxvii.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 3, 362, pl. cxxvi.

containing some resinous solution ; a second is polishing the surface of the mask with his hand, and a third levigating the plaster with which that and the covering of the mummy are to be over-spread, preparatory to the painting. This operation is represented in a third chamber, where the body is laid upon two stools ; the saucers for the colors are on the ground, and a boy is preparing them by rubbing on a stone, while an artist, with a pallet in one hand and a pencil in the other, is painting the countenance. In the three upper compartments the completion of the process of bandaging is delineated, and a man distinguished by his dress from the rest, probably the *scribe*, holds in his hand a roll of papyrus, no doubt the Book of the Dead, which is about to be placed among the last folds of bandage over the breast.

Such was the mode in which the body was embalmed, swathed and encased, according to what Herodotus calls the most elaborate method. In the second and less expensive, they made no incision nor extracted the viscera, but injected cedria from below, which remained in the body during the time of the steeping, and, as he had been told, brought away with it the dissolved bowels. But as this substance has no such solvent power, it is probable that in this case also the contents of the body were extracted, and that the cheap oil of cedar was used instead of costly aromatics, to preserve what remained from putrefaction. In the third method, which the poorest of the Egyptians practised, a still cheaper injection of salt and water was used¹, the steeping in natron for seventy days remaining the same. In the two last methods no swathing was employed, but the body given back to the relations as it came from the natron lye. These were not all the methods used ; they are only specimens of the most costly, of the cheapest, and of an intermediate process ; but each of these admitted of very numerous varieties. Of those which have the lateral incision, some are filled

¹ Σομφαίη, Her. 2, 88, explained by Hesychius, κόμα δι' ὕδατος καὶ ἁλῶος.

with aromatic matter, others only with asphaltum, to which they trusted chiefly for the preservation of the body, which aromatics alone could not effect¹. Some of those which are without the incision have evidently been dipped in asphaltum in a liquid state, which has thus coated the whole body; and others simply salted and dried. There were even cheaper modes of making mummies than that described by Herodotus as the cheapest; the corpse being merely filled with salt, or ashes, or chips of bitter wood. The practice of embalmment is at least as old as the Pyramids, and it continued in use till Christianity extinguished the old religion. In this long series of centuries changes took place, on which a chronology of the art has been founded. From the mummy of Menkera it appears that if linen were known in that age, it was not used in swathing the body².

According to Herodotus, when the process of embalmment was completed, the case in which the body was enclosed was deposited in a sepulchral chamber erect against the wall³. This however appears to have been only done in exceptional cases, where the family possessed no *hypogæum*, and had to erect a building for the reception of their dead; or when interment was forbidden or delayed. In the hypogæa the mummies are always found, if undisturbed, in an horizontal position. Herodotus has not described the ceremonies of the funeral, which are detailed by Diodorus⁴ and in most points illustrated by the monuments. A formal judgment preceded the interment. A day was fixed by the relatives of the deceased, on which his body should be conveyed across the lake of the nome, and forty-two judges being assembled took their seats

¹ Diod. 19, 99, speaking of the transport of asphaltum from the Dead Sea to Egypt. *Mum* is said to be a Persian word signifying naphtha or liquid asphaltum (Jablonsk. Opusc. 1, 472). The Egyptian name for a mummy is, according to Rosellini, *Kols* (M. C. iii. 2, 370).

² See Birch, in Gliddon's *Eg. Arch.* p. 88, and p. 111 of this volume.

³ *Οικηματα θνηκτω, 2, 86.* Compare the use of *οικηματα, 2, 100.* ⁴ 1, 92.

in a semicircular bench beside the lake. The *baris* or bark being drawn alongside, before the coffin was allowed to be placed in it for conveyance to the other bank, any one who chose was permitted to accuse the deceased. If these accusations were sustained by the judges, the rites of sepulture were withheld. A false accusation was severely punished. If none were made, or if the accuser appeared to be a calumniator, the relations of the deceased, laying aside their mourning, extolled his virtues; not after the manner of the Greeks, dwelling upon his noble birth, since all Egyptians are deemed equally noble, but on his good education, his justice and piety, his temperance and continence. The surrounding multitude joined in the eulogy with acclamation, and prayed the gods below to receive him to dwell among the pious dead. The bodies of those who had been prohibited from interment remained in their private dwellings, and it sometimes happened that after they had remained above ground for years their children obtained the means of proving the falsehood of the accusations against them, and they were finally committed to the tomb. The only trace which the monuments exhibit of a judgment before interment is that in the funeral processions, when the mummy is taken from the bark and is about to be placed in the tomb, one of the attendants touches it with the instrument which symbolically expresses *approbation*¹. Other causes, such as an undischarged debt, might delay the interment.

Later writers² speak of it as a custom of the Egyptians to keep the embalmed bodies of their friends in their houses, and on festive days to place them on seats and couches and make them partakers in their feast. This is not confirmed by the monuments, but it does appear as if they were sometimes kept in wooden closets

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Civ. iii. 2, 437. The meaning of this instrument is ascertained by the Rosetta inscription, where it answers to the Greek *ὁ ὁ* *Ἡφαίστος ἰδοκίμασεν*.

² Lucian, de Luctu, c. 21. *ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ξηράνους τὸν νεκρὸν σύνδειπνον, καὶ συμπύρην ἐποιήσατο.* (See Wessel. ad Diod. 1, 91.)

and occasionally taken out, not to be placed at a *lectisternium*, but to receive libations and offerings of cakes, flowers and geese¹.

The sepulchre was a place of family interment. The inscriptions on the walls, and the mummies, where these remain, often give evidence of the burial of the husband and wife, the sons and daughters; and what is said respecting the pledge of dead bodies and the prohibition of further interment till the debt was discharged, shows that as long as the family remained extant they continued to use the same sepulchre. The ample size and numerous lateral or perpendicular excavations would afford room for the deposit of many generations. It was after dwelling in Egypt that Abraham declined the offer of the Hethites to bury his wife in the choicest of their sepulchres, and purchased for himself and his descendants the cave of Machpelah². A special place of sepulture, however, could not be obtained by the poorest classes. Their bodies, prepared by one of the cheap modes of embalmment, and without coffins to enclose them, were placed in layers, in the deep pits which are found in the grottoes, or along the sides of the passages which branch off from them.

As the cemeteries of Memphis and Thebes were both on the opposite side of the Nile from that on which the principal part of the habitations stood, the bodies must have been conveyed across the Nile for interment, and the ceremony of the judgment may have preceded its embarkation. But the *baris* on which the coffin is placed in the representation of funeral processions is evidently in many cases only a symbol, and not adapted to actual navigation; nor can there have been in every nome a lake, such as the account of Diodorus supposes. If a passage over water were really an essential part of the funeral ceremony, we must suppose that by a lake he meant some one of those canals or branches of the Nile which abounded everywhere; or the lake of the principal temple

¹ Wilkinson, M. & C. p. 384.

² Gen. xlviii. xxv. 9. xlix. 29.

of the nome, which was generally furnished with an appendage of this kind. It appears, however, from the monuments, that in many cases there was a real transporting of the body, across the river, to the Libyan hills; and all the royal sepulchres, whether pyramids or hypogæa, are on the western side. In the tomb of Nevopth at Benihassan, which is on the eastern side, a small *bari* without sails or oars, but furnished with two rudders, on which a mummy reclines under a canopy, is towed upon the Nile by a larger vessel, with a square sail set¹; a man stands on the prow with a pole for pushing off, and makes signals with his hand, while several sailors are engaged in handling the ropes. In other instances, rowers, standing or sitting, are pulling the boat².

The representation of the funeral procession usually forms the first part of the papyrus rolls when these are entire and on the largest scale, as that of Turin, accompanied by a long description of the funeral prayers and rites. It is also of common occurrence in the tombs with some variation in the details, but a close resemblance in all the principal parts. The body, enclosed in its painted sarcophagus, is first seen, erect or reclined within a tabernacle of wood, richly adorned with emblematic paintings; if reclined, it is usually on a couch, the head and feet of which imitate those of a lion. This tabernacle is itself placed upon a *bari* which rests on a sledge, or a dray with low wheels, and is drawn towards the place of embarkation or interment by hand, or by oxen. A priest in a leopard's skin, the costume of the chief functionary at funerals,

¹ Rosellini, M. C. cxxxiii. l. iii. 2, p. 427.

² Ibid. pl. cxxx. Sir G. Wilkinson in his map of Thebes lays down a supposed Lake of the Dead. Rosellini thinks the excavation in question cannot have been intended to contain water. (M. C. iii. 2, 431. Wilk. Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 186.) It must have been 7000 feet long and 3000 broad, a very improbable magnitude if its use was merely symbolical. Memphis had a λίμνη, but it was dug for its defence on the side on which it was not protected by the Nile. (Her. 2, 99.)

walks at the head, and turning towards the sarcophagus, holds out a censer with burning incense, or pours a libation on the ground. Besides the tabernacle which encloses the body, another is sometimes seen in the procession, borne on the shoulders of men, in which the vases are contained which hold the embalmed viscera. The groups of mourners are variously disposed. Sometimes the females are hidden from view within a cabin on the deck; or again are mounted on the roof of this cabin, and with dishevelled hair and naked bosoms beat themselves or throw dust upon their heads. When the procession is advancing by land towards the place of sepulture, male and female mourners in separate companies precede or attend upon it, the females naked to the waist, and both with gestures of lamentation¹. Arrived at the place of interment, which is designated by a portion of a mountain and the portico of a hypogæum, with the eye of Osiris, the mummy is taken from the tabernacle and placed upright by a figure, wearing the jackal mask of the god Anubis. On the head of the mummy is a conical figure and a lotus, a frequent offering to the dead. The widow, kneeling on the ground, and casting dust with one hand upon her head, with the other embraces the feet of her deceased husband. In another part of the same procession, a female, kneeling in an attitude of grief near the tabernacle which contains the vases, is designated as sister of the deceased. Three priests stand before it; one with the leopard's skin offers a libation, another incense, and a third holds out the instrument of approbation. Near the entrance of the sepulchre is seen one of those funeral tablets or *stelæ* which are to be found in most collections of Egyptian monuments, exhibiting a *prostynema* of the deceased to Osiris and certain formulary phrases, declaring that offerings are made to the god to obtain his favor and a quiet abode in Amenthe.

There are examples of still more pompous processions. In that

¹ Tomb of *Roei*, a priest and keeper of a temple in Thebes, and also *basiliogrammat*. (Rosellini, iii. 2, 400.)

of a royal scribe at Thebes, a long train of servants precedes the *bari* in which the mummy is enclosed, with objects of various kinds—small chests for the images of the gods or the ancestors of the deceased, chairs and tables, a chariot with horses, vases, images, fans, costly collars and the insignia of office¹. Many of these were deposited in the tombs, that the deceased might be surrounded by the objects which had been familiar to him during life, or with which his honors had been associated. Nor was this confined to the insignia of high office; the tools of artificers have been found in their tombs; and it is said to have been a superstition with the natives of Abessinia, which may have been shared by the Egyptians, that it was ominous to use the tools of a deceased person². To this desire of surrounding the dead with objects prized by them during life we must attribute the custom of placing fictile vases in the tombs, where a great variety of them has been found. These vases have been sometimes filled with grain, fruits, eggs, and others have evidently contained perfumes; all designed to carry on an uninterrupted continuity between the present and the future life.

The honors paid to the dead did not even cease with their interment. From the Greek papyri we learn the existence of a custom, which no doubt had been handed down from the Pharaonic times. There was a class of persons, called *Choachutæ* or *Libation-pourers*, whose duty seems to have been to watch over the tombs and see that they suffered no violation³ (an outrage not unlikely to be committed, as they contained valuable property), and from time to time to make offerings of wine, cakes, fruit, flowers and herbs, to the deceased, accompanied no doubt by prayers and propitiatory ceremonies. Duties which begin in feeling and are performed at first in person, degenerate by degrees into forms which are entrusted to hired functionaries who make a living by them. Such

¹ Wilkinson, Plates, 83 84.

² Rosellini, M. Civ. 2, 315.

³ Deyron, Pap. i, p. 86.

appears to have been the case with the Choachutæ¹, whom we find deriving a revenue from the performance of their duties to a certain number of tombs, and selling it as a profitable right to others of the same profession². These Choachutæ appear also at Thebes to have taken a part in the annual ceremony of carrying the ark of Amun across the river to the Memnonium, and to have had the duty of strewing sand on this occasion along the *dromoi* and courts of the temples, to prevent their being defiled by the mud which would otherwise have been brought into them. Possibly this visit of Amun to the region of the necropolis may have had some reference to the doctrine of a future life, since in the manifold blending of the characters of the Egyptian gods, Amun may have been identified with Ptah and Osiris, the gods of the invisible world³.

According to the accounts which Diodorus copies, the Egyptian priests represented not only the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but the whole mythology of the infernal regions and Elysian fields, as borrowed by Orpheus from the Egyptians, thus going, as in other instances, far beyond the statements of Herodotus. Having mentioned the introduction of the mysteries by Orpheus and the identity of Osiris with Dionusos and Isis with Demeter, Diodorus proceeds⁴: "They say also that he introduced the punishments of

¹ From the similarity of the letters Α and Λ in the writing of the papyri, Dr. Young read this word *Χολυταί*, and derived it from a Coptic word signifying *to dress*. The error, long ago pointed out by Dr. Ed. Hincks, in the Dublin University Magazine, has been propagated through the works of Peyron, Champollion and Rosellini, who speak of the Colchytæ as an order of priests, specially employed in swathing the mummies.

² In a papyrus at Berlin, Horus sells to Osoroeris his liturgical rights over fifteen mummies at Thebes. In another papyrus, a sixth part of the *λογαία*, or right to make a collection for offerings to the dead, among the relatives of the deceased, is the subject of a contract (Peyron, 1, pp. 88, 89). The names of the parties are all Egyptian, which shows that the custom was not of Greek introduction.

³ See Birch, Gall. of B. M. p. 5.

⁴ 1, 96.

the impious in Hades, and the meadows of the pious and the fictitious imagery which is current among the many, having imitated the proceedings at funerals in Egypt. For that Hermes, the conductor of souls, according to the ancient custom of the Egyptians, having conveyed the body of Apis to a certain point, gives it over to him who is invested with the mask of Cerberus. Orpheus having showed these things to the Greeks, Homer adapted his poetry to harmonize with this :

Cyllenian Hermes now call'd forth the souls
Of all the suitors; with his golden wand
He led them gibbering down into the shades.

Od. 24, *ad init.*

“And a little further on he says—

The streams of Ocean, the Leucadian rock,
The Sun's pale postern and the land of Dreams,
Passing, they came at once into the meads
Of Asphodel by shadowy forms possess'd
Of mortal men deceased.

“They say that he calls the river Ocean, because the Egyptians call the Nile ocean in their own language; and that the gates of the Sun are the city of the Heliopolitans; and that the meadow, the mythological abode of the departed, is the place along the shore of the so-called Acherusian Lake, near Memphis, round which are beautiful meadows and marshes, and lotus and reed. And he has consistently said that the dead dwell in these places, because there are the most numerous and the greatest funerals of the Egyptians, the dead bodies being conveyed across the river and the Acherusian lake, and deposited in the sepulchres which lie there.” In this account there is so much that is evidently devised to give plausibility to the claim of Egypt to be the source of everything Grecian, that the whole is suspicious. No one who reads Homer with any feeling for poetry can believe, that he meant the Nile by the Ocean, were it even certain that the word had this

sense; or Heliopolis by the gates of the Sun. And if any other origin than poetic conception is to be sought, for the picture of the Elysian fields and the meadow of Asphodel, it may be more naturally found in the imagery of the Book of the Dead¹, than the local scenery of Memphis and the broad daylight of a great capital. Diodorus continues—"The other mythological stories of the Greeks respecting Hades accord with the actual practicés of Egypt. The vessel which conveys the bodies is called *baris*, and the coin called an obolus is given as passage-money to the ferryman, who is called in the native language Charon. And they say there are near these places a temple of Hecate the Dark, and Gates of Cocytus and Lethe, closed with brazen bolts; and that there are other gates of Truth, and that near them stands a headless figure of Justice." Here again we have evident traces of a forced accommodation of Egyptian usages to Greek mythology. The word *baris*, which means in Egyptian any kind of river-boat², instead of being used by the Greeks from Orpheus and Homer downwards for the ferry-boat of Charon, is never so applied till after the Macedonian age. No such custom as that of placing a piece of coin in the mouth of the corpse existed in the Pharaonic times, when indeed the Egyptians had no coin³. The name of Charon appears to be purely Greek, like *χαρὸς*, denoting fierce-eye⁴, and answering to the description of Virgil—

¹ See p. 407 of this volume.

² It appears to have found its way through the Ionians, the first who became acquainted with Egypt, into use among the Athenians, for a foreign vessel. Comp. *Æsch. Pers.* 545 (559 Bl.); *Suppl.* 843; *Eur. Iph. Aul.* 297.

³ A small plate of gold is said to have been found in the mouth of a mummy (Pettigrew, p. 63), but similar plates are sometimes disposed in other parts of the body, and instead of a general fact, it is one of very rare occurrence that it should be found in the mouth. It had no reference to the payment of the ferryman, but was of the nature of an amulet, or symbol.

⁴ *Lycophr.* 260, 650, an epithet of the eagle and the lion.

Terribili squalore Charon; cui plurima mento
Canities inculca jacet; *stant lumina flamma.*—Æn. vi.

Acheron, Cocytus and Lethe again are Greek words, and a lake of Grief, a stream of Wailing and a fountain of Oblivion are conceptions so obviously connected with the unseen world, that we need not suppose the poetical Greeks indebted for them to the unpoetical Egyptians¹. A figure of Justice or Truth, without a head, or rather with a mask, covering not only the eyes but the whole head, is found in the Book of the Dead²; but neither this representation, nor the Gates of Truth, afford any ground for inferring that the Greeks borrowed this part of their mythology from the Egyptians, nothing parallel to them being found in old Greek poetry or art.

¹ Vectorem Charontem, etsi post Homerum, facile commenta est antiquitas; neque adeo ex Ægyptia religione et lacu Mœride illum adumbratur esse necesse est; quin potius Græculi seriores Ægyptiam priscam religionem in hanc partem interpretati esse videntur (Heyne, Exc. ix. ad Æn. vi.).

See Sir G. Wilkinson's Plates, 48.

END OF VOL. I.

read to Herodotus.—Early use of the art of writing.—The papyrus of Sallier and other ancient fragments.—Sacred literature enumerated by Clemens Alexandrinus.—Hieratical Canon of Turin.—Existence of popular historical poetry among the Egyptians.—The Tablet of Abydos.—The Tablet of Karnak.—Successions of kings at Benihassan and Qoorneh, Thebes and Tel-Amarna.—Invasion of Judæa by Sheshonk (Shishak) the earliest synchronism in Egyptian history.—Division of the entire History into the OLD, MIDDLE, and NEW MONARCHY. Its duration according to Manetho	72-92
--	-------

BOOK I.

The Old Monarchy.

The First Dynasty.

Menes.—Athothis.—Ouenephes	93-103
--------------------------------------	--------

The Second Dynasty.

Boethos.—Kaiechos.—Binothris.—Nephercheres.—Sesochris	104-108
---	---------

The Third Dynasty.

Necherophes.—Tosorthrus	108-109
-----------------------------------	---------

The Fourth Dynasty.

Suphis.—Sôuphis.—Mencheres.

Discrepancies in the accounts of the building of the Pyramids.—Internal structure of the Great Pyramid.—Chufu or Cheops.—Noum-Chufu or Chembes.—Shafre, Chepren, or Chabryis.—Menkera, Mencheres or Mycerinus.—The Shepherd Philiton.—Extent of the dominion of Egypt under this dynasty.—The state of science, art, and civilization	110-120
---	---------

<i>The Fifth Dynasty</i>	120-122
------------------------------------	---------

The Sixth Dynasty.

Othoes.—Phiops.—Menthesuphis.—Nitocris.—The kings Pepi and Remai.—Distinction of the titular and phonetic shields of kings.—Royal standard.—Share of Nitocris in building the Third Pyramid.—Story of Rhodopis 122-128

The Seventh to the Eleventh Dynasty . 128-133

The Twelfth Dynasty.

Opinions of Champollion, Felix, Wilkinson and Hincks respecting this dynasty.—Lepsius' arrangement of the succession.—Ammenemes I.—Sesortasen I.—Ammenemes II.—Sesortasen II.—Sesortasen III.—Ammenemes III.—Ammenemes IV.—Omission of the Hyksos period on the Tablet of Abydos.—Confusion respecting the name Sesostria.—Dominion of the kings of the twelfth dynasty.—Tomb of Nevopth.—Grottoes of Benihasan.—Ammenemes III. founder of the Labyrinth.—Statements of the ancients respecting it.—Duration of the Old Monarchy . 132-149

BOOK II.

*The Middle Monarchy.**The Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasty.*

Manetho's account of the invasion of the Hyksos.—Probability that some of these dynasties are contemporaneous.—Hyksos not the Jews.—Silence of the Greek historians respecting their invasion.—Connexion of Phœnicia with Egypt referred to this event.—Exaggerations in the history, and uncertainty of the chronology 150-166

BOOK III.

*The New Monarchy.**The Eighteenth Dynasty.*

Differences between the lists and the monuments.—Probable

order of succession.—Amosis, 173.—Amenophis I., 174.—Thothmes I., 177.—Thothmes II., 180.—Thothmes III., 181.—Amenophis II., 196.—Thothmes IV., 197.—Amenophis III., 197.—Horus, 208.—Rameses I., 212.—Seti-Menephthah, 215.—Rameses II., 226.—Rameses III., (Sesostris), 228.—Menephthah II., 246.—Seti-Menephthah II., 249.—Chronology of the eighteenth dynasty, 250	167-250
---	---------

The Nineteenth Dynasty.

Suspicion of its identity with the latter part of the eighteenth.—The Pheron and Polybus of the Greeks.—Reflections on the history of Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty.—Extension of dominion to Asia.—Importance of Palestine and Syria to Egypt.—Historical character of the Egyptian monuments.—Connexion between Egypt and Greece.—The Exodus of the Israelites.—Date of their going down into Egypt.—Manetho's account of their expulsion	250-272
--	---------

The Twentieth Dynasty.

Rameses IV., 273.—Rameses V.—XIV., 282.—Relations of Egypt and Assyria.—Decline of art	273-285
--	---------

The Twenty-first Dynasty.

Antiquity of Tanis.—Deficiency of monuments.—Relations of Judea and Egypt	285-289
---	---------

The Twenty-second Dynasty.

Bubastis—its description by Herodotus.—Sheshonk, Sesonchis, the Shishak of Scripture, 291.—Osorthon (Zerach), 296.—Takellothis	289-299
--	---------

The Twenty-third Dynasty

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty.

Sais.—Settlement of the Greeks in Egypt.—Reign of Bocchoris . 301-304

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The Ethiopians of the 8th century B.C.—Sabaco, 308.—Sevechus, 310.—Tirhkah, 310.—Invasion of Sennacherib . . . 305-316

The Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The Dodecarchia.—Psammitichus, 323.—Neco, 335.—Psammitichus II. (Psammis), 344.—Uaphris (Apries, Hophra), 347.—Amasis, 359.—Psammenitus 316-373

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

Cambyses, 374.—Darius, 400.—Xerxes the Great, 404.—Artabanus, 406.—Artaxerxes Longimanus, 406.—Xerxes II.—Sogdianus.—Darius Nothus, 412 374-412

The Twenty-eighth Dynasty.

Amyrtæus 412-414

The Twenty-ninth Dynasty.

Nepherites, 416.—Achoris, 418.—Psammuthis, 419.—Nepherites, 419 414-419

The Thirtieth Dynasty.

Nectanebus (Nectanebus I.), 419.—Teos (Tachos), 423.—Nectanebus II., 428.—His flight into Ethiopia 419-432

Reconquest of Egypt by Darius Ochus, 432.—Final conquest by Alexander the Great, 433.—Division of Alexander's empire and establishment of the dynasty of the Ptolemies . 432-435

ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ANIMAL WORSHIP.

AMONG the marks of an excessive superstition which characterized the ancient Egyptians, nothing struck the traveller of another nation more than the honors paid to brute animals, and their employment as representatives of their deities. The representation of the gods under such forms had ceased among the Greeks; the legends of Io and the Minotaur prove that their practice had once been partially influenced by that of the Egyptians and Phœnicians; but the mythic explanations which had been framed of these symbols at Argos and in Crete, show how remote must have been the æra of their introduction, and how repugnant the worship to which they belong to the refined taste of the later Greeks. A slight mixture of the animal with the human form, and that in the person of an inferior deity—a Faun, a Centaur, or Medusa—was the utmost that it could tolerate. In poetry, art and divination certain animals were appropriated to the different gods,—the eagle to Jupiter, the raven to Apollo, the goat to Pan, the bull in later times to Bacchus; but they were not kept within their temples or approached with divine rites, as their visible representatives; much less was the whole race consecrated to them, and the life of every individual protected by law or popular superstition. Herds of cattle, exempt

from the yoke and from all profane uses, fed in the groves and pastures included within the sacred precincts of the temples; but though consecrated to the divinity, they were not considered as his emblems, and their inviolability was their only sanctity. The serpent of the temple of Epidaurus, who was sacred to Æsculapius, and seems in some measure to have been considered as the god himself¹, is the nearest approach that we find in Greece to the veneration paid to the sacred animals of Egypt².

As some of the gods of Egypt were held in equal honor throughout the whole country, while others enjoyed supreme rank in some one nome, and held only a subordinate place elsewhere, so some animals were partially, others universally worshipped. The ox, the dog and the cat, the ibis and the hawk, the fishes *lepidotus* and *oxyrrynchus* were held in reverence throughout the land; the sheep only in the Theban and Saitic nomes, the wolf at Lycopolis, the cynocephalus at Hermopolis, the *Cepus* (an animal of the ape tribe) at Babylon near Memphis, the eagle at Thebes, the lion at Leontopolis, the goat at Mendes, the shrewmouse at Athribis, and others elsewhere³. According to Herodotus⁴, all the animals which the country produced, whether wild or domestic, were sacred, and with a few unimportant exceptions this appears to be true. To every one of them curators male and female were appointed, probably of the sacerdotal order, whose office descended by inheritance. A portion of land was assigned for their maintenance, and the superstition of the multitude provided other means of supply. Parents made vows to the gods, to whom they were respectively

¹ The serpent was taken to Rome A.U.C. 462, after a pestilence. "Quum civitas pestilentia laboraret, missi legati, ut Æsculapii signum Romam ab Epidauro transferrent, anguem, qui se in navem eorum contulerat, in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, deportavere."—Liv. Epit. lib. 11.

² Plutarch, Isid. et Osir. p. 379 D, points out the difference between the Greek consecration of animals to the gods and the Egyptian worship of them.

³ Strabo, 17, 812, 813.

⁴ 2, 25.

sacred, for the health of their children, especially if they were sick, and the vow was discharged by expending on food for the sacred animals a weight of silver equal to that of the children's hair¹. Their ordinary residence was within the precincts of the temple, and in its most sacred recess. "Among the Egyptians," says Clemens Alexandrinus², "the temples are surrounded with groves and consecrated pastures; they are furnished with propylæa, and their courts are encircled with an infinite number of columns; their walls glitter with foreign marbles and paintings of the highest art; the *naos* is resplendent with gold and silver and electrum, and variegated stones from India and Ethiopia; the *adytum* is veiled by a curtain wrought with gold. But if you pass beyond into the remotest part of the enclosure, hastening to behold something yet more excellent, and seek for the image which dwells in the temple, a *pastophorus* or some one else of those who minister in sacred things, with a pompous air singing a Pæan in the Egyptian tongue, draws aside a small portion of the curtain, as if about to show us the god; and makes us burst into a loud laugh. For no god is found within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent sprung from the soil, or some such brute animal; the Egyptian deity appears a beast rolling himself on a purple coverlet." "The temples of Egypt are most beautiful," says Diodorus; "but if you seek within, you find an ape, or ibis, a goat, or a cat." The choicest food was placed before them, cakes of fine flour, steeped in milk or smeared with honey; the flesh of geese, roasted or boiled, and that of birds and fish uncooked for the carnivorous class. They were placed in warm baths and anointed with costly perfumes; and everything was supplied to them which could gratify their appetites³. This charge was thought so honorable, that their curators, when they went abroad, wore certain insignia by which their office might be dis-

¹ Her. 2, 65. Diod. 1, 83.

² Pædag. 3, 2, p. 253, Potter.

³ Ὁμοφύλους θηλείας ἐκάστη τῶν ζώων τὰς εἰσιεστάτας συντρέφουσιν, ἃς παλλακίδας προσαγορεύουσι. Diod. 1, 84.

criminated even at a distance, and were received with genuflexions and other marks of honor. When any of the sacred animals died, it was embalmed, swathed, and buried in a consecrated depository near the temple of its god; if a cat died even in a private house, the inmates clipped off the hair from their brows in sign of mourning; if a dog, from the head and body. Voluntarily to kill any one of the consecrated animals was a capital offence; involuntarily it entailed a penalty fixed at the discretion of the priests: but voluntarily or involuntarily to kill an ibis or a hawk, the sacred birds of Thoth and Horus, was capital; and the enraged multitude did not wait for the slow process of law, but put the offender to death with their own hands. On the part of native Egyptians it was an almost unheard-of crime; and so great was the dread of being suspected of it, that those who accidentally saw one of the sacred animals lying dead, stood aloof, protesting with lamentations that they had found it dead. Diodorus himself was witness to such a movement of popular fanaticism: a Roman had unintentionally killed a cat; the king Ptolemy Auletes had not yet been received into the friendship of the Romans, and it was an object of great importance, both to him and to the Egyptian nation, to give them no umbrage; yet neither the terror of the Roman people nor the efforts of the king, who sent one of his chief officers to intercede, could save the unfortunate man from death. Even in times of famine, when they were driven to consume human flesh¹, the Egyptians were never known to use the sacred animals for food. Antiquarian researches have confirmed the statements of ancient authors respecting the veneration paid to them; the embalmed bodies of bulls, cows, and sheep, dogs and cats, hawks and ibises, serpents and beetles, and in short, nearly the whole zoology of Egypt, except the horse and the ass, have been found in excavations². The numerous figures of these animals also, of all sizes and

¹ See vol. I. p. 71.

² Wilkinson, 5, 100, 103. Pettigrew on Mummies, 183-226.

materials, from the colossal ram or lion of basalt or granite, to the portable image of bronze, wood or porcelain¹, were probably devoted to religious purposes, the larger having been placed in temples or *dromoi*, the smaller used in private devotion, as amulets and sacred ornaments, or deposited for good omen along with human mummies.

The origin of this characteristic superstition was the subject of various explanations by the Egyptians themselves, and by the Greeks and Romans. Manetho attributed the establishment of the worship of Apis and Mnevis and the Mendesian goat to the reign of Caiechos, the second king of his second dynasty. But specific dates of national religious usages are never much to be depended upon, and we seek some more general cause than the enactment of a legislator for a practice which had taken such deep roots among a whole people. In the age of Diodorus² the Egyptian priests alleged, that Isis had commanded them to consecrate some animal from among those which the country produced, to Osiris; to pay to it the same honor as to the god, during its life, and bestow the same care upon it after its death. This explanation has evidently been produced in an age when the worship of Osiris had become predominant over all others, and the rest of the gods were regarded as only different manifestations of him. The bulls Apis and Mnevis, however, were said to be specially consecrated to him, and honored by all the Egyptians without exception, in consequence of the service of the ox in agriculture, which Osiris taught mankind. Such was the sacerdotal account: the popular explanations were threefold³; according to the first, which Diodorus pronounces to be altogether fabulous, and savoring of antique simplicity, the original gods, being few in number, and no match for the iniquities and violence of men, took the shape of animals to escape from them, and afterwards, when they became masters of the whole world,

¹ Birch. Gall. of Antiq. p. 49-60.

² Diod. 1, 21.

³ Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ᾤοντο αἰτίας τῶν θεῶν ἀποδιδόναι: (Diod. 1, 86).

consecrated and appropriated these animals to themselves, in gratitude. According to the second, the images of animals fixed on spears having been used as ensigns to distinguish the corps of the army and prevent confusion, victory followed, and the animals became objects of worship¹. This explanation evidently inverts the order of cause and effect; the animals were used as ensigns, because they had previously been associated with the gods. The third reason is the only one which has any plausibility, or even partially attains the truth—that animals were consecrated on account of the benefit which mankind derived from them²; the bull and cow from their services in agriculture and in supplying man with nourishment; the sheep from its rapid multiplication and the utility of its fleece, its milk and its cheese; the dog, for its use in hunting; the cat, because it destroys asps and other venomous reptiles; the ichneumon, because it sucks the eggs of the crocodile, and even destroys the animal itself, by creeping into its mouth and gnawing its intestines; the ibis and the hawk, because they destroy snakes and vermin. Till metaphysical reasons were devised, this seems to have been the explanation most generally received by the ancients; but it does not solve the whole problem. If the ichneumon or the hawk were worshipped because they destroyed serpents and crocodiles, why the serpent and the crocodile? Or if the ibis was worshipped because it devours snakes and vermin, why was it specially consecrated to Thoth, the god of letters?

Diodorus has elsewhere given a still more improbable explanation than any that we have mentioned³. He says that one of the kings of Egypt, more sagacious than the rest, seeing that the people frequently conspired against their rulers, established a separate worship in every nome, in order that, being alienated from each other by their religious usages and fanatical zeal, they

¹ Diod. 1, 85. See vol. i. p. 193. Rosellini, *M. Civ. pl. cxxi. vol. 3, p. 229.*

² Cic. *N. D.* 1, 29; *Tusc. Quæst.* 5, 27. ³ 1, 89. *Plut. Is. et Os.* 380.

might never be able to unite for the overthrow of the government. This explanation marks an age in which men not only theorized on the institutions of past times, but transferred to them the maxims of a vicious policy with which they were themselves familiar.

The hypothesis which Lucian proposes in his *Astrologia*¹, that the objects of adoration among the Egyptians were the asterisms of the zodiac, the Bull, the Ram, the Goat, the Fish, is sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that many of their sacred animals are not found in the heavens, as the ibis, the cat, the crocodile. It is known too that all monuments of Egypt on which figures of animals appear in the zodiac, are of the Greek and Roman times. Porphyry², in his *Treatise on Abstaining from Animal Food*, says that "the Egyptians had learnt by practice and familiarity with the divinity, that the godhead pervades not man alone, nor does a soul make its only dwelling-place on the earth in him, but goes through all animals, with little difference of nature; and that hence, in making representations of their gods, they joined indiscriminately portions of the bodies of men and of brute animals, indicating that, according to the purpose of the gods, there is a certain community even between these. And for the same reason the Lion was worshiped at Leontopolis, and other animals at other places; for they worshiped the power that is over all, which each of the gods exhibited, by means of the animals which shared the same nomes with them³." That in the age of Porphyry animal worship was explained and justified by the Egyptians on this ground is not doubtful⁴; but it by no means follows that it originated in a conception which Porphyry himself says they had

¹ Lucian, *Op. ed. Bip.* 5, p. 215, foll.

² Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 3, 4.

³ Διὰ τῶν συννόμων ζώων. This is an unusual sense of *σύννομος*, but seems to be required by the connexion.

⁴ He elsewhere says that the Egyptians worshiped animals because they believed them to be endowed with a rational principle and the knowledge of futurity.

attained by means of practice and familiarity with the divinity¹. Plutarch having enumerated various opinions respecting the motive of the Egyptian worship of animals, concludes by saying that he approves most of those who honored not the animals themselves, but the divinity through them. It is undoubtedly a natural impulse to assimilate our own intellectual principle to that of the Deity, and to attribute the imperfect reason of the brute animals to the possession of the same principle. "Wherever there appeared singular excellence among beasts or birds, there was to the Indian the presence of a divinity²." It is not, however, any Egyptian writer, but Heraclitus³, whom Plutarch quotes as maintaining "that a nature which lives and sees, and has a principle of motion in itself, and knowledge of what is congenial or alien to it, has snatched an efflux and particle from that which devises the government of the universe." This therefore is probably also a refinement of philosophy. The doctrine of the Metempsychosis has been supposed to have had an influence in producing animal worship; but Sir Gardner Wilkinson has justly observed, that human souls, undergoing transmigration, were in prison and in purgatory⁴, and therefore they were not likely to have procured divine honors for the animals in which they dwelt.

Since, then, it is evident that all which the ancients have left us in explanation of this subject, is only hypothesis more or less probable, we are at liberty to seek a solution for ourselves, either in analogies derived from other nations, or in the general principles of human nature. Such analogies are indeed chiefly valuable, as proving that the practice has a foundation in human nature. India is the land which in this respect most closely resembles Egypt; the cow is there an object of adoration, and no devotee of Isis or Athor could have regarded its slaughter for food with

¹ Ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως.

² Bancroft, Hist. of United States, 3, p. 285.

³ Ia. et Os. p. 382.

⁴ Mann. and Cust. 5, 112.

greater horror than a Hindoo. Annual worship is paid to her on the day on which she was created along with the Bramins; and those who are more than commonly religious worship her daily, feeding her with fresh grass, and walking thrice or seven times round her, making obeisance. The ape, under the name of Hanumân, has his images in temples and private houses, to which daily homage is offered. A statue of the jackal is seen in many temples, where it is regularly worshiped; when a Hindoo meets the animal on his way, he bows reverentially to it; and food, regarded as an offering to the god, is daily placed in a part of the house to which he resorts to consume it. Other animals, which are considered as the emblems, or, as the Hindoos express it, the *vehicles* of their gods, are worshiped on the days appropriated to these gods¹. The *nelumbo* and the *figus religiosa*² are as sacred to the native of India, as the *lotus* and the *persea* to the ancient Egyptian. Yet even if we had historical ground for concluding that these religious ideas and usages had been transplanted by colonization from India to Egypt, we should only have removed one step further back the difficulty which we seek to solve. In the same way, if we look to Africa rather than India as the source of the Egyptian population, and find that among the Negro races or the Kafirs of the South³, traces of animal worship similar to that of Egypt prevail, we may have obtained an ethnological argument for the African origin of the people, but no explanation of the motive of their superstition. The more wide indeed the diffusion of the same or similar customs, the less reason have we to seek special explanations. The cause is still to be sought, to whatever country the practice may be traced.

The sanctity of plants (it is said even of stones) among the

¹ Ward's Hindoos, 1, 250.

² The *Pippul* or aspen-leaved fig-tree. See Ritter, Geogr. Asien, 6, 681.

³ Prichard, Researches, 2, 289, ed. 3. "Invenio scarabæum taurum supra dictum, in magno honore esse apud ultimos in Africa barbaros et velut bonum genium coli. Vide Rolben." (Zoega, Or. et Us. Obelisc. p. 450.)

Egyptians is the best proof that this cause is to be found in some simple, obvious, and general feeling, not in those metaphysical refinements respecting God and the soul to which it has been attributed. For it cannot be supposed that a custom so universal could have sprung from a conception so far removed from the popular apprehension, as that even a plant or a stone is informed by a portion of the universal spirit. The rites and forms of worship originate in the disposition of man to assimilate the Deity to himself, and appropriate to his god what gratifies his own sense of beauty, or excites his imagination. The lotus which so constantly appears in offerings to the Egyptian gods, the oak, the ivy, the olive, the laurel, consecrated respectively to Jupiter and Bacchus, Minerva and Apollo, are among the most beautiful of the vegetable productions of Egypt and Greece. It is not utility, in the vulgar sense of the word, which influences the selection; they would otherwise have preferred grain or pulse. Many plants, it is true, appear to have been selected as objects of superstitious reverence, both in the countries which we have specified, and in others where the same custom has prevailed, in which no special beauty appears. The peculiarity of their form may have established an association with some religious rite or doctrine, as the passion-flower has seemed to the eye of Christian piety an emblem of the cross, or the persea-fruit to the Egyptian to resemble a heart¹; or their unusual growth, like that of the parasitic mistletoe, may have afforded a slight impulse to the fancy, which in connexion with religion especially, suffices for the production of mystical feeling. Their real or exaggerated virtues in medicine may have led to their being regarded as the choice gift of a beneficent deity; their susceptibility to atmospheric influence may have invested them with a prophetic virtue in regard to changes of weather, and fruitful or sickly seasons, which imagination has exalted into a divinatorial power. The extraordinary longevity of trees may have caused them to be

¹ Wilkinson, 4, 392.

regarded as emblems of divine power and duration, and to be invested with something of that mysterious awe which attaches to everything that has witnessed ages and generations long passed away. We do not pretend to analyse the ingredients of an imaginative superstition as if it were a conclusion of the understanding, or to assign to every association of religious feeling with the vegetable world even a fanciful cause. It is sufficient to point out that everywhere certain of its productions do acquire a peculiar connexion with religious feelings and ideas. It may be checked by philosophy and die away before the progress of scientific observation; but it exists everywhere in human nature; and if instead of being discountenanced as in Christian countries, it were fostered by religion, it might easily attain the rank luxuriance of Egyptian superstition. It was said of this people in the times of the greatest corruption of their religion, that "gods grew in their gardens¹." This however is a mere satirical exaggeration; it does not appear that anything which could be fairly called worship was ever paid by the Egyptians to plants. Juvenal infers that onions were gods to them, because it was a crime to eat them. Had this been the case, it would seem to have been only a restriction of diet imposed on the priests, or those who approached the gods as worshippers². They were not only commonly eaten as food, but were actually offered to the gods³. As such they might be regarded sacred, and like any other "gift on the altar," be the subject of an oath⁴, which, according to Pliny⁵, was the case in Egypt. Lucian says the onion was

¹ Porrum et cæpe nefas violare et frangere morsu.

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis

Numina!—Juv. Sat. 15, 9. Comp. Diod. 1, 89.

² Sitim excitant et comestæ ingratum spirant odorem. G. J. Voss. *Idol.* 5, 12. It was a local custom to abstain from particular vegetables, as from particular animals. Diod. 1, 89.

³ Wilkinson, *M. C.* 4, 234. 2, 373.

Matt. xxiii. 19.

⁴ N. H. 19, 32 (6). Gellius, *N.A.* 20, 8, who gives as a reason that it grew as the moon waxed and shrunk as it waned.

a god at Pelusium¹. To swear by plants was a custom by no means confined to the Egyptians². Christianity does not allow of a division of the godhead, nor consequently of such appropriation of trees and flowers to special divinities as prevailed among the heathen nations; yet our trivial names show a connexion in the popular mind with sacred or legendary history. It is not the religious feelings only which seek an expression for themselves in symbols and associations derived from the vegetable world; their beauty, variety, and universal presence make them ready, pleasing, and intelligible emblems of emotions which are striving for a sensible expression. Love and joy, sorrow and despair, memory and hope, all create to themselves a sympathetic relation with the form and color, the structure and functions of plants and flowers; and the mind with difficulty guards itself against superstitious auguries of its own impending destiny from their health or decay.

This disposition in man to connect himself and his feelings with the objects of the world about him shows itself much more strongly in regard to animals. With them he has really a community of nature; they can not only render him services, but can reciprocate his kindness by marks of personal attachment. The absurd tales which Ælian relates concerning animals, show what licence man has given to his imagination in attributing to them the passions, thoughts, and even vices of humanity. Without having devised a formal theory that the same divine intelligence pervades the highest and the lowest of animated beings, he regards their instinct with a mysterious feeling. In the certainty with which it foresees the future, it surpasses his own reason; and his imagination, always prone to exaggerate, attributes to them a superhuman foreknowledge. The Romans kept sacred chickens, from whose feeding

¹ Jov. Trag. 6, 275, ed. Bip.

² Multi per brassicam jurarunt ut Hipponax in Iambis, ac Ionicum id fuisse juramentum Ananius, Teleclides et Eupolis prodiderunt. G. J. Voss. *ubi supra*. Zeno the stoic swore *per capparin*.

they derived omens of the issue of a battle. In all countries we find certain animals singled out which are specially objects of interest and attachment to man, whose familiarity is invited, whose lives are spared and protected, who are maintained, not for the services which they render so much as for the feelings of affection with which they are regarded, and whose death, if accidental, is mourned, if intentional, is resented, with passionate vehemence. Referring his own feelings to his divinities, it was natural that man should appropriate some animal as a special favorite to each god, and putting himself in his place, should cherish and honor it with the same elaborate study, as his own animal favorites receive from him. From pampering a brute animal with the choicest food, providing it with a luxurious bed, addressing it in the language of human affection, and mourning for its decease as if some human life had been extinguished, to burning incense and reciting a litany before it, is not so wide a step as it may seem¹. Though the Greeks and Romans did not worship animals as the Egyptians did, they consecrated them, as we have before observed, to particular divinities, and believed them to regard their whole species with a discriminating favor². Even the fanatical fury with which the Egyptians punished the death of an ibis or a cat, is not without a parallel at Athens, where the people condemned a man to death for killing a sparrow sacred to Æsculapius, and another for plucking a branch from an ilex that grew in a grove sacred to a hero³. The feelings with which the stork is regarded in Holland, or the wren, the swallow and the lady-bird among ourselves, are such, that if religion lent its sanction to popular superstition, they might easily become as sacred as the ibis, the hawk and the beetle to the

¹ Compare Her. 2, 69. The crocodile of Thebes and the lake Mœris was treated like a favorite cat or lap-dog, and ornamented with earrings and bracelets.

² Comp. *Æl. N. H.* 12, 40, where several instances are given.

³ *Æl. Var. H.* 5, 17.

Egyptians. The Lemnians venerated the crested lark on account of its usefulness in destroying the eggs of the locust; and to kill a stork among the Thessalians was punished with banishment or death, so highly was it valued for its services in destroying serpents¹.

We need not, therefore, seek elsewhere than in the feelings and tendencies of human nature for the origin of a superstitious attachment and reverence for animals in Egypt, or their appropriation to the gods of the country. Nor shall we have much difficulty in assigning causes why this disposition in Egypt attained an intensity which rendered it a national characteristic. The power of the sacerdotal order was greater there than in any country of the ancient world, not excepting India, whose very extent produced a variety which is a species of liberty. Hence every influence of religion was carried in Egypt to the utmost possible degree; and everything connected with its doctrines and rites so arranged as to make them most impressive to the public mind. The length of time during which it remained without counteraction from philosophy or contradiction from any rival faith, made every religious conception an inveterate prejudice. The multitude of temples, in each of which a special animal worship was established, concentrated the affections of the people on an object constantly within their view and within reach of their homage. The rivalry of neighboring nomes, each jealous of the honor of its respective deity, would increase the fanatical attachment to the animal who was his type and visible representative². It has been thought that the use of hieroglyphical writing among the Egyptians tended to produce animal worship. This could hardly be its origin, since the

¹ Plut. *Is. et Os.* p. 380 F. Plin. *N. H.* 10, 31.

² The Romans were compelled to employ an armed force to quell a civil war between Cynopolis and Oxyrrynchus, occasioned by the one party killing a dog, and the other eating the fish Oxyrrynchus (Plut. *Is. et Os.* p. 380).

hieroglyphic signs of animals by no means correspond with the names of the gods, and some of their representations fill a humble phonetic office in the system of writing. But it is not improbable that the same habit of mind, that of expressing qualities symbolically by means of visible objects, which has given its peculiar character to the Egyptian mode of writing, had a share in producing the practice of denoting the specific offices and attributes of the divinities by means of living animals, kept in their temples and worshiped as their symbols.

What those analogies were which the Egyptians found or fancied between these attributes and the specific qualities of the animals concentrated to them, we can in general only guess. The lordly bull, as a type at once of power and of production, seems a natural symbol of the mighty god Osiris, who whether he represented originally the Earth, the Sun, or the Nile, was certainly revered as the great source of life. The god of Mendes for a similar reason was fitly represented by a goat. The bright and piercing eye of the hawk made it an appropriate emblem of Horus, who was also the Sun; the crocodile might naturally be adopted as a symbol of the Nile which it inhabits, or from its voracious habits and hostility to man, might on the other hand symbolize Typhon, the principle of evil. We may fancy that the Cynocephalus was chosen to represent Thoth, the god of letters and science, from the near approach which this animal makes to human reason. The Oxyrrynchus¹ from his projecting snout may have suggested to the imagination of a votary the peculiar emblem of the Osiris whom Typhon destroyed, as the Hindu sees everywhere the sacred emblem of creative power. But why was the ibis appropriated to the same deity, or the cat to Pasht, or the ram to Kneph, or the vulture to Isis; or what made the scarabæus one of the most sacred of all the animal types of Egypt?

¹ The sacredness of the Oxyrrynchus was local; at least, the paintings represent it as being caught along with other fish (Wilkinson, M. and C. *N.* 260.)

To these questions we can obtain only very unsatisfactory answers. Herodotus gives no explanation of the reasons why particular animals were worshiped, except that he attributes the worship of the ibis to its utility in destroying serpents, an office which modern naturalists say that it is incapable of performing. He gives a romantic account of the battle which took place between the ibis and certain winged serpents which endeavored to invade Egypt from Arabia in the spring¹. The later writers, Plutarch, Porphyry, Horapollon, account for everything, but it is evident that their explanations are arbitrary and of no historical authority. Thus Plutarch tells us that the ibis was consecrated to Thoth (or the Moon), because the mixture of its black and white feathers bore a resemblance to the gibbous moon; besides which it forms an equilateral triangle from the tip of its beak to the extremities of its feet when extended in walking. Further it was consecrated to the god of Medicine, because it had been observed to drink only of the purest and most salubrious waters, and had given the first hint of a useful practice in medicine². A Platonist devised a still more fanciful reason for the reverence in which it was held; it has the shape of a heart, and its feathers are black at the extremities, but white elsewhere, indicating that truth is dark outwardly, but clear within³. The crocodile, having no tongue, is a fit emblem of deity, since the divine reason needs no utterance, but governs all in silence. Its eye when in the water is covered with a membrane through which it sees, but cannot be seen⁴, as the deity beholds all things, being itself invisible. The scarabæus was an emblem of the

¹ Her. 2, 75. Cuvier, Oss. Foss. Disc. sur les Révolutions du Globe, 1826, p. 175. Herodotus does not profess to have witnessed the combat; he only saw the spines of the serpents.

² Plin. N. H. 8, 41. Volueris in Ægypto quæ vocatur ibis, rostri aduncitate per eam partem se perluit qua reddi ciborum onera maxime salubre est.

³ Hermias ap. Wyttent. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 381.

⁴ Plut. *ibid.*

Sun, because no females being found in the species, the male enclosed the new germ in a round ball, and then pushed it backwards, just as the sun seems to push the sphere of heaven backwards, while he really advances from west to east. The asp was likened to the Sun, because it does not grow old, and moves rapidly and smoothly without the aid of limbs. For the consecration of the cat to the Moon two reasons were assigned; the first, that this animal brings forth first one, then two, and so on to seven, in the whole twenty-eight, the number of the days of a lunation. This Plutarch himself thought to border on the fabulous; of the second he seems to have judged more favorably—that the pupils of the cat's eyes are round at the full moon, but grow contracted and dull as she wanes.

These instances are given, out of a multitude of equally fanciful explanations, to show that those from whom we derive our principal knowledge of Egyptian antiquities knew no more than we do of the real origin of the things which they undertook to explain. The ignorance¹ of the history and habits of the animals in question which they betray is not itself a proof that they are ill-founded; for popular superstitions respecting animals are frequently caused by ignorance, or at best partial knowledge; but it is clear that they are all conjectures; and were we to venture on other explanations, derived from a more accurate zoology, we should not approach any nearer to historical truth. No doubt the cause of the appropriation was in many cases quite fanciful, but this makes the attempt more hopeless to ascertain what it was. It may also have been historical, and in this case the history not having been preserved, no conjecture can recover it.

Of the animals which are described generally as sacred, some

¹ The amount of this ignorance is astonishing, as it relates to animals whose habits are obvious. It was said, for example, that the cat *διὰ τῶν ὠτρυν συλλαμβάνει* *τελευτοῦσι δὲ τῷ στόματι*. Plut. Is. et Os. p. 881 with Wytttenbach's note.

were held in a higher degree of reverence than others. It does not appear that all were kept in temples, or received divine honors, and we know that some which were deemed divinities in one nome were treated as nuisances and destroyed in others. The worship of Apis and Mnevis, the bulls consecrated to Osiris, exhibits perhaps the very highest point to which this characteristic superstition of Egypt reached. Apis was believed to be born from a ray which darted from heaven (Plutarch says from the moon) on his mother, who after his birth never brought forth again¹. His color was black, but he had a square spot of white upon his forehead; on his shoulders the resemblance of an eagle², the mark of a scarabæus on his tongue, and the hairs were double in his tail. It may be easily supposed that either some contrivance was used to produce such an unusual combination of marks, or, as is more probable, that credulity was satisfied with very general resemblances. It appears from Herodotus that a considerable interval sometimes elapsed between the appearance (*epiphaneia*) of one Apis and the death of the other. In Plutarch's time, on his death the priests immediately began the search for another. Under the charge of the hierogrammats, who repaired to the spot on the intelligence of his discovery, the sacred calf was fed for four months on milk, in a house facing the East³. At the end of this time he was transferred at the new moon, in a covered boat with a gilded house, to Memphis, amidst the rejoicings of the people. Psammitichus had built a hall, adjoining the temple of Ptah, the chief deity of Memphis, in which Apis was kept. There were two apartments, from one of which to the other he passed, and in the front a magnificent peristyle court, supported

¹ Herod. 3, 28.

² Sir G. Wilkinson observes that the figures of Apis found in Egypt show that it was a vulture, not an eagle, which was marked on the back of Apis. (M. and C. 4, 349.)

³ Diodorus says that for forty days women only were allowed to see him, who stood before him, ἀναστυφέναι. (1, 85.)

instead of the usual columns by caryatides twelve cubits in height. His food was selected with the greatest care, and lest in his state of confinement he should grow too fat, they abstained from giving him the water of the Nile to drink. In Strabo's time he was brought forth into his court to exhibit himself to curious strangers; in earlier times it is not probable that he was exposed to view except on solemn festivals, when he was led through the city in procession. Various modes of divination were practised by means of Apis; it was a good omen if he took food readily from those who offered it to him; but evil threatened them if he refused it. Public prosperity or calamity was portended by his entering one or the other of his two apartments. There were other methods which they employed to obtain a more specific knowledge of the future by his means. The children who walked before him in the public procession were supposed to acquire from his breath a gift of prophecy. Those who consulted him closed their ears after they had propounded their question till they had quitted the precincts of his temple, and the first words which they heard when they opened them again were the answer of the god to their inquiry. He was not allowed to live beyond a certain age, twenty-five years according to Plutarch, when he was secretly drowned¹. Whether he died by the course of nature or by violence, his death was a season of general mourning; and his interment was accompanied with most costly ceremonies. The funerals of all the sacred animals were performed in later times, when superstition had reached its height, with a magnificence which sometimes proved ruinous to the fortunes of the curators; but that of Apis surpassed them all. In the reign of the first Ptolemy, Diodorus relates, Apis having died of old age, they not only expended on his funeral the large sum appropriated to this purpose, but also borrowed fifty talents from Ptolemy; and in his own time a hundred talents was no uncommon sum to be expended by the curators of the sacred ani-

¹ See vol. 1, p. 282.

mals on the ceremony of their interment. The body of Apis was afterwards embalmed, and mummies of bulls have been found in several of the catacombs; near Abousir eight chambers appear to have been filled 'with them'. The catacombs contain mummies also of most of the other animals which are known to have been held sacred among the Egyptians¹. There are some indeed which are not specifically mentioned as having been held sacred; and therefore it has been thought that sanitary, rather than religious considerations, led to their embalmment; but Herodotus says² that *all* the animals of the country were holy—of course not all everywhere, but in some part or other. In regard to Apis, we are distinctly told that the Egyptians honored him as an image of the soul of Osiris³, and that this soul was supposed to migrate from one Apis to another in succession⁴. He was therefore to the Egyptians the living and visible representative of their greatest and most universally honored deity. Even in this case, it appears that they did not consider him as the god, but only as the living shrine in which the divine nature had become incarnate. It is doubtful whether in the age of Herodotus their belief had reached to this point of exaltation.

What was the precise amount of veneration paid to the other animals which are ordinarily said to have been worshipped in Egypt, it is impossible to define, from the loss of all record of the sentiments of the people by means of literature. No standard could be correct for all ages of the monarchy, or all minds. That it did not amount to a belief in the divinity of the animal is evident from the case of Apis; and between the honors which he received, and homage paid in outward forms as to the established symbol of divinity, there is room for a long gradation, according to the more or

¹ Pettigrew on Mummies, p. 201.

² See the enumeration of them in Pettigrew, p. 178.

³ Τὰ ἱεῖρα σφί ἅπαντα ἱερὰ νομίζονται (2, 65).

⁴ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 359 B.

⁵ Diocl. 1, 85.

less enthusiastic character of the worshipper. For centuries the two great divisions of the Christian Church have been unable to agree in regard to the true nature of the use of images in religion, which one pronounces to be a direct worship, while the other declares it to be merely an act of reverence, worship being addressed exclusively to the supreme God. We see therefore how impossible it is to describe, in words of universal application, the sentiments with which an Egyptian regarded his sacred animals.

In itself, animal worship has nothing more irrational than the worship which the Scythians paid to a scimitar, or the Romans to a spear¹; but there is more danger that gross minds should confound a living than a lifeless symbol with the god whom it represented; it affords more scope to an anxious superstition, in watching the indications of the future, afforded by the actions and state of the consecrated animal. Multiplied as the objects of this worship were in Egypt, it met the devotee perpetually, and its power was strengthened by the constant repetition of its rites. It is of a nature peculiarly calculated to lay hold of the feelings in early life, and thus preoccupy the mind with superstition, before reason has acquired any counteractive power. The variety and opposition of the rites of different nomes and cities produced a fierce and fanatical hostility between the Egyptians themselves, of which we have no example, among the other nations of the Gentile world. Many causes contributed to degrade their character to the state to which it had been reduced in the last age in which their native superstition remained, and which Christianity has done less to raise than for any other civilized people which has embraced it; but we cannot hesitate to place animal worship among the most efficacious causes of the narrowness and imbecility into which the Egyptian mind degenerated.

¹ Herod. 4, 62. Varro, *Fragm.* 1, p. 375, ed. Bipont.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF EGYPT.

IN describing the constitution and laws of Egypt we labor under this difficulty ;—that as the Egyptians have left us no history of their own, and no code of their laws has been discovered among the written remains which have come to light, we know not, except by a few doubtful traditions, what changes they may have undergone. The fullest account is that given by Diodorus¹, which he professes to have derived from the records of the priests, and which may be considered as representing the state of things during that period of the native monarchy which succeeded the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The whole of the land of Egypt was possessed by the king, the priests, and the military order². Such a possession, however, like that of a feudal sovereign and aristocracy, cannot be exercised by the persons who claim it. The husbandmen occupied the land capable of cultivation, on payment of a small rent or proportion of the produce. It appears from the Book of Genesis, that before the time of Joseph, the mass of the people had been independent possessors of land, but parted with their rights to the crown, under the pressure of continued famine³. They submitted in future to pay a fifth part of the produce to the king, and were thus placed on nearly the same condition as the people of India⁴, where all the

¹ Diod. 1, 70 foll.

² Diod. 1, 74. Οἱ γεωργοὶ μικροῦ τινοῦ τὴν καρποφόρον χώραν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν μαχίμων μισθοῦμενοι διατελοῦσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον περὶ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν ὄντες τῆς χώρας.

³ Gen. xlvii. 26.

⁴ Strabo, B. 15, p. 704.

land belonged to the king, but was farmed on condition of paying him a fourth part of the produce. The priests are expressly mentioned as retaining their property¹; of the military order nothing is said, but from analogy we should conclude that they also retained their rights, or speedily recovered them, as the account of Diodorus before quoted implies. After the change of tenure, the proportion of the produce did not exceed what had been taken by an act of power in the seven years of plenty². Even after this annihilation of the rights of landed property, the condition of the peasantry in Egypt was better than in India, and not very different from that of the agricultural tenant among ourselves; for it appears from the evidence given before the Committees on the Corn Laws in 1814 and 1821, that rent is usually about a fourth part of the produce³.

It is probable that the priests occupied a portion of their own land, and cultivated it by their hired laborers, as we know the military class did. Diodorus, speaking of the different classes and occupations of Athens, says, "The second class was that of the *geomoroi*, whose duty it was to possess arms and serve in war on behalf of the city, like those who are called husbandmen in Egypt, and who furnish the fighting men⁴." Now as the continued and personal cultivation of the soil would be inconsistent with military duty, we must suppose that at least that portion of the warrior caste which was in actual service, tilled their lands by hired laborers. Herodotus appears also to have included the possessors of land among the priests and the warrior caste, as he makes no mention of husbandmen among his seven classes.

¹ Gen. xlvii. 26. "Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's."

² Gen. xli. 34. "Let Pharaoh do this, let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years."

³ Rickards on India, vol. 1, p. 288 note.

⁴ Diocl. 1, 28.

The king, the priest, and the warrior were the privileged orders of Egypt; the rest¹, including the herdsmen of swine and cattle, the artificers, the retail traders, the boatmen and pilots, and in later times the interpreters, were excluded from all share of political power. Yet there prevailed in Egypt no notion of an aristocracy of descent; the priest and the warrior were honored on account of the higher functions which their birth assigned them, but not for a patrician genealogy. In the funeral encomium no mention was made of descent, all Egyptians being considered as equally well-born².

Hereditary succession appears to have been the rule of the Egyptian monarchy. Diodorus says (1, 43), that in ancient times, according to the accounts which he received, kings were chosen for public services, but this occurs in a part of the history in which he is tracing the progress of society evidently according to a theory. In many instances a sovereign is expressly said to have been succeeded by his son; on the monuments a king sometimes declares himself to be the son of his predecessor, and is found in the sculptures of his reign in the character of a prince of the blood, serving in the army or attending at a solemnity³. Females were not excluded from the throne; a queen Nitocris occurs in the sixth dynasty, Scemiophris in the twelfth, and other examples are found in the sculptures⁴. If it were necessary to have recourse to election, the king must be chosen from the priests or the soldiers; Amasis was a plebeian, and was on that account despised, but the monarchy was then approaching its termination. According to a late authority (Synesius⁵), the form of election represented all the

¹ Strabo, B. 17, p. 787. Plato, Tim. iii. 24. Isocratēs, Busiris, p. 161, ed. Battie, arrange them variously. Herodotus, 2, 164, reckons priests, warriors, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, steersmen.

² Diod. 1, 92. Vol. 1, p. 419.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 283; Champollion, Lettres d'Égypte, p. 251.

⁴ Rosellini, M. St. iii. 1, 129. Comp. Lucan, Phars. 10, 92.

⁵ Quoted by Heeren, Ideen, 2, p. 335, Germ.

elements of the community. The priests stood immediately around the candidates, then the warriors, and outside of all the people. But the priests possessed great prerogatives in voting; the suffrage of a *prophetes* counted for a hundred, that of a *comastes*¹ (one who carried the sacred images in processions) for twenty, that of a *neocoros*² for ten, while that of a warrior counted but for one. The common people probably enjoyed the same right as in the middle ages—that of approving by their acclamations the choice of the clergy and the military chiefs. If the election fell upon a soldier, he was admitted into the sacerdotal order, and made acquainted with their hidden wisdom³. This initiation is perhaps represented in monuments, where the *tau*, the emblem of life and key of mysteries, is placed on the lips of the king⁴. To the shields of some of the early kings the word “priest” is prefixed⁵.

The monarch was so entirely under the influence and control of the priests, that the hierarchy may be considered as in fact the governing body in ordinary times. Unlike the sovereigns of the East, he was not irresponsible master of his own actions. The forms of public business and even his daily habits of life were subject to strict regulation. “It was his duty,” says Diodorus, “when he rose in the early morning, first of all to read the letters sent from all parts, that he might transact all business with accurate knowledge of what was being done everywhere in his kingdom. Having bathed and arrayed himself in splendid robes and the insign-

¹ Clem. Alex. 5, p. 671, Poët.

² Vol. 1, p. 379.

³ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 354 B; Plat. Polit. ii. 290. Steph. Ἐὰν τῷ χη πρότερον ἐξ ἄλλου γίνους βρασάμενος, ὑπὲρον ἀναγκαῖον ἐς τοῦτο εἰσπελεῖσθαι. Plut. Is. et Osir. c. 6. Οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ μετρητὸν ἔπεινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἱστορεῖκεν, ἱερεῖς δυντες.

⁴ Hieroglyphics of Egyptian Soc. pl. 94.

⁵ Wilkinson, M. and C. 8, 281. The shield of a king whose name is lost, in the papyrus of Turin, but who belonged apparently to the Sebekotpha, has a group of characters annexed to it, which have been read “chosen by the soldiers.” (Lesueur, Chronologie, pp. 236, 321.)

nia of sovereignty, he sacrificed to the God¹. The victims being placed beside the altar, the high-priest standing near the king prayed with a loud voice, the people standing round, that the gods would give health and all other blessings to the king, he observing justice towards his subjects. It was the priest's office also to declare his several virtues, saying that he showed piety towards the gods and clemency towards men; that he was temperate and magnanimous, truthful and liberal, and master of all his passions; that he inflicted on offenders punishments lighter than their misdeeds deserved, and repaid benefits with more than a proportionate return. After many similar prayers the priest pronounced an imprecation respecting things done in ignorance, exempting the king from all accusation, and fixing the injury and the penalty on those who had been his ministers and had wrongfully instructed him." His pleasures and his exercise, the quality of his food, the quantity of his wine, were all prescribed by a minute ceremonial, contained in one of the Books of Hermes². He was not allowed to be attended by slaves; sons of the priests, carefully educated till the age of twenty, surrounded his person night and day. The hierogrammat or sacred scribe then read from the sacred books precepts and histories of eminent men calculated to inspire the monarch with the love of virtue. His power over the lives and properties of his subjects was strictly limited by law, and nothing left to caprice and passion³. The right to enact new laws, however, resided with the sovereign: Menes and Sasyches, Sesostris, Bocchoris and Amasis are all celebrated as legislators⁴. The king was also a judge in certain cases which are not defined; but the ordinary administration of justice was lost to the tribunals. A singular kind of posthumous judge-

¹ We find accordingly in the monuments the king leading processions, pouring libations, dedicating temples, presenting offerings, and with his own hand sacrificing victims.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 4, p. 757, ed. Potter.

³ Diod. 1, 70, 71.

⁴ Diod. 1, 94.

ment was exercised on his government and character. Before the embalmed body was placed in the sepulchre, any one who had an accusation to prefer against him was allowed to bring it forward; while the priests set forth his merits, and the people by their murmurs or applause decided whether he should be allowed the honor of sepulture or not. Diodorus assures us that there were many instances of its being withheld¹. On the other hand, an eminently virtuous and popular prince received a kind of deification. Acts of homage were performed to him in subsequent generations, and his name was inscribed as a charm on amulets².

The account which Diodorus gives of the influence of these laws and customs in producing virtue and moderation in the kings of Egypt, must be regarded as describing rather the effect designed than the invariable result. The Jewish Lawgiver prescribed that each sovereign should make a copy of the Law, "that it might be with him, that he might read therein all the days of his life, and learn to fear Jehovah his God, to keep all the words of the law and to do them³;" yet it is doubtful if a single king of Israel or Judah complied with this injunction, and it is certain that even the living voice of the prophets was unable to prevent them from "lifting up their hearts above their brethren, and turning aside from the commandments." The daily homily read to the Egyptian monarchs on the duties of sovereignty would degenerate into a form. The praises bestowed in public prayers on the virtues of a reigning sovereign are mere customary compliments. The details of Egyptian history exhibit instances of tyranny; and a king who could command the military power might break through the restraints of morality and religion. In both cases, however, it would be unjust to deny to the legislation the merit of a noble aim, in framing a standard of duty for the sovereign, and providing the means of its being constantly held up before his eyes. The failure to produce conformity with the

¹ Diod 1, 72, *ad fin.*

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 3, 79-84.

³ Deut. xvii. 18.

standard belongs to all codes, ethical or political. Yet the general testimony of antiquity affirms that Egypt was distinguished among ancient nations, not only for the wisdom of its laws, but the obedience paid to them. The instances of internal revolution are few and late. After we have retrenched some thousand years from its history, for false and exaggerated chronology, the long duration of the monarchy remains unexampled. The union of priestly sanctity, military power and monarchical authority in one person, gave the government a form of stability which could not belong to forms of polity in which these powers were dissociated or hostile. At the same time the influence of the sacerdotal order, who were almost the sole possessors of knowledge, stamped it with a character of mildness and humanity, as in the Middle Ages the influence of the Church tempered the rigor of feudalism. It substituted religious awe for constitutional checks and sanctions in the mind of the monarch, and by this sentiment more effectually controlled him, as long as religion and its ministers were respected. Had the authority been exclusively in the hands of the priests, it might have sunk into that imbecility to which a purely sacerdotal administration tends; but the intimate union of the civil power, the military and the hierarchy, appears to have secured to the people a government at once energetic, enlightened and humane.

The earliest account remaining of the Egyptian monarchy, in the history of Joseph, exhibits a court and household with minute gradations of rank and function, and the monuments have added a long list of officers, who ministered to the state and luxury of the sovereign. The king always appears surrounded by numerous military and sacerdotal attendants. Men of high rank, and even princes of the blood, formed his train, screening him from the heat, or cooling him and chasing away the flies with a feather-fan. Besides these personal attendants on the sovereign, there was a numerous body of public functionaries, whose titles and duties have been revealed to us by the inscriptions in their tombs. They show

that the government was thoroughly organized in its administrative department, no branch of public service being without its chief. The extent and magnificence of the palaces of Thebes attest the splendor in which the monarch lived; but as the royal state was kept up and the expenditure in peace and war maintained out of the produce of the land, a third of which was allotted to the king, the people do not appear to have been heavily taxed, if at all, in the ordinary course of affairs¹. It is not probable, however, that such works as the building of the Great Pyramid could be carried on, without levying oppressive taxes, as well as exacting forced labor, and the sovereigns who engaged in them were the objects of popular detestation². The military expeditions would in modern times have been the cause of enormous expense; but ancient warfare supported itself by plunder and exaction, and large tributes were paid by conquered nations.

Nowhere in the ancient world was the number of temples so great as in Egypt, nor the revenue of the priests so ample, nor their influence in the whole social system so predominant. All the events of Egyptian life were intimately blended with religion, and a series of festivals spread itself over the whole year. Every nome had a tutelary god, whom it worshipped with especial honor; every city and town one or more temples. The Egyptians were the authors, as the Greeks believed³, both of the doctrines and the ritual of polytheism, and had carried both to the utmost limits of refinement and subdivision. The priests lived in abundance and

¹ The προσόδοι and ἀποκρίβη which Herodotus (2, 109) speaks of as imposed by Sesostris in proportion to the land, appear to be only the *rent* for the crown lands under another name. εἰς τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, ἃ δὲ τε ἐκ τῶν προσόδων εὐπορίαν, οὐ βαπτίζουσι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς. (Diod. 1, 73.)

² Herod. 2, 128.

³ Herod. 2, 50. Σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 58. Πανηγύρις ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι.

luxury. The portion of the soil allotted to them, the largest in the threefold division¹, was subject to no taxes²; and they were so abundantly supplied with the means of subsistence that it was unnecessary for them to expend their private property³. The registers of the temples, of which some fragments have been preserved, show that contributions of various kinds were made to them, though they are not sufficiently precise to enable us to say whether they were dues or voluntary offerings. Their life⁴ was the reverse of ascetic. The shaving of the head and body every other day, the cold ablution twice in every day and twice in every night, the use of flax and papyrus instead of woollen and leather⁵, in the climate of Egypt were luxuries, not penances and restrictions. The endless variety of rites which they practised⁶ served to fill up their time, for which the majority of them, not being initiated into science, would have little occupation. Their numbers were very great; instead of a single priest or priestess attached to each temple, as among the Greeks, a long series of subordinate ministers discharged those multiplied functions in which their religion consisted. Herodotus declares that no female could fill a sacerdotal office⁷, though it is evident from his own accounts, as well as

¹ Diod. 1, 73.

² This appears not to have been the case in the Ptolemaic times. See the Inscription of Rosetta, in which the priests return thanks to the king for decreeing that they should pay no more than in the first year of his father's reign. (Line 16 of the Greek.)

³ Herod. 2, 37.

⁴ Occasionally they practised rigid abstinence (*ἐν ταῖς ἀγνείαις*), and did not even allow themselves salt as a provocative of appetite. (Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 352.)

⁵ Herod. 2, 37.

⁶ Ἀλλὰς ὑπερηβίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὥς εἰπὼν λόγῳ. (Her. *ibid.*)

⁷ Herod. 2, 35. Ἰσχυαὶ γυνή μὲν οὐδέμιν οὐτὶς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐτὶς θηλείης. But he himself (2, 55) speaks of a female as ἀμφιπολιῶσαν ἱερὸν Διός. See vol. i. p. 379.

from the sculptures and documents¹, that they might be engaged in duties connected with the temples². The office was strictly hereditary. In the temples of the principal gods there was a high-priest, and if we take literally the statement made by the priests of Vulcan to Hecataeus and Herodotus, the son had succeeded to the father for 340 generations³. To the priests alone polygamy was forbidden⁴, and this restriction is confirmed by the monuments.

The reverence in which the sacerdotal order was held was not the result of their sacred character only, but of their superior knowledge and education, which comprehended, besides divination and augury, all the human sciences. Their superior skill in geometry and arithmetic, so important in a country whose revenues were raised by a tax on land proportioned to its extent⁵, and where changes in the form and area of the fields were frequently produced by the action of the river, gave them a considerable control over property.

It does not appear that the practice of medicine was confined to them. The army was attended by physicians⁶, who can scarcely have been priests. The general appearance and costume of the physicians represented in the grotto of Benihasan⁷ would lead

¹ Champollion-Figeac, Egypte, L'Univers Pittoresque, 115.

² The priestesses mentioned in the Rosetta Stone belonged to the worship of the deified Ptolemies, not the ancient gods of Egypt.

³ Herod. 2, 143, where however ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρός ἑκάστων ἑωυτῶν ἔόντα can hardly express a literal fact, especially if we consider the monogamy of the priests. Compare Her. 1, 7, where a similar expression only denotes generally an hereditary succession.

⁴ Diod. 1, 80. Comp. Her. 2, 92.

⁵ Herod. 2, 109. Εἰ τινος τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἄν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐσήμενε τὸ γεγεννημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσην ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελείτοι.

⁶ Diod. 2, 82.

⁷ See vol. i. p. 290. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 3, 393.

us to refer them to a low rank in society. No sepulchral inscription has yet been found in which this profession is mentioned, nor has the hieroglyphic character for physician been ascertained. The embalmers were a part of the physicians¹, but the priests, whose profession required such scrupulous purity, cannot be supposed to have defiled themselves with the touch of dead bodies; and the embalmers are expressly said by Herodotus² to have been artisans who plied in public. But all medical practice was carried on in Egypt according to certain established formulas, contained in ancient books. Six of the forty-two treatises attributed to Hermes were devoted to medicine, and the *pastophori*, a special but inferior order of the priests, studied them³. To the precepts contained in these books the practitioners of medicine seem to have been obliged to conform, and thus the sacerdotal order would possess a complete control over the practical branches of the art. So under the Jewish Law, the Levites had to decide on all medical questions which had a bearing on religion⁴, such as leprosy, but do not appear to have been in other respects the physicians of the people. In Europe during the Middle Ages, the knowledge of medicine was nearly confined to the clergy, if we except the Jews on the one hand, and the leeches who practised upon the vulgar on the other. The selection and examination of victims, the care of the sacred animals, the rigorous attention to their own health and purity which their office imposed, could not fail to give the Egyptian priests a considerable portion of medicinal knowledge, besides what the books of Hermes contained.

The more mysterious doctrines of religion, as well as the knowledge of the hieroglyphic character, in later times were reserved to the higher order of the priesthood⁵, and this was probably always

¹ Gen. 1. 2.

² Herod. 2, 86. *Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν' αὐτῷ τοῦτον κατέσται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην.*

³ Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 4, p. 758, ed. Pott.

⁴ See Leviticus, xiii. xiv.

⁵ Clem. Alex. Strom. 5, p. 670, Pott. *Οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτροχόδοι ἀνετίθεντο τὰ μυσ-*

the case, the functions of the lower ministers being of a practical kind.

According to Ælian¹, the priests were originally judges, the eldest of them presiding. This appears afterwards to have given place to a select tribunal which we shall subsequently describe. But as the ultimate authority must be the written law, and as literature of every kind was in the custody of the priesthood, it is probable that questions of nice interpretation would be referred to them. So among the Jews, when a matter arose too hard for the decision of the inferior judges, recourse was had to the priests and Levites and the chief judge in the last resort². In Europe in the Middle Ages, the highest offices of the law were filled by ecclesiastics, who alone could read ancient writings and pen decrees. Statistical knowledge was carried to greater perfection in Egypt than anywhere else in the ancient world. The whole country had been geometrically measured; every man's tax was fixed, every man's occupation known³, and the topography of Egypt was the subject of one of the sacred books⁴.

The military class formed, like the priesthood, an hereditary caste⁵. They were divided into *Calasirians* and *Hermotybian*s, names the signification of which has not been ascertained⁶. Accord-

τήρια ἀλλ' ἢ μόνους γε τοῖς μέλλουσι ἐπὶ βασιλείαν προῖναι καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κριθεῖσιν εἶναι ὀκνηρωτέροις.

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. 14, 34.

² Deut. xvii. 8. "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, then shalt thou arise and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire, and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment."

³ Herod. 2, 177. He refers the law to the reign of Amasis.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *ubi supra*.

⁵ Herod. 2, 166.

⁶ Jablonsky (Voc. Ægypt. p. 69, 101.) deduces Calasiris from *Helshiri*, Coptic for *youth*; Hermotybian, from *armatoi oube*, *militaire contra*, and ho

ding to Herodotus, the Calasirians amounted, when their numbers were largest, to 250,000 men, the Hermotybians to 160,000; and if larger numbers are attributed to some of the armies of Egyptian conquerors, we must remember that oriental armies are swollen by a train of unmilitary followers. Each soldier had an allotment of land, of about six acres, free from taxes. Their settlements were almost exclusively in Lower Egypt¹, each body having only one in either Middle or Upper Egypt, namely the nomes of Chemmiss and Thebes, while the Hermotybians were established in five nomes of Lower Egypt and the Calasirians in eleven². It was on the side of Asia that the country was most exposed to attack, Nubia having been completely subjugated during the flourishing times of the monarchy; and the abundance and fertility of land in the Delta pointed out this as the part most suitable for the settlement of the soldiery. The facility with which a large force was collected for the pursuit of the Israelites³, shows that they must have been quartered chiefly in Lower Egypt. All handicrafts were forbidden to them, but in these agriculture was not included, which was an honorable occupation even among those by whom the mechanical arts were most despised⁴. In times of peace, a portion of them discharged garrison-duty in the frontier towns of Pelusium, Marea and Elephantine; a detachment to the number of a thousand of each acted as guards to the king, during the space of a year⁵. To these were given, as a daily allowance, five minæ of baked bread or parched corn, two minæ of beef and four *arysters*, or nearly two pints, of wine. In the Egyptian monuments we can distinguish such a body of men having peculiar arms, clothing and ensigns, and specially engaged in attendance on the king. This supposes the latter to have been veterans to whom the defence of the country was chiefly entrusted.

¹ Heeren, 2, 134. (2, 2, 578 Germ.)

² Herod. *ubi supra*.

⁴ Diod. 1, 28.

³ Exod. xiv. 5-9.

⁵ Her. 2, 168.

king¹. Perhaps other bodies might be stationed in some of the principal towns, where it has been thought that traces of fortified camps might be perceived².

Such a class, trained and armed and possessed of property in land, in the midst of a population of priests, agriculturists and tradesmen, must have had a preponderant weight in the social scale. Yet such was the harmony of the different members of the Egyptian state, that we hear for many centuries of no usurpations or rebellions by the soldiery. The military order was closely united with the monarchy. We find in the monuments that the sons of the kings held high posts in the army³, and this class generally furnished a sovereign to the vacant throne. The Egyptian military system, as it originally existed, was better calculated to preserve order within the state and resist aggression, than the feudalism of the Middle Ages or the universal soldiery of the Greeks. The former was an instrument of oppression, the latter a constant provocative to civil war. Egypt more resembled Rome, in the ages in which the *plebs* was still devoted exclusively to agriculture and furnished legionaries to the army. The commencement of her fall was the encroachment made by the priests in the reign of Sethos, and the king in that of Psammitichus, on the privileges of the military class.

All the rest of the population may be regarded as forming one class, inasmuch as they were excluded from the possession of land, from the privileges of the priestly and military order, and from every department of political life. Among themselves, however, they were divided into a variety of trades and professions, about the number of which the ancients are not agreed, nor is it probable that any one has enumerated them all. The land was cultivated by a peasantry, tenants to the king, the priests and the war-

¹ Rosellini, Monumenti Reali, tav. c. cii. cxxvi.

² Champollion-Figeac, Egypte, p. 147.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Civili, 3, p. 313.

rriors, whose traditionary knowledge and early training enabled them to carry the art to a much higher degree of perfection than any other nation¹. The marshy districts of the Delta and the pastures of the valleys, especially of the Arabian chain of hills, maintained large numbers of cattle, the charge of which created another distinct class. The swineherds formed another—a Pariah-caste—to whom alone, of all the Egyptians, access to the temples was denied, and who could only intermarry among themselves². The artificers and the boatmen and steersmen of the Nile were each a separate class. The monuments lead us to conclude that the navigation of the sea was more common than had been previously supposed, yet it hardly belonged to the habits of the nation and was opposed to its religious ideas, according to which the sea-water, swallowing up the Nile, was symbolized in Typhon destroying Osiris. Even the navigators of the river were a disesteemed race³. Huntsmen are mentioned in the enumeration of Plato, among whom fowlers would be included⁴; in a country so abundant in streams and fish, fishermen must have been very numerous⁵, and therefore probably a distinct class. On the establishment of the Greeks in Egypt, in the reign of Psammitichus, an hereditary body of interpreters was formed for the purpose of commercial intercourse⁶, this being the only one of whose origin we have any historical account, and we see that neither conquest nor religion had anything to do with it, but the hereditary transmission of exclusive knowledge.

¹ Diodor. 1, 74.

² Herod. 2, 47. Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 1, 266, mentions a herd of swine belonging to a priest; they were sometimes used in sacrifice as Herodotus mentions.

³ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 363, c. 32.

⁴ Plat. Tim. iii. 24.

⁵ Herod. 2, 93. Diod. 1, 36. Isaiah xix. 8.

⁶ Herod. 2, 154. Παιδας παρέβαλε (Ψαμμίτιχος) τοῖς Ἰωσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλ-
λίδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκειν· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκρίνθησαν τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐν Ἑρμηνείᾳ
Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι.

There can be no doubt that a broad line of social distinction separated all these classes from the three privileged orders. The principle of caste would have been annihilated, if the children of an artificer or a herdsman could have intermarried with those of a priest, a warrior, or a judge. Religious feeling and *esprit de corps* would no doubt close the sacerdotal or military class against a man of low caste, and want of skill would exclude him from the higher departments of art. We find some remarkable examples of the hereditary descent of high public office. The long succession of the high-priests of Memphis has been already mentioned. Lepsius¹ quotes an inscription in which a chief of the mining works declares that twenty-three of his ancestors had filled the same office before him. But there is no proof that all the sons of a priest became priests, or of a military man soldiers. The higher professions appear to have been open to all of the higher castes, and might even be united in one person, and they might intermarry with each other; so probably might the lower, with the exception of the swine-herds. A monument in the Museum at Naples, to one who was himself a general of infantry, records that his elder brother was a chief of public works and at the same time a priest². In India at the present day no caste but the Brahminical is strictly preserved³, and this includes not only the priesthood, but the higher civil professions.

The funeral monuments of Egypt, which have thrown light on the relations of the privileged orders and shown that they were not separated by such strict rules as had been supposed, give us no corresponding information respecting the lower castes. Priests, warriors, judges, architects, chiefs of districts and provinces, are nearly the only ranks or classes which appear in the inscriptions; we do

¹ Lepsius, *Tour to the Peninsula of Sinai*, p. 4, Eng. Transl.

² Ampère in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1848, p. 410. He, as well as Rosellini, *u. s.*, has controverted the common opinion respecting the distinction of castes, from the evidence of the monuments.

³ Rickards, *India*, 1, 31. Elphinstone's *India*, 1, 103.

not find the laborer, the agriculturist, the artist or the physician receiving those funereal honors which consist in the representation of the deceased as offering to the gods, and praying for their protection in another world¹. And this shows the wide interval in social estimation, by which the upper and lower classes in Egypt were separated.

The Greeks, from whom we derive our earliest knowledge of Egyptian institutions, were naturally struck with the rigid distinction of the different orders of society: it had once existed among themselves², but was nearly obliterated and forgotten. If it appear to have been less exclusively a distinction of birth than we have been accustomed to suppose, there can be no doubt that it was one of the most important characteristics of Egyptian society. Perhaps a Mohammedan traveller in Europe during the prevalence of feudalism might have described its different orders and their relation to each other in terms not very unlike those which Herodotus applies to the *genea* of Egypt. Custom and sentiment had fixed a nearly impassable barrier between the villain and burgher on one side, and the military chief and feudal lord on the other. The burghers themselves, arranged in crafts and guilds, the entrance to which was jealously guarded, would have appeared to him rather as an aggregate of separate communities than a uniform mass of industrial population, such as our modern cities exhibit. A plebeian would have as little chance of obtaining a maiden of aristocratic blood in marriage, as an Egyptian of low caste of marrying the daughter of a priest or military chief; the executioner or flayer of cattle in Germany could no more have intermarried with a peasant or a burgher, than the swineherd in Egypt. The difference lies in the sanction by which the separation of ranks and professions

¹ Ampère *ubi supra*.

² The most natural explanation of the fourfold division of the Ionic population of Attica (Herod. 5, 66) is that the names denote their different occupations.

was guarded; in Egypt it was enforced by religion; in Europe it was counteracted by the genius of Christianity and the celibacy of the clerical order, in which the humblest birth was no disqualification for the highest dignity.

In a country so fertile as Egypt, in which manufactures, art and internal commerce were carried on to such an extent, wealth must have accumulated among those who were engaged in civil life, and have given rise to a class of independent proprietors, not included in any of the *genea*. On the other hand, we find that in large cities a populace forms itself, depending on casual expedients for subsistence, and, as having no definite occupation, equally excluded from the list. Such a class in later times existed in Egypt; Sethos employed it in support of his usurpation¹; Amasis endeavored to check its growth by compelling every man to declare his occupation before the magistrate, under penalty of death, if he made a false statement or followed an unlawful mode of life². With the exceptions which have been pointed out, there can be no question that the rule of Egyptian society was³, that every man should be strictly limited to his hereditary business⁴. The ancients generally admired this limitation, and attributed to it the high perfection which agriculture and art had attained. The father taught his son without grudging whatever he himself knew; the peasant and the artisan followed their proper business without the distraction of politics which engrossed the lower orders in republics. It was a maxim that it was best for one man to do one thing⁵, which is undoubtedly true, as far as the perfection of his work is concerned. The effect

¹ Herod. 2, 141. "Επταθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρῶνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους.

² Her. 2, 177.

³ Diod. 1, 74.

⁴ The law which Dicaearchus attributes to Sesostris is μηδένα καταλείπειν τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην. Schol. App. Rhod. 4, 272-276.

⁵ Aristot. Polit. 2, 8. "Εν ἑφ' ἑ ὡς ἔργον ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται· δεῖ δὲ μὴ προσάττειν τὸν αὐτὸν· αὐλεῖν καὶ σκοροτομεῖν.

of such a limitation on the character of the man, and therefore ultimately on the progress of his art, had not been considered.

The great body of the Egyptian people appear to have had no public duties whatever, neither political, judicial, nor military; the idea of a *citizen* was unknown among them. This exclusion of all but priests and soldiers from political functions would ensure revolution in any modern government; but the privileged orders were so firmly established by the threefold monopoly of knowledge, sacred and secular, arms, and landed property, that we do not read even of an attempt to disturb them, on the part of the excluded millions, till the last century of the history of the Pharaohs.

The division of Egypt for administrative purposes was very simple. The principal cities, with their environs, and a number of villages dependent upon them, formed a *nome*, as the Greeks called it, over which a prefect or *nomarch* appointed by the king presided, to superintend the royal revenues and the details of government¹. The Delta contained ten of these nomes, the Thebaid ten; the intermediate country in later times sixteen, but originally only seven². This corresponds with the arrangement of the Labyrinth³, which had, as Strabo saw it, twenty-seven halls. This division was attributed to Sesostris, and it is probable that the boundaries of each nome were definitely fixed, when that general survey of the lands took place, which is said to have been made by this sovereign⁴. Commonly, however, authority only regulates and confirms divisions which have been determined by local and accidental circumstances. Religion appears in Egypt to have furnished the original principle of aggregation. Each of the larger cities was the seat of the worship of a peculiar divinity⁵, which had been esta-

¹ Diod. 1, 54.

² Hence the name *Heptanomis*.

³ Strabo, B. 17, p. 787, 811. Bunsen, *Ægypten's Stelle* (1, 179, note).

⁴ According to Diodorus, 1, 95, Amasis τὴν περὶ τοὺς νομάρχας διέταξε καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς πόλεων οἰκονομίαν. *Διέταξε*, but this cannot in either case relate to the first establishment.

⁵ Her. 2, 42.

blished there by the inhabitants of the district, and the religious usages which flowed from that worship were co-extensive with the nome¹. Thus throughout the nome of Thebes, of which the ram-headed god was the chief divinity, goats were sacrificed, but not sheep²; while in the Mendesian nome, in reverence for the god to whom the goat was sacred, sheep were sacrificed, and not goats. The number of the nomes ultimately amounted to fifty-three, but among them were reckoned the Greater and Lesser Oasis, and the Oasis of Ammon. They were again subdivided into *toparchies*, of whose extent we are not informed. Delegates from the nomes, chosen according to station and character³, assembled at intervals at the splendid palace of the Labyrinth, near the Lake Mœris. Each delegation was accompanied by the priests and priestesses of its chief temple, and was lodged in its appointed place, among the 3000 apartments which the Labyrinth included. Sacrifices and gifts were made to the gods, and doubtful questions of jurisdiction settled. If the halls in the Labyrinth were, as Herodotus says⁴, only twelve in number, only the larger nomes can have sent delegates, and some pre-eminence on the part of twelve of them appears to be implied in the establishment of a *dodecarchia* or government of twelve kings, after the usurpation of Sethos.

We have no distinct information as to the mode in which justice was ordinarily administered in Egypt. Probably the nomarch and the toparch exercised a jurisdiction in matters of police and causes of minor importance. To judge is also reckoned among the functions of the king⁵. In the monarchies of the East it is an attribute

¹ Heeren (2, 108, 112, Eng.) supposes that the temples were foundations by priestly colonies from Meroë, and that they established the worship of the local god in each district. The language of Herodotus implies that the people of the nome established the temple

² Her. u. s.

³ Strabo, 17, p. 811, with Tyrwhitt's emendation of *αριστέων*

⁴ Her. 2, 148.

⁵ Diodor. 1, 76.

inseparable from royalty, and the authority of all inferior tribunals is only a delegation from the prerogative of the Sovereign. Such is indeed the theory, though not the origin, of our own judicial system. The principal court of judicature was composed of thirty persons, chosen for their merit from the three most celebrated cities of the kingdom, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis—ten from each. As these cities were also the most remarkable for the number and learning of the sacerdotal order, it has been generally taken for granted that the judges belonged to this caste. That they were of sacerdotal families appears, from what has been already said on the subject of castes, very probable, but hardly ministering priests, since each one had duties to perform in the temple to which he was attached. Ælian, by saying that *originally*¹ the judges were priests, implies that in later times it was otherwise. These thirty chose a president from among themselves, in whose place the city by which he had been sent furnished another. Probably therefore the original selection had been made by the cities. Their salaries were paid by the king. All proceedings were carried on in writing, that the decision might not be influenced by the arts of oratory, nor the stern impartiality of law be overcome by personal supplication. A collection of the laws in eight volumes lay before the judges; the plaintiff or accuser declared in writing how he had been injured, cited the portion of the law on which he relied, and laid the amount of his damages, or claimed the penalty which in his view the law awarded. The culprit or defendant replied in writing, point by point, denying the fact alleged, or showing that his act had not been unlawful, or that the penalty claimed was excessive. The plaintiff having rejoined, and the defendant replied again, the judges deliberated among themselves. A chain of gold and precious stones was worn by the president, to which an image of Thmei, the goddess of Truth, was attached, and he pronounced sentence by touching with this image the plaintiff's or defendant's

¹ Var Hist. 14, 34. Δίκασται τὸ ἀρχαῖον παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

pleadings'. We are not told how the facts were established, and indeed the whole account suggests the idea of a Court of Appeal, rather than of primary jurisdiction.

From the complex state of society in Egypt, more strikingly evinced by its monuments than even by the accounts of ancient writers, we may conclude that the laws were numerous. Yet few of them have been handed down to us, and no document of this kind has been hitherto deciphered from the remains of Egyptian antiquity. The character of the legislation therefore must be gathered from the general testimony of the ancient world, or by analogy from a few specimens which remain. The tradition that Lycurgus, Solon and Plato², had borrowed from Egypt the laws of their real or imaginary states, is a proof of the high estimation in which they were held, whatever historical value it may possess. Their wisdom and humanity may be inferred from the correspondence which has been remarked between the Egyptian and the Jewish institutions. If this be explained as by Spencer³, who thinks that certain laws and usages to which the Jews had become accustomed, were adopted into the Mosaic Law, the highest sanction is given to them. If, with his great opponent Witsius⁴, we believe that they were copied by the Egyptians from Abraham, and from his

¹ The resemblance of this ornament to the *Urim* and *Thummim* worn by the Jewish high priest has been noticed by all writers on Jewish or Egyptian antiquities. Yet the use was very different; one was an official chain, probably with a seal attached to it; the other answered the purpose of an oracle (Exod. xxxix. 10; Lev. viii. 8; Num. xxvii. 21). Nor is there any etymological ground for deriving *Thummim* from the Egyptian *Thmes*, although the Seventy may have been influenced by the Egyptian usage in rendering it by *Ἀληθεια*.

² Diod. 1, 69, 96, 98.

³ See his great work *De Legibus Hebræorum*, p. 903, "Monendum est institutorum Mosaicorum partem multo maximam e consuetudine aliqua que apud Ægyptios aut alias e vicinia gentes inveteraverat dimanasse."

⁴ Witsii *Ægyptiaca*, lib. 2, c. 1. § vii.

descendants, subsequently to their expulsion and the giving of the Law from Sinai (a much less probable supposition)¹, the inference as to their character will be the same.

The criminal law of Egypt was mild and equitable². The wilful murder of a slave was punished with death, like that of a freeman; the exposure of infants was forbidden, nor was the mother allowed to be executed with an unborn child. False accusation (we may presume where a malicious purpose could be shown) was punished with the same penalty as would have fallen on the accused if convicted; and perjury with death. A thousand lashes were inflicted on an adulterer, mutilation of the nose on an adulteress. A parent who had killed his child was compelled to sit three days and three nights, under the guard of a public officer, embracing its body. It was a capital offence not to have assisted one who was slain by violence, the legislator presuming complicity where there had been no effort to prevent murder. Even the neglect to give information of a robbery was punished by stripes and three days' imprisonment without food. Some of their punishments however were cruel; others appear to us fantastic, from an attempt to carry out strictly the *lex talionis*. Such was the punishment inflicted on a violator of female chastity: one who gave intelligence to an enemy had his tongue cut out; an adulterer of the standard currency³, a falsifier of weights and measures, a public scribe who had forged or mutilated public writings, had his hand cut off. A grave has been found near Saccara, apparently of such criminals, as the hands and feet have been cut off at the joints⁴. It is probable that in the times of the Pharaohs⁵, as well as of the Ptolemies, the working

¹ Παρτίοις χρωόμενοι νόμοισιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀπικέουται (Her. 2, 79, 91.)

² Diod. 1, 77, 7°.

³ The Egyptians had no stamped coin, but used rings of metal in exchange.

⁴ Perring in Vyse on the Pyramids, 3, 38.

⁵ Compare Agatharchides ap. Phot. ccl. 11, p. 1342, whom Diodorus fol-

of the gold-mines of the Arabian Desert was one of the punishments of criminals. The labor was cruelly severe, and was exacted by the scourge; in the low and winding passages in which they wrought, the miners were compelled to assume painful and unnatural postures in order to carry on their work¹. Their complaints could excite no sympathy, for guards were placed over them who did not understand their language. Children, women and old men were employed in different operations, and neither infirmity nor disease procured a respite, while there remained any strength which blows could compel them to exert². Sabaco the Ethiopian introduced the practice of employing criminals on public works, instead of putting them to death.

A singular law prevailed in regard to thieves³. They were organized under a chief, with whom their names were enrolled, and to whom everything stolen was brought. Those who had been robbed applied to him, and obtained back their property on payment of a fourth of the value. This amounts in fact to impunity for any one who was willing to make restitution on payment of one-fourth, and probably nowhere has stolen property been so cheaply recovered. The law has been converted by later authorities⁴ into a general permission of theft in Egypt.

The most sanguinary part of the Egyptian law was that which protected the sacred animals, as already mentioned⁵. It is probable, however, that the fanaticism, of which Diodorus witnessed an

¹ Πολλαχῶς πρὸς τῆς τῆς πέτρας ιδιότητος μετασχηματίζοντες τὰ σώματα. (Diod. 3, 14.)

² Οὐ τεγγάνει συγγνώμης οἷδ' ἀνέσεως ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἄρρωστος, οὐ πεπρωμένος οὐ γεγηρακῶς, οὐ γυναικὸς ἀσθένεια. (Ibid.)

³ Diod. 1, 80.

⁴ Aulus Gellius, 11, 18, quoting "Aristo jureconsultus."

⁵ Herod. 2, 65. Cicero, N. D. 1, 29, includes the dog and the crocodile among the animals whom it was a capital crime to kill. (Diod. 1, 72.)

example, was one mode of expressing national animosity, and that it had not existed in such intensity before the Persian conquest. The law of sacrilege in Christian countries has been equally severe and inhuman; nor would a Jew, suspected of an act of disrespect towards the rites and emblems of the Church, have fared better at the hands of the multitude, than the Roman who fell a victim to the fury of an Egyptian mob.

The condition of females, according to Diodorus¹, was singularly favorable to the weaker sex, the prerogatives of a queen being greater than those of a king, and the husband engaging in the marriage contract to obey the wife in everything. These statements are rendered suspicious by being connected with the mythic sovereignty of Isis. The marriage of brothers and sisters was allowed². Herodotus, contrasting the manners and customs of Egypt with those of other countries, remarks, that the women went to market and carried on retail trades, while the men sat in the house, occupied at the loom³. This, however, indicates no superior privilege on the part of the Egyptian women; it is only a proof that weaving was in Egypt an art requiring great skill and long practice⁴, not as in Greece a part of domestic economy. The other circumstances which Herodotus mentions, as contrasts with Greek customs, are rather proofs of the depressed condition of the female sex. Women carried burthens on their shoulders, men on

¹ Diod. 1, 27.

² This custom was explained by the marriage of Isis with Osiris. (Diod. *ibid.*) It is said to be confirmed by the monuments, but I doubt if *sister* and *cousin* can be distinguished.

³ Herod. 2, 35. The Greeks, who despised manufactures, ridiculed the habits of the Egyptians as effeminate (Soph. *Œd. Col.* 337). The Ionian women were peculiarly sedentary (Xen. *Rap. Lac.* 1, 3, with Haase's note).

⁴

..... Nam longe præstat in arte,
Et solertius est multo genus omne virile.

Lucr. 5, 1354, speaking of weaving.

their heads, the women of course bearing the heavier weights. Women were excluded from all but menial offices about the temples; to maintain their parents if in want was voluntary with sons, compulsory with daughters. The monuments, as far as they have hitherto been interpreted, afford no countenance to the statement of Diodorus, though we cannot doubt that the condition of the female sex in Egypt partook of the general character of humanity and refinement which belonged to that country. Polygamy was allowed except to the priests¹, and all children, whether by wives or concubines, were equally legitimate. But even where several wives were taken, one of them, under the title of Lady of the House, enjoyed a superiority in honor and authority over the rest². In the marshy districts of Lower Egypt monogamy prevailed, probably owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, as in Mohammedan countries the lower and even middle classes have usually only one wife.

Of the civil laws of the Egyptians very little is known. Most of those which are specified are attributed to Bocchoris³, who is supposed to be the Pehor of the monuments, and to have lived a short time before the Ethiopian conquest. One of the most important was, that the goods only of a debtor could be taken, and that the arrest of the person was not allowed, on the ground that his services, whether a soldier, a peasant, or an artisan, belonged to the state. In this respect the Egyptian law was wiser and more humane than that of most of the Grecian states, which secured to a debtor the implements by which he gained his living, yet allowed him by imprisonment to be deprived of the means of using them⁴. Solon introduced the Egyptian practice into the law of Athens. If no written security had been given, a man might clear himself from a claim by his oath—a proof how general was the use of

¹ Diod. 1, 80. Herod. 1, 92.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 3, 137.

³ Diod. 1, 79, 94.

⁴ Diod. *ibid.*

writing for civil purposes among the Egyptians in later times, and a salutary limitation of credit. The interest of a debt was never allowed to amount to more than double the principal,—an ample security for the lender's rights, and a preventive of those violent infringements of the law of debtor and creditor, which, under the names of *Seisachtheia* and *Novæ Tabulæ*, we meet with in Greek and Roman history. By a singular law, passed at a time when there was a great want of circulating medium¹, a man was allowed to pledge the mummies of his forefathers for debt, but was himself deprived of sepulture if he omitted to redeem them before his death. The prohibition appears to have included his descendants, as long as the debt remained unpaid.

¹ Ἐπὶ Ἀσυχίῳ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἀγέλης λύσης πολλῆς χρημάτων. (Herod. 2, 186.)

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION.

AUTHORITIES FOR EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

SECT. I.—GREEK WRITERS.

THE commencement of Grecian intercourse with Egypt is hidden by the darkness of antehistoric times. The warlike expeditions of the Egyptian kings no doubt included Ionia, but the coast of Asia was not then inhabited by Greek settlers, and it is not alleged that Sesostris carried his arms into Hellas proper¹. The stories of Egyptian colonization in Greece are generally of so late an origin, that we cannot even infer from them the existence of a popular belief². There is, however, one exception. The story of Io, the Argive princess, who was changed into a heifer, and after long wanderings reached Egypt where she gave birth to a god, and herself was worshipped as the goddess Isis, points clearly to the introduction of the worship of Isis or Athor, under the symbol of the heifer, at an early period into Argos. As the worship of the Moon under this symbol appears to have prevailed in Phœnicia, as well as in Egypt, it might have been doubted from which of these countries it was transferred to Argos, but for the circumstance that Io is the Coptic name of the Moon³, and the same term was preserved in

¹ Herod. 2, 103.

² Even Diodorus (1, 29) acknowledges the vanity of these pretensions, and assigns to the part of the Egyptians.

Peyron, *Lex. Copt.* p. 59.

the dialect of Argos, without apparent affinity with any Greek root¹. The story of the migration of Danaus and Ægyptus with their fifty sons and daughters to Argos cannot be traced higher than to the age of Æschylus and Herodotus; but it was received by the latter as historical, and the existence of the belief is hardly to be explained, unless we admit the general fact of an Egyptian colonization.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of navigation among the Greeks, to assign with any probability the time when they first visited the shores of Egypt. They regarded it as at once a distant and a difficult voyage². Even the life of a traveller who fell into the hands of the savage people inhabiting the marshes near the mouths of the Nile was not safe, for there was a time when the harbor of Pharos was not opened for the admission of strangers³. The sacrifice of ruddy-colored men appears to have prevailed in Lower Egypt in the early ages of the monarchy⁴, and the fair and yellow-haired Greeks would be especially the objects of aversion and outrage from their *Typhonian* hue⁵. If they visited Egypt, they appear to have confined themselves to the Canopic mouth of the Nile. To this their mythic traditions refer. Here was the Tower of Perseus⁶, and a little further to the east the temple of Hercules, who on his return from Libya had encountered and slain the inhospitable Busiris⁷. Hither Paris had been driven on his way from Sparta to Troy. Canopus itself was sup-

¹ Γάζαν Ἰόνην καλοῦσι τινες ἔνθα βούς ἦν ἐν ἀγέλασι τῆς Ἰῆς ἤτοι τῆς σελήνης. Ἰὼ γὰρ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων διάλεκτον. (Eust. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 94.)

² Od. δ', 483.

³ Eratosth. ap. Strab. p. 802. Diod. 1, 67.

⁴ Plut. p. 380. Porphy. de Abst. p. 199.

⁵ Ἐν τισιν ἱστορίαις, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν προσηλακίζουσι, διὰ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Τυφῶνα. (Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 362 F.) Busiris was one of the names by which the Typhonian superstition prevailed.

15.

⁷ Strabo, p. 801. Diod. 4, 27. Her. 2, 113.

posed to have derived its name from the pilot of Menelaus, who had sailed thither on his return from Troy and been detained by the anger of the gods¹. The name of Thon, which appears in the story of Menelaus, was derived from a town of that name, which stood near the Canopic mouth², and a place called Heleneius is mentioned in the same locality³. The Canopic mouth was the nearest to Greece and the coast of Asia Minor inhabited by Greeks; it gave the most ready access to the interior, and afforded, even in the earliest times of Greek navigation, a deeper and safer anchorage than any of the other channels⁴.

The incidental mention of Egypt in the Homeric poems leads us to suppose that the Greeks in general were but little acquainted with it, and least of all with upper Egypt⁵. The island Pharos, which must then as now have lain close to the coast, is placed by the poet at the distance from it of a day's sail⁶. If this arose from ignorance on his part, it proves that the coast was not much frequented by navigators; if, as seems probable, it was designed in order to afford a more appropriate scene for the "specious miracle" of Proteus, it presumes ignorance of the true position on the part of his auditors. With the exception of Thebes, only Lower Egypt

¹ Od. δ', 83, 351. ² Diod. 1, 19. ³ Hecateus apud Steph. Byz. s. voc.

⁴ Ἐχει μὲν οὖν εἰσαγωγὰς τὰ στόματα ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐφρεῖς, οὐδὲ μεγάλαις πλοίοις ἀλλ' ἡρηρτικοῖς, διὰ τὸ βραχέα εἶναι καὶ ἐλώδη· μάλιστα μέντοι τῷ Κανωβικῷ στόματι ἐχόντων ὡς ἐμπορίῳ. (Strabo, p. 801.)

⁵ The assertion of the Egyptian priests (Diod. 1, 96), that it was recorded in their sacred books that Homer had visited Egypt, deserves no credit.

Νῆσος ἔπειτα τις ἐστὶ πολυκλύστω ἐνὶ πόντῳ

Αἰγύπτου προπάρειθε (Φάρων δέ ἐ κικλησκουσι)

Τόσσον ἄνευθ' ὅσον τε πανημερίῃ γλαφυρῇ νηὶς

Ἦνυσεν, ἥ λιγὺς οὗρος ἐπιπνείρειν ὕπιοθεν.—Od. δ', 354.

No deposition of soil can have filled up this interval; nor is anything gained by making Αἰγύπτου here signify the river Nile, contrary to its obvious meaning; for Pharos is not προπάρειθε any part of the river, and much less than a day's sail from the nearest part of it. In Virgil's time the

is alluded to. Menelaus is said in the *Odyssey*¹ to have received rich presents from Polybus, who dwelt in Thebes, and in aftertimes this Polybus was converted into a king of the 19th dynasty. The exaggerated description of Thebes, and its wealth², indicates that it was known from the boastful rumor of the natives rather than from ocular inspection. Egypt's abundance in skilful physicians and medicinal herbs is noticed in the *Odyssey*, but this too is turned into a tale of wonder in the description of the virtues of the *Nepenthe*³. Before the time of Psammitichus, Greeks were not allowed to go beyond the coast of Lower Egypt, and the occasional visits of traders to a single sea-port, inhabited by a people whose language was utterly unknown to them, could furnish no accurate knowledge of the interior, much less any insight into the history of the country.

This state of things was entirely changed in the reign of Psammitichus, who gained his kingdom by means of Ionian and Carian mercenaries (670 B. C.), took them permanently into his pay, and established a body of interpreters, by whose means the Greeks began to acquire an accurate knowledge of Egypt⁴. Amasis, nearly a century and a half later, allowed them to settle at pleasure in Naucratis. Yet Pindar speaks of Mendes as being "near a cliff of the sea," though there is no cliff on the coast, nor was Mendes near it⁵. The state of Greek literature however has prevented our deriving any benefit from this source, in the interval between the reign of Psammitichus and the Persian conquest.

mouth of the Nile was too well known to be the scene of a tale of wonder and he transfers it to the Carpathian Sea. (Georg. 4, 387.)

¹ *Od.* δ', 126.

² *Il.* ι', 381. See vol. i. p. 150.

³ *Od.* δ', 220 *seq.*

⁴ Herod. 2, 154. Diod. 1, 67.

⁵ Παρὰ κρημνὸν θαλάσσης. (Frag. Boeckh. 215.) Comp. Fr. 50, where Egypt is called ἀγχικρημνος.

During this time Thales and Pythagoras had visited Egypt, and been initiated into the religion and science of the Egyptians¹, but we have only vague traditions of their travels; for history had not yet come into existence among the Greeks themselves. Still the presence of intelligent foreigners controlled the propensity of the natives to give a marvellous air to everything in their history, and established a chronology moderate, credible and continuous for the period subsequent to the reign of Psammitichus, while before that time, in the works of Herodotus and Diodorus, the history is mythical and extravagant; and the chronology exaggerated, uncertain and fragmentary.

The overthrow of the monarchy of the Pharaohs by Cambyses, coinciding with the commencement of prose history in Ionia, at length laid Egypt completely open to the researches of the Greeks, and preserved the record of them to succeeding times. The philosophers who visited it while the hierarchy retained their power, were probably compelled to purchase their initiation into the secrets of science and the mysteries of religion² by humble entreaty, and attain it through long preliminary forms³; and the jealous sensibility of the multitude, in everything which regarded their religion, would co-operate with the spirit of secrecy and monopoly in the priesthood, to render free inquiry dangerous and difficult. The Persian conquest made the professors of a different and hostile religion masters of the country, opened all its approaches, and enabled the Greeks to visit every part of it. The reign of Darius established order and peace throughout the whole extent of the monarchy;

¹ Antiphon ap. Porph. de Vita Pyth. Diog. Laert. 8, 3. According to this author, the friendly relations between Polycrates and Amasis obtained for Pythagoras admission first to the Heliopolitan, then to the Memphite, and last of all the Theban Priests.

² Diod. 1, 98.

³ Προστάγματα σκληρὰ καὶ ἀχωρισμένα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς, says Antipho of the trials by which the patience of Pythagoras was tried.

Egypt in particular felt the benefit of his firm but tolerant sway. The earliest Greek descriptions of Egypt were probably written during his reign¹. Cadmus must have written on Egypt, since Diodorus (1, 37) includes him among those who had given fabulous accounts of the Nile. Hecataeus, like Cadmus, a native of Miletus, a city which was the first school of Greek history and geography, was a contemporary of Darius, and had included Egypt among the countries which he described in his *Periegeses* or *Periodos*². Nothing has been quoted from this last work, by which we can judge whether he gave its history, but the descriptive part must have been minute, since Herodotus has been charged with almost literally copying from him the passages in his second book relating to the phoenix, the hippopotamus and the crocodile³. Hellanicus of Lesbos, a few years before Herodotus, either wrote a work entitled *Αἰγυπτιακά*⁴, or at all events introduced many particulars respecting the productions, customs and dogmas of Egypt into some of his voluminous writings. According to the judgment of Photius, it contained much that was mythic and fictitious⁵, but it might

¹ Hippys of Rhegium, who lived ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσικῶν (Suid.), is reckoned by Heyne among the writers on Egypt (De Font. Hist. Diod. xxviii.), but no such work is ascribed to him, and he may have mentioned the antiquity of the Egyptian people, and the purity of the air and water incidentally in his other writings. Schol. ap. Rhod. 4, 262, where the name is written Ἰππῶν in Schol. Páris.

² It was doubtful whether the works which were current under these names in the time of Athenæus and Arrian were genuine. (Arr. 5, 6. Athen. Epit. 2, p. 70.)

³ Euseb. Præp. Evang. 10. 3, quoting Porphyry περὶ τοῦ κλέπτας εἶναι τοῦς Ἑλλήνας.

⁴ The title quoted by Athenæus, p. 470 D. 679 F., is not decisive evidence of the existence of a separate work so named, since we find the *Αἰγυπτιακά* of Herodotus quoted, evidently the Euterpe (Sturz, Hellan. p. 40). Plutarch mentions Hellanicus as writing the name Osiris *Usiris* (Is. et Os. p. 364).

⁵ Cod. elz. n. 339, μυθικὰ καὶ πλασματικὰ πολλά. Two sources, however, are

nevertheless be a faithful account of what he had seen and heard. Pherecydes, who was three years younger than Herodotus, but published earlier, introduced the mention of Egypt into his *Ἰστορίαι*, in connexion with the attempt of Busiris to sacrifice Hercules¹. But it does not appear that he had visited this country, and the fragments of his work indicate that he regarded the history of all other nations from the Grecian point of view, and endeavored to interweave it with the mythic history of the heroic age.

Probably none of these writers, not even Hecataeus, contained a connected history and chronology of Egypt. We may regard these as beginning with Herodotus. The Egyptians had revolted from Persia at the close of the reign of Darius (486 B. C.), but had been brought into subjection early in that of Xerxes (484 B. C.), and had again revolted under Inaros king of Libya in 460 B. C. This revolt lasted six years, and the Athenians had assisted the Egyptians with a fleet, which at first was successful and took possession of Memphis, but was subsequently destroyed by Megabyzus². Whether Herodotus visited Egypt during its temporary occupation by the Greeks, or subsequently to the re-establishment of the Persian dominion in 455 B. C., is uncertain. It is evident from his history (2, 99) that at the time when it was *written* they were in possession of it; but many years intervened between his travels, and the publication of his *Muses* in their present form. In either case it is evident that he was able to pass freely through the country to the borders of Nubia³, and pursue every investigation which his inquisitive mind suggested. His residence, however, seems to have been chiefly confined to Lower Egypt and Memphis; he visited Thebes, but it mentioned, Hellanicus and Ælius Dionysius (or Dios), and it does not appear what belonged to each.

¹ Pherecydes, ed. Sturz, pp. 132, 137. Herodotus probably had him in view (2, 45) when he charges the Greeks with repeating idle tales respecting human sacrifices in Egypt.

² Thuc. 1, 104, 109.

³ Her. 2, 29.

was to ascertain whether its sacerdotal traditions agreed with those which he had heard at Memphis, and the reader is surprised that he should have passed over in profound silence its temples, palaces, and sepulchres, as well as all the circumstances which give to Upper Egypt a character so different from that of the Delta. Thebes had suffered especially from the fury of Cambyse¹, yet its buildings remained, and even in its ruins it must have far surpassed every other city of Egypt. He appears to have derived his materials almost entirely from the accounts of the priests² and the Greeks settled in the country: he never quotes as authorities the writers who had preceded him, though he sometimes alludes to their mistakes³. The information which the priests gave him was communicated orally, except in one instance, in which they read to him from a papyrus a list of 341 kings. In other passages⁴ he mentions the purport of inscriptions which had been explained to him.

His history begins with Menes, the founder of the monarchy and of Memphis, succeeded by 330 sovereigns, respecting whom, as they had erected no monuments, the priests had nothing further to relate than that eighteen among them were Ethiopians and one a queen, Nitocris. The next name, and therefore the 331st from Menes, is that of Mœris, the author of the remarkable excavation, for so Herodotus considered it, in the district of Fyoun, which received the overflowings of the Nile. The conqueror Sesostris succeeds to Mœris, and to Sesostris his son Pheron. In the reign of his successor, Proteus, is related the history of the adventures of Paris, Menelaus and Helen in Egypt, followed by the reign of Rhampsinitus the wealthy, with the anecdote of the thief who robbed his treasury. After Rhampsinitus come the builders of the pyramids—Cheops, Chephren and Mycerinus, followed by Asychis

¹ Strabo, p. 816. Diod. 1, 46.

² 2, 99, 100, 102, 107, 111, 113, 118, 124, 154. In 2, 142 he quotes as his authorities *Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ οἱ ἑλλῆς*.

³ 2, 16.

⁴ 2, 125, 136, 141.

and Anysis, in whose reign Sabaco the Ethiopian invaded Egypt and kept possession of the throne for fifty years. His evacuation of the kingdom made way for the elevation of Sethos, succeeded by the Dodecarchia, or government of twelve chieftains, whose power Psammitichus put down and consolidated the government in his own hands. With Psammitichus, as we have already observed, we reach a period of ascertained history and definite chronology; but the effect of the establishment of the Greeks in Egypt is in some degree retrospective, and extends this period as far back as the Ethiopian dominion.

In regard to all that precedes this age, the eighth century before Christ, it is evident, from the inspection of the history of Herodotus by itself, and without comparison with monuments or with any other historical book, that it cannot be accepted as true, either in its facts or its dates. Even the circumstance that after Menes 330 sovereigns are said to have succeeded to each other, without leaving any memorial of themselves in public works, or legislation, or conquest, is sufficient to show that the kings and their chronology are unhistorical. If we suppose, which is not improbable, that Herodotus has mistaken the statement received from the priests, and that the 330 kings were not represented by them as intervening between Menes and Mœris, but are to be added to the eleven who succeeded Mœris, and whose reigns are specially described by him, making 341 for the whole number from Menes to the extinction of the line of the Pharaohs in Sethos, this would not be sufficient to make his history credible. The properly historical information, from Menes to the Ethiopian invasion, is comprised in the single reign of his Sesostris, who appears as a conqueror and a legislator. All the other sovereigns serve only to explain the existence of public works and monuments, or connect themselves with narratives which betray their origin in superstition or popular credulity; nothing is recorded of them analogous to the facts which authentic history preserves respecting the real monarchs of powerful and

civilized countries, and which must certainly have been contained in the annals of the Egyptians, the most learned people in their national antiquities¹ of any of the ancient world.

It is also obvious, that a considerable portion of this history has been produced, since the establishment of the Greeks in Egypt, by their earnest desire to connect their own mythic history with that of Egypt. The Egyptian priests were ready to co-operate with them for this purpose; each party having also its separate aim, to exalt the glory of their respective countries. The adventures of Menelaus in Egypt, detailed even to the speeches, occupy about the same space (2, 112—120) as the whole reign of Sesostris (102—111). The Homeric mythe of Proteus, a marine divinity feeding his *phocæ* on the coast of Egypt, and endowed with the gift of prophecy, which he will only exercise upon compulsion, is transformed into the history of a man of Memphis², who succeeds to the throne of Egypt on the death of Pheron, the son of Sesostris. This history Herodotus received, and apparently in undoubting faith, from the priests themselves, who, though they could furnish him nothing memorable to record respecting 330 sovereigns, relate with the minuteness of a contemporary journal the adventures of a Trojan prince, cast upon their shores; adventures trivial in themselves if they ever happened, and little likely to have found a place in sacerdotal annals. But while the Greeks were gratified to find a confirmation of their own history in that of Egypt, the Egyptian priests rejoiced

¹ 2, 77. *Οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μῆμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέντες μάλιστα, δογματισταὶ εἰσι μικρῶ τοῦ ἐγὼ εἰς διάπειραν ἀπειόμην.* Δόγιος is explained by Hesychius as *τῆς ἱστορίας ἑρμηνεύς*. Clem. Alex. p. 757, Potter, will show how much even the priests had to commit to *memory*, although they had a large number of written volumes.

² Proteus was worshipped at Memphis, but in the quarter of the Tyrians (Her. 2, 112), and he was connected with the temple of the Foreign Venus. The story was transferred probably by Phœnician colonization, with the worship of the Cabiri (Her. 3, 37) to Pallene (Virg. Georg. 4, 390). See Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, p. 265.

in the opportunity of exhibiting their ancient sovereigns as exercising justice and hospitality towards the Greeks. They had been accused by the Greeks of putting strangers to death ; but according to the account given by the priests to Herodotus, Menelaus seized and sacrificed two Egyptian children to obtain favorable winds—an evident allusion to the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. It is also obvious that Egyptian mythology and popular anecdote have furnished a considerable portion of what Herodotus has given us for history. To the former class belong the stories of the descent of Rhampsinitus into Hades, and the grief of the daughter of Mycerinus ; to the latter the pleasant tale of the thief who was caught in the trap, when endeavoring to rob the treasure-house of Rhampsinitus. Such being the general character of the history, even those parts which do not bear on their face the marks of a mythic or fictitious origin, lose their historical evidence ; they are less improbable than the rest, but not more certain.

From a history composed of such materials no chronology can be deduced. Herodotus makes Mœris to have preceded only by 900 years his own visit to Egypt ; but as we find in the ascent to Mœris a person of such doubtful historical character as Proteus, we can place no reliance on any portion of the chain. Herodotus besides connects this date of the reign of Mœris with the assurance, that in his time a rise of the Nile of eight cubits was sufficient to inundate the Delta ; whereas in the historian's own day a rise of sixteen cubits was necessary for this purpose. This however supposes a rate of variation for the height of the soil and river so different from everything which has been ascertained, that if the fact be admitted the date must be false ; and if the fact be incorrect, the authority of those by whom it was related, and from whom the whole chronology is derived, as given by Herodotus, is of no value.

It is evident that a popular history had formed itself in Egypt in the time of Herodotus, having very little connexion with written or

monumental authority, of which the leading object had been to satisfy the curiosity of travellers by furnishing, what they always eagerly inquire for, the names of the authors of public works, and some anecdotes respecting them. Had he derived his history from a class of persons corresponding with those who in modern Europe have the charge, and take on themselves the explanation of public monuments, we should not have been surprised at the vagueness of his chronology and the leaning to the marvellous in his narratives. But he repeatedly appeals to the authority of the priests, who as a body must in this age have retained the knowledge of the hieroglyphical character and an ample religious and antiquarian literature. I can only explain this by supposing that the priests, with whom he conversed were of a very subordinate rank and ignorant of the antiquities of their country, who had framed for the use of visitors such a history as would satisfy their curiosity and excite their imagination, without overburthening their memory with names¹. From the account of Clemens Alexandrinus², it should seem that the *interpretation* of the hieroglyphic character was the office only of the *hierogrammateus*, from whom the others learnt by heart what it was necessary that they should know for the execution of their offices. This may help to account for the extraordinary character which the history of Herodotus presents, considered only by itself, and its still more extraordinary aspect, when confronted with the monuments.

¹ The account which the *grammatistes* of the temple of Sais gave to Herodotus (2, 28) of the source of the Nile, which he describes as rising between Syene and Elephantine, and flowing half towards Egypt and half towards Ethiopia, proves either that the Egyptians made experiments on the credulity of the Greeks, or that an inhabitant of Lower Egypt, where the Greeks chiefly collected their information, might be very ignorant of the geography of Upper Egypt. The Greeks themselves very rarely reached the southern frontier of the kingdom, much less did they venture into Ethiopia. (Diod. Sic. 1, 37.)

² Strom. 6, p. 757

Egypt remained open to the Greeks, when they were not themselves in hostility with Persia. Philistus, the Syracusan, had probably visited this country, during his long exile, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. He wrote a work on Egypt in twelve books, and on Egyptian theology in three books, besides a discourse concerning Naucratis¹. Democritus, about the same time, is said to have spent five years in Egypt, and to have written on the sacred characters of Meroë²; but neither of his works nor those of Philistus has more than the titles reached us.

If we are inclined to wonder at the vagueness and inaccuracy of these Greek accounts of Egypt, we must remember, that the monuments in general precede by many centuries the earliest of them, and that a variance between them does not therefore necessarily imply unfaithfulness on the part of the Greeks. Besides this, many obstacles stood in the way of their obtaining accurate information. Ignorant themselves of the language of the country, they had to depend on Egyptian interpreters, who probably possessed only that superficial knowledge of Greek which enabled them to carry on intercourse on the common-place topics of commerce and conversation. The repugnance of the Egyptians for foreign religion and manners must have made them unwilling to receive the Greeks into intimacy, or give them information. Like our own countrymen, they bore themselves towards *barbarians* with the air of conscious superiority, which inflames dislike³. The priesthood in particular appear to have endeavored to humble the national pride of the Greeks, by representing everything in their civilization, even their philosophy and science, as derived from Egypt.

The next great event in the history of Egypt is its conquest by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, in the year 322 B.C., by which a Greek dynasty was established there and in Ethiopia. Many of the

¹ Suidas, s. v. Φιλίστος.

² Diog. Laert. 9, 49.

³ See the observations of Sir G. Wilkinson, M. & C. 5, 466.

Greeks subsequently composed Egyptian histories; but none of them has been preserved, except by quotations in later authors. From a fragment of Dicæarchus, who lived about 300 B.C., it appears as if he had placed Sesonchosis or Sesostris at the commencement of the monarchy, immediately after Horus, whom the Greeks reckoned to have been the last of the gods¹, and 2936 years before the æra of the Olympiads. Such a position of Sesostris is purely arbitrary, and must have been owing to his celebrity as a conqueror—a proof that Egyptian history was still arranged according to popular conception rather than documentary and monumental evidence. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the chief librarian of the Alexandrian library, a man of extraordinary compass of literary and scientific attainments, had occupied himself with the genealogy and succession of the Theban kings² in the reign of the second Ptolemy; but his labors appear to have had little influence upon the popular history, which, as it is given by Diodorus, retains the same general character as in Herodotus.

Diodorus visited Egypt in the 180th Olympiad, about 58 B.C.³ From what source the portion of his history was derived which differs from Herodotus, we do not know. He had seen Memphis, and probably Thebes; he had read the authors who had written on Egypt in the times of the Ptolemies, and quotes, without professing himself to have read, the annals of the priests. Although not admitting that the Barbarians generally were older than the Greeks, the reputed birth of the gods in Egypt, the high antiquity of astronomical science there, and the fulness and importance of its historical records, led him to begin his Universal History with

¹ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 272.

² Τὴν γνώσιν φησὶν ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης λαβὼν Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ὑπομνήμασι καὶ ὀνόμασι κατὰ πρόσταξιν βυσιλικὴν τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ παρέφρασεν οὕτως (Syncell. Chronog. p. 91. 171 Dind.) The same author says that Eratosthenes received the names *ἐκ τῶν ἐν Διοσπύλει ἱερογραμμάτων* (p. 147, 279 Dind.)

³ Hist. 1, 46.

that of Egypt, and prefix to it a speculation, in historical garb, on the progress of civilization in that country, from the time when the inhabitants lived on the spontaneous growth of the papyrus, next on fish, then on the flesh of animals¹, and lastly on lotus, till a king and queen, Osiris and Isis, discovered the cultivation of grain.

In the history of Diodorus we perceive two changes which had taken place since the time of Herodotus. The father of history, in accordance with the accounts given him by the priests, represents the gods of Egypt as wholly distinct from men². But in the interval between Herodotus and Diodorus the opinion had sprung up among the Greeks that the gods had been illustrious chiefs and warriors, inventors and improvers of the arts and sciences, raised to the rank of divinity through the admiration and gratitude of mankind³. Osiris, therefore, who had been to Herodotus a god, answering in the Egyptian pantheon to Dionysus in the Greek, appears in Diodorus as a king of Egypt also, according to some accounts the founder of Thebes, who with a large army traversed the world, to diffuse the blessings of civilization⁴. Another change is the endeavor to connect Egyptian history, not only with Greek history generally, but with the country of the reigning dynasty. Osiris is accompanied by his son Macedo, whom he leaves as king of that region, a fiction by means of which Egyptian pride was flattered with the belief that Egypt had been conquered by princes of its own blood⁵. The celebrated wine of Maronea, or Ismarus

Hist. 1, 9. 48.

² 1, 143. See vol. i. p. 295.

³ The Egyptians combined the ancient with the modern doctrine, by the supposition that each celestial god had a mortal representative mostly of the same name (Diod. 1, 12, 13).

⁴ Diod. 1, 24, 28.

⁵ Obvious as this is, the interpreters of hieroglyphics have sought for a *Macedo* among the names of the ancient gods of Egypt (Wilkinson, pl. 44; Young in Supp. to Encyclop. Brit.). Fortunately for the credit of their science, they have not found him.

in Thrace, which in this age was included in Macedonia¹, was also said to have derived its name from Maro, a follower of Osiris in his Thracian expedition; and Lycurgus, a name occurring in the *Iliad*², is represented as being slain in consequence of his resistance to Osiris. In this age it had become known that beer, a common beverage in Egypt, was used among the barbarous nations, whose climate could not ripen grapes, and this also Osiris had taught them to make³.

The properly human history of Diodorus begins, like that of Herodotus, with Menes. The line of his insignificant successors, of whom there was nothing to relate, extends only to fifty-two, occupying a space of 1400 years. After this interval Busiris succeeds, and eight of his descendants, of whom the last, Busiris II., founds the city which the Egyptians call the city of Zeus, and the Greeks Thebes. At this point there is a break in the chronology. Having mentioned the sumptuous temples and other works by which the kings who succeeded Busiris II. had adorned Thebes, he describes at great length the monument of Osymandyas⁴; and when he returns to his history and says that Uchoreus, eighth in descent from *this* king, founded Memphis, it is uncertain whether he means from Busiris or from Osymandyas, probably the former. Mœris, the twelfth in descent from Uchoreus, excavated the lake which bears his name, and erected in it two pyramids, on one of which a statue of himself, on the other of his queen, was placed. Seven generations later lived Sesoosis, whose history has so close a resemblance with that of the Sesostris of Herodotus, as to leave no doubt that they are the same persons. His son of the same name succeeded him, and from the circumstances of his history appears to be the Pheron of Herodotus. After him came, in many gene-

¹ Strabo, *Epit.* 7, 6, 331. The Greeks on their side alleged that Marea, near Alexandria (*Georg.* 2, 91), derived its name from the Homeric Maron, (*Od.* c, 197. *Eust. ib.*)

² *ζ*, 134.

³ *Her.* 2, 77. *Diod.* 1, 20.

⁴ 1, 47.

rations, whose number is not specified, a succession of kings, who performed nothing worthy of record. Amasis, the next named, alienated the minds of his people by his tyranny, so that, being invaded by Actisanes the king of Ethiopia, Egypt fell with little resistance under his dominion. At his death the Egyptians recovered their independence, and chose Mendes or Marus for their king, who built the Labyrinth as a sepulchre for himself. An anarchy which lasted five generations was ended by the election of a man of the common people, called Cetes by the Egyptians, Proteus by the Greeks. The variation in the names is perhaps only apparent; for though Κέτης is said to be Egyptian, its analogy to the Greek Κῆτος¹, whence the Latin *cetus*, *cete*, leads to the suspicion that it represents the same idea as Proteus, a marine deity, partaking of the form of a fish². The reign of Cetes must be considered in the chronology of Diodorus to answer to the time of the Trojan war. The Remphis who succeeds to Cetes is evidently the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus. In comparing the accounts of these two kings, as given by Herodotus and Diodorus, we see an attempt in the latter to give an historical air and historical probability to that which his predecessor had left in the vagueness of myth and tradition. The knowledge of the winds possessed by Proteus is ascribed to his intimacy with the astronomers, who were supposed to be capable of predicting the changes of the weather; his transformations, to the custom of the Egyptian rulers to put on the heads of lions, bulls and serpents. Herodotus mentions, but does not account for nor specify, the immense wealth of Rhamp-

¹ We find the various readings of Κίττα, Κίττην, Κίττηνα (Diod. 1, 62), but none seems to represent a true Egyptian name.

² The knowledge of the future was for some mythic reason, not necessary to be here inquired into, supposed to belong especially to the marine deities. (Hes. Theog. 233. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 310. Ov. Met. 12, 556. 8, 737.) Κητώ in Hesiod *u. s.* is a daughter of Πόντος and sister of Nereus; Proto (ib. 243) is a daughter of Nereus.

sinitus, which was probably connected with his supposed descent into Hades¹; according to Diodorus he is a Henry VII., rigid in the exaction of his revenues and penurious in his expenditure²; he knows also the exact amount of treasure which he left behind him, namely four hundred thousand talents of gold and silver. To Remphis succeed for seven generations kings devoted to luxury and indolence, in consequence of which the records related nothing of them, except that from one of them, Nileus, the river, previously called *Ægyptus*, took its later name. The cause of the change was the great service which he rendered to his country by the construction of canals, a work which Herodotus ascribes to Sesos-tris. The seven *fainéans* were succeeded by Chembes; Chephres, or Chabryis; and Mycerinus or Mecherinos, the builders of the pyramids, in regard to whom there is no remarkable difference between Herodotus and Diodorus. After these kings comes Bocchoris, son of Tnephaetus, of mean person, but surpassing in talent and wisdom all his predecessors. *Long afterwards* Sabaco the Ethiopian reigned over Egypt, and on his retirement the anarchy took place, which was ended by the establishment of the Dodecarchia, and that after fifteen years by the sole reign of Psammitichus. Incidentally Diodorus also mentions Mneves, the first king who gave written laws to the people, which he professed to have received from Hermes; and Sasyches, who was not only a lawgiver, but the inventor of geometry and astronomy³.

The variations between Herodotus and Diodorus are too great to allow of their being explained by the causes which produce differences in dates, successions and events, even in histories founded upon documentary evidence. Little stress can be laid upon a want of congruity in names, since we know that the sovereigns of Egypt

¹ See vol. 1, p. 336.

² Διετέλεσε πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἐπιμελόμενος τῶν προσόδων καὶ σωρέων καὶ τὰ χάθην τὸν πλοῦτον. (Diod. 1, 63.)

³ 1, 92.

had two or even three¹; but the discrepancy here affects every element of history. Sixty reigns at least intervene between Menes the founder of Memphis, according to Herodotus, and Uchoreus, to whom Diodorus attributes its foundation. Herodotus extends the number of the obscure successors of Menes to 330; Diodorus limits them to 52. Herodotus includes in these eighteen Ethiopians; in Diodorus there is no mention of Ethiopian sovereignty till the reign of Actisanes, which corresponds in part with the second Ethiopian dominion in Herodotus, that of Sabaco. The building of the Labyrinth, the reign of Remphis, the erection of the Pyramids, are all placed by the two historians in different relative positions; the Labyrinth, which according to Diodorus was erected five generations before the Trojan War, dates according to Herodotus from the Dodecarchia. Diodorus makes the whole number of native sovereigns of Egypt to have been 470 kings and 5 queens². Herodotus³ makes them 341 from Menes to Sethos; but as only twenty native princes at most reigned from Sethos to Nectanebus, the accounts cannot be reconciled. The duration of the native monarchy was according to the Egyptians above 4700 years (Diod. 1, 69), according to the calculation of Herodotus (2, 142) 11,340. These discrepancies are so enormous and so fundamental as to preclude the idea that they can have been superinduced by lapse of time and a variety of narrators on a history originally authentic. Nor have we any ground for stamping one with the character of authenticity to the exclusion of the other. Both appeal to the same authority, the narratives of the priests: Diodorus, it is true, with a more frequent allusion to written documents; but as he could not read them himself, he can give no evidence as to their contents. Both of them appear to owe their origin to the same cause, the desire to connect together a few leading facts in Egyp-

¹ Διῶνυμοι καὶ τριῶνυμοι πολλαχὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ βασιλεῖς εἴρηται. (Syncell. p. 68 A. 117 Dind.)

² 1, 44.

³ 2, 142.

tian history, and assign the most remarkable monuments to their authors. In the age of Diodorus the remains of Thebes attracted more attention than in that of Herodotus, and the history is enlarged by explanations of their origin. Both authors were ignorant of the invasion of the Shepherds; both misplaced the æra of the erection of the Pyramids¹, and by these two great errors disturbed their whole chronology. By transposing Cheops, Chephren and Mycerinus to the blank spaces, which in both historians precede Mœris, as suggested by Lepsius, we bring them into a general agreement with the Egyptian authorities. Upon the whole, the history of Diodorus has the more historical air; its chronology is more moderate, its narratives less mythic; not because it is derived more immediately from historical sources, but from its being accommodated to the taste of an age which by arbitrary methods gave an historical character to that which was mythic in its origin.

The variations between Herodotus and Diodorus may be conveniently exhibited in a tabular form².

HERODOTUS.	DIODORUS.
Menes.	Menea.
329 kings among whom are 18	52 kings, 1400 years.
Ethiopians and one queen,	Busiris I.
Nitocris.	7 kings.
	Busiris II. founds Thebes.
	7 kings.
	Uchoreus founds Memphis.
	Ægyptus.
	11 kings.
Mœris.	Mœris.
	6 kings.

¹ Diod. 1, 63, says that *some* reckoned the pyramids to be above 3400 years old. This would not be very far from Manetho's reckoning.

² See Lepsius, *Einleitung*, 1, p. 259.

HERODOTUS.

DIODORUS

Sesóstris.

Sesoosis.

Pheron.

Sesoosis II.

Many generations.

Amasis.

Actisaneas.

Marrus.

Five generations.

Anarchy.

Proteus or Ketes.

Remphis.

Seven generations.

Nileus.

Chembeas.

Chephren.

Mycerinus.

Tnephactus.

Bocchoris.

A long interval.

Sabaco.

Dodecarchia.

Psammitichus.

Three generations.

Apries.

Amasis.

Proteus.

Rampsinitus.

Cheops.

Chephren.

Mycerinus.

Asythia.

Anyia.

Sabaco.

Sethos.

Dodecarchia.

Psammitichus.

Neco.

Psammis.

Apries.

Amasis.

The Greek history of Egypt, though it can no longer be received as true, must always be studied. The substantial truth of those parts which are not obviously fabulous was admitted till very recent times. The names of the eminent persons mentioned in it passed into history to the exclusion of those to whom this place belonged. Everywhere in ancient and modern literature we meet with allusions to it. The monuments must be consulted, that we may know what the history of Egypt was; the Greek writers, that we may know what the world has till lately believed it to be. Perhaps

the reader who compares the imperfect skeleton of the authentic Egyptian annals with the animated and flowing narrative of Herodotus will regret that the age of simple faith is past¹.

SECT. II.—EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES.

It was impossible that those among the Egyptian priests who were versed in their own history and antiquities, should be satisfied that they should be so imperfectly represented to the Grecian world as by Herodotus, nor could the enlightened Greek sovereigns of Egypt fail to perceive the inconsistency between his accounts, and the facts which were before their eyes. The establishment of the Greek dominion, therefore, by the conquest of Alexander, soon produced a statement of the philosophy, religion and history of Egypt, from one whose authority could not be called in question. Manetho, the highpriest of the temple of Isis at Sebennyta in Lower Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemy Lagi (322—284 B.C.), a man of the highest reputation for wisdom², and versed in Greek as well as Egyptian lore³, published various works for the purpose of informing the Greeks, and his History, as it should seem, specially to correct the errors of Herodotus⁴. They have all perished⁵, but

Χάρις δ' ἄπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μέλιχα θνατοῖς,

Ἐπιφέρεισα τιμὴν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστόν

Ἐμμεῖναι τὸ πολλάκις.—Pind. Ol. 1.

But Pindar was a philosopher as well as a poet, and he adds—

Ἀμείραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σφώρατοι.

¹ Σοφίας εἰς ἄκρην ἐληλακότα ἄνδρα. (ÆL. Nat. Hist. 10, 16.) He was consulted by Ptolemy respecting the introduction of the worship of Serapis. (Plut. Is. et Os. p. 362.)

² Joseph. c. Apion., 1, 14. Τὸς Ἑλληνικῆς μετασχρικῶς παιδείας.

³ Eustath. ad Iliad. x', 480, p. 857.

⁴ There exists under the name of Manetho an astrological poem, entitled Ἀποτελεσματικά, long admitted to be spurious, and a treatise Βίβλος τῆς Σώσεως, which Syncellus quotes as genuine. It is however proved to be spurious

the respect with which he is spoken of by heathen, Jewish and Christian writers, gives a high value to the fragments and incidental notices which alone remain. The longest and the most important are those from his Egyptian History, which consisted of three books. It was derived partly from the sacred books, and partly, according to his own confession, from popular tradition, not warranted by any written document¹. Eusebius, in the Preface to his second Book of the Evangelical Preparation², speaks of Manetho's works as copious, and this accords with the extracts in Josephus, which relate the expulsion of the Shepherds and of the Jews so much at length, that if the whole Egyptian history were treated with the same fulness, it must have been very bulky—a circumstance which by preventing its transcription may have been the cause of its reaching us only in extracts and quotations. Josephus declares that he gave his extracts in the very words of Manetho, and they show a ready command of Greek language; they show also the desire to establish a correspondence between Greek and Egyptian history. In conformity with the Argive story, he makes Sethos to be Egyptus and Armais to be Danaus, for which there seems to have been no other ground than the hostile relation of the brothers, the circumstances of the Egyptian history and the Argive legend being in every other respect entirely different.

Although the *History* of Manetho is lost, we have his *Dynasties* tolerably entire. As they consisted of three volumes, the same number with the Books of the History, it is probable that they formed a part of it. They have reached us in a tabular form, but we know

by the epithet Σεβαστός, which the introductory Epistle gives to Ptolemy—the translation of *Augustus*, and never found among the titles of the Ptolemies. It was probably the work of a Christian.

¹ Joseph. c. Apion., 1, 14, 16, 26, where Manetho himself distinguishes that which he relates ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, and ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων.

² P. 44, ed. Vigor.

not whether they were appended in this form to the continuous history, or whether the Christian writers, by whom they have been preserved to us, extracted and arranged them. The first of these was Julius, a native of Africa, thence generally called Africanus, bishop of Emmaus or Nicopolis in Judæa, a man of learning, research and probity, who wrote in the beginning of the third century¹. His work consisted of five Books, to which he annexed a *Canon*, or regular series of years, one by one, with the events of each if any were known. His object was to establish synchronisms between the history of the Bible and that of the heathen nations; but especially of the Babylonians and Egyptians, with which the history of the Jews is most closely connected. Had we a copy of his work, of which unfortunately only a few fragments remain, we should know very accurately the dynasties of Manetho². But it is not probable that he had read the historical work itself³; the notices of facts which he gives are very brief, and seem to have been remarks, appended to a chronological table. His successors certainly knew Manetho only at second-hand, through the medium of Africanus.

The first of these was Eusebius, the bishop of Cæsarea, who, about 100 years later than Africanus, undertook a more comprehensive work of the same kind, which owes all its real value as regards Egyptian history to the use which he made of his predecessor's materials. It consisted of two parts, the first of which was a general introduction with extracts from older chronologers, the

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sac.* 2, 221. He concluded his *Chronicle* with the Emperor Macrinus, A.D. 217. Phot. *Myriob.* xxxiv. p. 19. ed. Hoesch.

² He says of himself, when he was in Egypt, that he had procured a sacred book by Suphis, king of the fourth dynasty and builder of the Great Pyramid. The remains of Africanus have been collected by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, 2, 245, sec. ed. ult.

³ Two different recensions of it appear to have existed. Κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανῶν, Syncellus remarks, p. 56, 104, ed. Dind. Routh (2, 384) doubts the fact of a second edition, at least of the whole *Chronicle*.

second a Canon, such as that of Africanus. This Canon was translated by Jerome, and with the exception of fragments of the introductory part chiefly preserved by Syncellus, was all that was known of it till the discovery of the Armenian version of the whole, in the Library of the Convent of that nation at Venice, in 1820. Eusebius carried much further than Africanus had done the attempt to reduce the chronology of other nations to the standard of the Jews, and to establish a general system of synchronisms for ancient history—an undertaking which could be effected on no sound principle for times preceding the Olympiads, and he appears not to have scrupled arbitrary and even unfair expedients to attain this end¹.

In the interval between Eusebius and Syncellus, Egyptian chronology had been handled by two monks of that country, Pano-dorus and Anianus, in the same spirit, the scriptural chronology being made the standard by which the other was corrected. Syncellus, a Byzantine monk, of the beginning of the ninth century, wrote a general chronology, which has come down to us in a tolerably perfect state, and was executed with great labor, but little sagacity, and with the same implicit deference to the Jewish authority. He assumes 5500 B.C. as the æra of the Creation, and arranges all his dates accordingly. He repeats with some variations the dynasties of Manetho, not having before him, however, certainly, the original work, but collating the lists of Africanus and Eusebius. Having mentioned the discrepancies between the names and dates derived from Manetho by the ecclesiastical historians, especially in regard to the sovereign under whom Joseph ruled Egypt and Moses led forth the people, he says, "I have therefore deemed it necessary to extract and compare with one another the editions

¹ Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, 1, p. 118. Syncellus, p. 62, 115, ed. Dind., says, ὁ Εὐσεβίος πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν τοῦς τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης δυναστείας παρὰ τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ φερομένους κατὰ τὴν ἑκαταεκάτην γεγονέναι λέγει. See also p. 65 121 Dind.

of two of the most celebrated men, Africanus and Eusebius'." It is thus at the third hand that we have Manetho's lists, and all that criticism can attempt is, by the comparison of Eusebius and Syncellus, to ascertain how they stood in the text of Africanus.

Comparing Manetho with Herodotus, we find that the latter distinctly excludes from the belief of the Egyptians all beings partaking of a human and divine descent², and passes from the gods to the reign of the mortal Menes. But Manetho, after the reign of Horus, the youngest of the gods, and before the reign of Menes, the first of mortals, speaks of heroes and *manes* as exercising dominion³. This seems an example of the reaction of Greek upon Egyptian mythology. The Greeks interposed between gods and the actual race of mortals—*dæmons*, who were the men of the golden age⁴; *manes*, who were the men of the silver age; and *heroes* or *demigods*, who united the divine and human nature; and the Egyptians were probably unwilling not to have a corresponding period of mythic history. We find no trace of these two classes in the Turin papyrus, nor is any hieroglyphic character answering to them known.

The lists of Manetho comprehend, besides the period of gods,

¹ P. 53, 99, Dind.

² Οὐ δέκαμνοι ἀπὸ θεῶν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον (2, 143). Νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν (2, 50). Diodorus (1, 44) speaks of heroes, as reigning along with the gods in a period of 18,000 years.

³ Μετὰ νέκυας καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτη βασιλεία καταριθμεῖται. (Dyn. 1.)

⁴ Hesiod, W. and D. 120, 140, 155:—

Ἀστὴρ ἐπεὶ κεν τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν

Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι.

Of the men of the silver age:—

Τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται

Δεύτεροι.

Of the heroes:—

Ἄνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῶν γένος, οἳ καλέονται

Ἡμίθεοι.

manes and heroes, *thirty* dynasties, from Menes downward to the younger Nectanebus. In some of them the names of all the kings are given, with the lengths of their reigns, in years, and the sums of each dynasty; in others the names do not now appear, but the numbers of the kings and sum of their reigns are preserved. The historical facts are very brief; of most of the kings nothing whatever is recorded, and the synchronisms noted appear to be due to the Christian chronologers, rather than to Manetho himself. The sum of all the dynasties varies according to our present sources from 4685 to 5049 years¹; the number of kings from 300 to 350, and even 500². It is evidently impossible to found a chronology on such a basis, but Syncellus tells us that the number of generations³ included in the 30 dynasties was according to Manetho, and to the old Egyptian Chronicle, 113; and the whole number of years 3555⁴. This number falls much short of what the summation of the reigns would furnish according to any reading of the numbers, but is nearly the same as 113 generations would produce, at an average of 32 years to each⁵.

That Manetho would have access to all the documentary and monumental evidence which the temples and public records supplied, we cannot doubt; but that from these it was practicable in the third century before the Christian æra, to deduce a chronology extending backward to the foundation of the monarchy, is by no means probable⁶. The imputation of having wilfully forged names,

¹ Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundssternperiode*, p. 525.

² Bunsen, *l.* p. 119. *Germ.* p. 83.

³ P. 52, 98, ed. Dindorf.

⁴ Lepsius (*Einleitung*, 1, 497) adopts the number 3555, but rejects the 113 generations, which number he thinks to be derived only from the old Chronicle.

⁵ Herodotus (2, 142) reckons a generation at thirty-three years and one-third.

⁶ Boeckh has endeavored with great learning and ingenuity to show that the chronology of Manetho is not historical but astronomical. Boeckh

with which to fill out vacant spaces in the early history of Egypt, has been refuted by the very close conformity between his lists and the monuments,—a conformity which manifests itself at the early period of the erection of the Pyramids. According to Lepsius, of 142 kings of the Old Monarchy, *i. e.* those who reigned before the invasion of the Hyksos, 80 are found on the monuments. But we may reasonably doubt, whether the means existed in his time to fix the date of the reign of Menes, or carry the chronology over the troubled period of the Hyksos; and when we compare him with the monuments, although there is sufficient accordance to vindicate

makes the sum of all the thirty dynasties to be 5366. This is just the sum of three Sothiac periods, or 4383 years, *plus* 983, the years that had elapsed between 1322 B.C., when the last Sothiac period began, and 339 B.C., the last year of Nectanebus II. and the close of Manetho's thirtieth dynasty. Hence he concludes that Manetho had arbitrarily assumed the historical period of Egypt to have begun with a Sothiac period, and accommodated his chronology to that assumption. He argues the probability of this, from the fact that the mythic age ends with the 17th Sothiac period (24,837 years), whence the historical which succeeds it would naturally begin with another, and the time between Menes and 1322 B.C. be so distributed as to fill up two. But Manetho, as reported by Africanus and Eusebius, makes the time before Menes 24,900 years, and says nothing of the reigns of the gods, manes and heroes occupying a certain number of Sothiac periods. This is derived from the Old Chronicle mentioned before; and there is no evidence that the high priest of Sebennytus admitted any such principle into his chronology of the mythic age. Consequently the presumption that he did so in the historic times falls to the ground. The number 5366 is not obtained without many alterations, which, if not arbitrary, derive their probability only from the supposition that the sum is right. Even were the number certain, it might be merely an accidental coincidence that it admitted of division into two Sothiac periods and 983 years.

The recent work of Lesueur (*Chronologie des Rois d'Egypte*, 1848), crowned by the French Academy, assumes as its basis the Old Chronicle, which I think Lepsius has satisfactorily shown to be an arbitrary adaptation of Manetho's true dates, at once to the Sothiac period and the Hebrew chronology.

nis integrity, there is also sufficient discrepancy to prevent implicit reliance in the absence of monuments. Had the series of monuments, indeed, inscribed with the names of the kings and years of their reigns been ever so complete, it could not alone have furnished a chronology, because the Egyptians do not appear at any time to have reckoned in their public monuments, by an *æra*, like that of the Olympiads, but only to have dated events, as we date acts of parliament, by the years of the king's reign.

Syncellus¹ quotes an old Chronicle, which he says was in vogue among the Egyptians, in which the period before the 16th dynasty of Manetho is allotted to the gods and demigods with 15 generations of the Cynic circle. It was designed to bring the work of the historical Manetho into conformity with the Sothiac or Cynic period, and comprehends 36,525 years, or 25 of these periods, which were each of 1451 years. The number 25 was the length of the life of Apis². The *Laterculus*, as it is called, of Syncellus, is another arbitrary arrangement of Egyptian chronology, and the Sothis, which professes to be the work of Manetho, is manifestly spurious.

If we suppose that an accurate record of the successive reigns and the length of each was preserved from the very commencement of the monarchy, we might easily deduce the chronology of the whole interval from Menes to Nectanebus, by adding together the lengths of all the reigns. But this implies that all the reigns were consecutive; that there either were no joint or rival sovereignties, or that if they existed, only one was fixed on as the legitimate monarch, and his years alone entered in the succession. A history of Great Britain in which the years of the kings of England and Scotland before the Union of the Crowns, or the Stuart and the

¹ P. 51, 95, Dind.

² See vol. i. p. 282. Lepsius has very fully investigated the relation in which the spurious works, the Sothis, and the Old Chronicle, stand to the genuine work of Manetho (Einleitung, 1, p. 413-460).

Brunswick princes since the Revolution, were added together, would present a very false chronology. To deduce an Egyptian chronology, therefore, from the lists of Manetho, we must be assured that his reigns are all strictly consecutive, and that no period has been reckoned twice over. Eusebius in the Armenian version of his Chronicle having urged that it is reasonable to reduce the 20,000 years claimed by the Egyptians to as many months, in order to make them suit with the Hebrew chronology, thus proceeds: "If the length of time is still in excess, we should carefully consider that perhaps several Egyptian kings existed in one and the same age; for they say that Thinites and Memphites reigned, and Saïtes and Ethiopians and others, at the same time. Other kings also appear to have reigned in other places, and these dynasties to have confined themselves each to its own nome; so that single kings did not reign successively, but one in one place, another in another at the same time." As this is introduced as a last resource for the avowed purpose of reducing the Egyptian to the Hebrew chronology, we cannot regard it as of any authority. No other ancient author gives us reason to suppose, that after the time of Menes, Egypt was divided, except under extraordinary circumstances, the mention of which confirms the belief that unity was the rule of the monarchy. The Greek and Roman writers do not even notice the remarkable exception of the period of the Shepherd Kings, when, according to Manetho, a tributary dynasty (the seventeenth) existed at Thebes, contemporaneous with the Shepherd dynasty which exercised sovereignty at Memphis. In Scripture, also, we find one Pharaoh spoken of as ruling in Egypt, whether in the early age of Abraham, during the oppression of the Jews, in the reign of Solomon, or in the time of the later prophets. It is also difficult to conceive that independent dynasties could co-exist without civil war, or subordinate dynasties without rebellion, neither of which can be traced in the Egyptian annals¹. Notwithstanding these difficulties,

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, p. 98.

we cannot avoid the conclusion that some great error exists in the numbers of Manetho as they now stand, since the summation of the reigns of his kings exceeds by nearly 1500 years the duration assigned to them.

Eratosthenes, whom we have already mentioned, drew up in the reign of the second Ptolemy¹ a catalogue of Theban kings, which Syncellus has incorporated in his work. According to Apollodorus, from whom Syncellus immediately derived his information, Eratosthenes had received their names from the priests or hierogrammats of Thebes, and at the command of the king had expressed their meaning in Greek. These Theban kings are 38 in number, and their united reigns amounted to 1076 years. The name of Theban is that by which he designates them collectively and individually, without any distinction of dynasty, though he notices of the first that he was a Thinite, and of the sixth that he was a Memphite. The Greek interpretations of the Egyptian names have a general conformity with the Coptic language, but the corruption which they have suffered in transcription makes it often impossible to trace it. It appears most probable that the list of Eratosthenes was constructed, though more scientifically, yet upon the same principle as those of Herodotus and Diodorus, that of assigning authors to the most remarkable monuments, and introducing the names of remarkable personages. Thus it includes Menes the founder of the monarchy, the builders of the Pyramids, Apappus who lived 100 years, Nitocris the only queen, Ammenemes the author of the Labyrinth, Mares or Maris, the Mæris of the other Greeks; Phrouro or Neilos, the author of the name of the river. The name of *Theban* kings seems equivalent to *earliest*, the Greeks believing that Egypt was once confined to Thebes². Whence

¹ Eratosthenes was born 275 B.C. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, *sub anno*.

² Τὸ δ' ὧν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλεῖτο (Her. 2. 15). Ἀρχαῖον ἡ Αἴγυπτος Θῆβαι καλοῦμεναι (Arist. Meteor. 1, 14).

the other names were derived it is difficult to say; they do not appear to be of Greek invention. When we contrast the catalogue of Eratosthenes with the dynasties of Manetho, they appear to have had a common or kindred origin. Both begin with Menes the Thinite, to whom his son Athothis succeeds; the names in Manetho, Suphis Suphis (builder of the Great Pyramid), Mencheres, are in Eratosthenes Saophis, Saophis II. and Moschieres; though Eratosthenes takes no notice of the erection of the Pyramids. Phiops according to Manetho, Apappus according to Eratosthenes, reigns 100 years; in each we have a solitary example of a queen Nitocris, who succeeds at the interval of a single reign the centenarian Phiops or Apappus. The names of *Stammenemes*, *Sistosis*, *Mares*, towards the end of the list of Eratosthenes, do not differ so widely from the *Ammenemes*, *Sisostris*, *Lamares* or *Ameres* of the twelfth dynasty of Manetho, but that the variation may be explained by the corruptions of transcribers and the difficulty of representing Egyptian names in Greek orthography.

It was acutely observed by Bunsen, that where a correspondence exists between the names of Eratosthenes and those of Manetho, it is always in the dynasties which the latter calls Theban or Memphite; and that where the names are lost, the numbers show that there has been no such correspondence in the others. And hence he infers that only those who belonged to the two ancient capitals of Egypt were the true sovereigns of the country, whose reigns give its real chronology; while the others (the Elephantinites, Heracleopolites, Xoites), though called kings, never exercised a real supremacy, and being contemporaneous with the Thebans or Memphites, do not enter into the chronological reckoning. Notwithstanding the ability with which this attempt to reconcile Eratosthenes and Manetho is supported, we cannot feel such confidence in its soundness as to make it the basis of a history. We shall therefore treat the dynasties of the latter as being, what he evidently considered them to be, successive, unless where there is

some internal or independent evidence of error; admitting at the same time that no great reliance can be placed on a chronology which professes to ascend to the very commencement of the reign of mortal kings in Egypt. But there appears no evidence that Manetho wilfully tampered with facts known to him, to favor either an astronomical or an historical theory; his system may be baseless, but it is not fictitious.

The authority of all that was written in the Ptolemaic age, or subsequently, whether by natives or foreigners, respecting Egyptian history and chronology, must depend very much on the number and quality of the ancient writings which were extant at that period. Herodotus speaks only of a papyrus, from which the names of 330 kings were read to him by the priests; but it does not appear whether the historical facts which they detailed to him in connexion with some of these names were derived from the same source¹. The Egyptians were celebrated among ancient nations for their historical knowledge², the natural consequence of the number and antiquity of their monuments, the early possession and wide diffusion of the art of writing, and the unchanging, *traditional* character of all their usages and institutions. According to Diodorus³ it had been the practice of the priests, from ancient times, to record and hand down to their successors the stature and qualities of their kings and the events of each reign. We have seen that such records existed in the time of Herodotus; they escaped the devastation of Egypt by Cambyzes; for Diodorus⁴ mentions that Artaxerxes, when he recovered the dominion of the

¹ 2, 142. He quotes "the Egyptians and the priests" as joint authorities for these details.

² Her. 2, 77. *Prisca doctrina pollentes Ægyptii*. Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. p. 764.

³ 1, 44.

⁴ 16, 51. *Ἀναγραφαί* is the title by which the historical annals are usually spoken of. See Bunsen, 1, p. 27. *Diod. u. s.*

country from Nectanebus, carried off the records from the ancient temples, which the priests redeemed from Bagoas by the payment of a large sum; and nothing had occurred from this time to the age of Manetho and Eratosthenes, to occasion any violent and general destruction of them. Of their absolute age we can have no evidence; it is hardly to be supposed that contemporaneous documents from the foundation or first reigns of the monarchy existed in the Ptolemaic age; what was read to Herodotus was evidently an historical and genealogical *table*, not a record. And analogy would lead us to suppose, that from time to time the information contained in obsolete and perishing documents would be transcribed and incorporated in new ones, and thus the chain of evidence be prolonged from age to age. In this way it is not incredible, that our historical knowledge of Egypt may be carried far up towards the commencement of the monarchy, allowance being made, first for the gaps which time and periods of internal confusion may have produced, and next for the changes which might take place in the process of transcription. The means of preserving such records were not wanting in the very earliest times; the hieroglyphic character was in use at the erection of the Pyramids, and the reed-pen and inkstand, and scribes employed in writing, appear among the sculptures in the tombs of Gizeh, which are contemporaneous with the Pyramids themselves¹.

Recently among the papyri in the hieratic character, several properly historical documents have been found; one of the most remarkable is the papyrus of Sallier, which appears to contain a narrative of the wars of Rameses-Sesostris, and to be of the same age. Other fragments of an historical nature relate to the reigns of Rameses IX., and Thothmes III., and Lepsius conjectures that one, from its archaic style, may even belong to the Old Monarchy. None of them have been fully read, but they are received as evi-

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii. B. 1, 19.

dence by those most competent to judge, and may hereafter furnish valuable materials for history¹.

It is probable that the priests of Memphis and Thebes differed in their representations of early history, and that each sought to extol the glory of their own city. How otherwise can we account for it, that while Herodotus makes Menes to be the founder of Memphis, and consequently this capital to be cœval with the monarchy, Diodorus attributes its foundation to Uchoreus, eighth in descent from Osymandyas or Busiris II. ? The history of Herodotus turns about Memphis as a centre; he mentions Thebes only incidentally, and does not describe or allude to one of its monuments. Diodorus, on the contrary, is full in his description of Thebes, and says little of Memphis. Herodotus went to Thebes, to ascertain whether the accounts of the priests corresponded with what he had heard at Memphis, and he seems to have been satisfied with the agreement; but his visit must have been short and his inquiries superficial, or he would have described Thebes more fully.

Besides properly historical documents, which appear to have been the work of the priests and preserved in the temples, there were others, called in a peculiar sense *sacred* books, from which many materials for illustrating and completing history might be derived. They are enumerated in a passage of Clemens Alexandrinus²;—"In the sacred ceremonies of the Egyptians," says he, "first of all the *Singer* comes forth, bearing one of the instruments of music. He must know by heart³ two of the books of Hermes, one of which contains the hymns of the gods, the other the allotment of the king's life⁴. Next to the singer comes the *Horoscopus*,

¹ Lepsius, *Einleitung*, 1, 53. *Select Papyri* in the hieratic character from the collection in the British Museum, Lon.l. 1844.

² Strom. 6, 4, p. 756, ed. Potter.

³ Ἀντιληφέναι. See Plut. Agesil. c. 24. Λόγον ἀναγνοῖς ἐν βίβλῳ δὲ ἑμελλὰ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Ἀέσανδρος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

⁴ Ἐκλογισμῶν βασιλικῶν. There is no authority for rendering *εκλογισμῶν*,

who carries in his hand a *horologium*¹ and a palm-branch, symbols of astronomy. He, they say, must always have at his tongue's end those of the books of Hermes which are astronomical, being four in number; one of which relates to the arrangement of the stars which appear to be fixed; one respecting the conjunctions of the sun and moon, and her illuminations; the remaining one respecting the risings of the heavenly bodies. Next comes forth the *Hierogrammat*, having feathers on his head and a book in his hand, with a rectangular case (κάνων) in which is contained writing-ink and the reed with which they write. He must know the hieroglyphics, as they are called, and what relates to cosmography and geography, the order of the sun and moon and the five planets, and the topography of Egypt and the description of the Nile; and the enumeration of the furniture of the temples and the lands that have been dedicated to them; and concerning the measures and the sacred utensils. After those already mentioned comes the *Stolistes*, having the cubit of justice² and the vessel for pouring libations. He knows all the books which relate to education and to the slaughter of victims. There are ten which have reference to the honor paid to their gods, and comprehend the Egyptian religion, *e. gr.* of sacrifices, first fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, festivals and the like. After all these comes forth the *Prophetes*³, carrying openly in his bosom the vessel of water, fol-

distribution, yet this seems to be the code by which the occupations of the sovereign were regulated. See Diod. 1, 70. Οὐ μόνον τοῦ χρηματίζειν ἢ κρίνειν ἦν καιρὸς ὠρισμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ περιπατῆσαι καὶ λούσασθαι καὶ κοιμηθῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ καθόλου τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραττομένων ἀπάντων.

¹ Ὁρολόγιον is generally rendered Sun-dial (see vol. i. p. 276); but may it not mean a list of the hours of the day with the influences of the constellations during each (see vol. i. p. 292), according to the analogy of μηνολόγιον, an almanac of the month?

² The standard measure of length, like the "Shekel of the Sanctuary," the standard of weight among the Jews. (Exod. xxx. 13. See vol. i. p. 290.)

³ Προφήτης in Greek has no reference to *prediction*, as we might suppose

lowed by those who carried the loaves which were brought forth¹. The prophetes, as being the president of the temple, gets by heart the ten books which are called *hieratic*; they contain what relates to the laws and the gods, and the whole education of the priests; for the prophetes among the Egyptians presides also over the distribution of the revenues. The books of Hermes therefore which are absolutely necessary are forty-two; of which the persons already mentioned learn thirty-six by heart, containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians. The remaining six the *Pastophori*² learn by heart, being medical, respecting the structure of the body, and diseases, and instruments, and drugs, and the eyes, and finally female diseases³." There is not one among these works, however remote its subject may appear from history, which might not incidentally furnish historical illustration, especially the description of Egypt and the Nile, and the account of religion and the laws connected with it. Since they appear to have been in existence in the age of Clemens, at the beginning of the third century after Christ, it is not beyond hope that a portion of them may yet be found among the many unexamined papyri which have been brought from Egypt, or among the treasures of some hitherto unopened grave. As the names of many of their legislators were preserved⁴,

from our own use of *prophet*. It was his office to *give forth* the declarations of the god, which might be prophetic or otherwise. (Her. 8, 135.)

¹ Οἱ τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἄρτων βαστάζοντες. Offerings of loaves or cakes to the gods are common on the monuments. (Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, tav. xxxiii. 2.) Compare the ἄρτοι τῆς προσφορᾶς, 1 Kings, vii. 48, of the Jewish Sanctuary.

² The Pastophori were an inferior order of priests, whose duty it was to carry about the shrines (ταστοί) or images of the gods on a *bari* or a *feretrum* in solemn processions.

³ The necessity of learning so much by heart, notwithstanding the copiousness of written books, will explain what Herodotus says of the Egyptians, μνηρὴν ἐπισκένουσι αἰθερωσιαν πάντων μάλιστα. (2, 77.)

⁴ Diod. 1, 94.

historical facts and anecdotes must have been handed down along with them.

The Hieratical Canon of Turin is a chronological rather than an historical document¹. As already mentioned it begins with the dynasties of the gods, to whom years are assigned by tens of thousands, and from them comes down to Menes the founder of the monarchy. It contained probably the titular shields of 250 kings² in its entire state, and those of 119 are still more or less legible. The difficulty which the discrepancy between Manetho and Eratosthenes has occasioned is not removed, but increased, by the discovery of this document, and from its mutilated state its arrangement is doubtful. There exist also fragments of papyri containing accounts of receipt and expenditure of the date of the 18th and 19th dynasties, which from the occurrence of the names of reigning sovereigns, and the years of their reigns, are valuable as subsidiary to history³. The majority of the papyri, however, which have been preserved relate to the theology of the Egyptians, describing the state and changes of the soul after death, for which reason they were so commonly placed in tombs and the cases of the mummies. Even though they contain no properly historical information, by their early date, and the proof which they exhibit of the existence of a theological system in Egypt, fully developed and generally received, they give collateral evidence to the accounts of the high antiquity of its arts and institutions. There appear also to be collections of hymns, from which when deciphered light may be thrown on history as well as theology

¹ It has been published according to his own arrangement of the fragments by Lepsius in his *Auswahl*. The names are given in the hieroglyphic character in Lesueur's *Chronologie*, with *facsimiles* of the original.

² Bunsen's Egypt. Eng. p. 50. Birch, Tr. Roy. Soc. Lit. 1, 201.

³ Champollion, Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas, 2, pp. 80, 81, 85, 95.

⁴ Lepsius, *Einleitung*, 1, p. 42, speaks of a collection of such hymns of the age of Rameses IX.

A passage in Diodorus proves that the Egyptians had popular poetry in which the exploits of their kings were celebrated. Speaking of the reign of Sesosis, he says, "that not only did the Greek historians differ among themselves respecting him, but even in Egypt the priests and those who celebrated him in song did not agree¹." As a distinction is here made between the priestly and the poetical literature, these songs must have been something different from those which Clemens describes the Ὡδὸς or singer as repeating, and several of the circumstances which Diodorus goes on to mention have the air of being such exaggerations as a popular poetical literature deals in. Rosellini has suggested, that in the papyrus of Sallier we have a poetical account of the military exploits of Sesostri; and that the long inscription relating to Rameses IV. at Medinet Abou is rather a song than an historical narrative².

No nation has left in its inscribed monuments such ample materials for history as the Egyptians; the statues of their kings are generally inscribed with their names; the walls of their palaces exhibit their exploits, commonly accompanied with the year of their reigns; works of art executed for private individuals and the tombs of public functionaries frequently contain the name of the reigning sovereign. But we commonly derive no information from these sources as to the succession and relative position of the sovereigns, or their absolute place in a general system of chronology. There are two remarkable monuments, however, which appear to give a certain number of kings in the order of their succession, the Tablet of Abydos³ and the Tablet of Karnak⁴. The building to which the former belonged was built or repaired by Rameses the Great (III.), and he is represented on the monument sitting on his throne and contemplating a double series of twenty-six shields of his predeces-

¹ 2, 53. Καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς αἰδῆς αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζοντες, οὐχ ὁμολογούμενα λέγουσιν.

² Mon. Stor. iv. 91.

³ See vol. I. p. 38.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 146.

sors. The lowest line of the monument contains only a repetition of his own name and titles. The conclusion which was at first drawn from this monument, that it exhibited a *regnal* succession of fifty-two monarchs anterior to Rameses the Great, has not indeed been realized, nor has the anticipated correspondence been established between the tablet and the lists of Manetho, except for a few reigns in the later part. Still its information is most important for Egyptian history. The tablet of Karnak is a representation of Thothmes III. offering gifts to a series of sixty-one kings, disposed in four lines around the walls. This sovereign himself is the forty-fourth of the tablet of Abydos, and it might have been expected that we should find here his predecessors on that tablet, which, however, is not the case. But though we have been disappointed in the hope of obtaining from the combination of these two monuments an authentic regnal succession from Rameses the Great upwards, and the tablet of Karnak, like that of Abydos, cannot be brought into exact correspondence with Manetho, there are evidently materials in these monuments for the construction of history, when their true relation has been ascertained. The grottos of Benihasan and Qoorneh contain some successions, corresponding with a part of the tablet of Abydos, and other short successions are found at Thebes¹, but in none is a perfect correspondence discernible. At Tel Amarna and at Thebes is found a succession of several kings whose names do not agree with any of the dynasties of Manetho, and who are supposed, from their physiognomy and the emblems which accompany them, to belong to a foreign race, professors of a peculiar religion, apparently worshippers² of the Sun.

The earliest event in Egyptian history which can be connected with a known date in that of any other country, is the invasion of

¹ Rosellini, *M. S.* 1, 205.

² Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 2, 72, 216, 255. *Trans. Roy Soc. Lit.* 2nd series, 1, 146.

Judæa by Shishak or Sheshonk in the reign of Rehoboam. As the chronology of the Jewish Scriptures is in this age definite and authentic, we are able to fix the reign of Sheshonk in years before the Christian æra. But this does not enable us to carry backward an exact chronology through all the reigns of his predecessors, owing to the uncertainty and interruption of the successions, both in the MSS. and in the monuments; and in the previous part of the Jewish history, the sovereigns of Egypt are only mentioned by the common name of Pharaoh, which would not suffice for their identification, even if the Jewish chronology itself were in early ages certain. Could we, however, connect one of those astronomical phænomena, whose recurrence is invariable, to however remote a period we ascend, with the reign of any of the old Egyptian kings, we should have a fixed point in the flux of time from which we might reckon upwards and downwards with considerable security. Whether any such fixed point is to be found is a matter for subsequent inquiry.

Syncellus, we have seen, assigns 3555 years as the duration of Manetho's thirty dynasties. These being Egyptian years are equivalent to 3553 Julian years¹, and added to 339 B.C., when his 30th dynasty expired², give 3892 B.C. as the commencement of the reign of Menes. There is nothing incredible in such an antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy; but from what has been already said, and from what will appear in our further investigations, it cannot be regarded as historically proved.

The following history is divided into Three Books, each comprising a period designated respectively as the OLD, the MIDDLE, and the NEW Monarchy. The first extends from the Foundation of the Kingdom of Menes to the Invasion of the Hyksos. The second, from the Conquest of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos and the Establishment of a dependent Kingdom at Thebes, to the Expulsion

¹ Lepsius, *Einleitung*, 1, p. 499.

² Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundesternperiode*, Abschn. 2, § 18, 19.

of the Hyksos. The third, from the Re-establishment of the Monarchy by Amosis to the Final Conquest by Persia¹. The Dynasties of Manetho have been employed as subdivisions, according to the text of Africanus, because, however doubtful the reading or the numbers may be, no better authority exists.

¹ These designations are due, I believe, to Bunson and Lepsius. Heeren, however (*Ideen*, 2, 2, p. 551, note, Germ.), had clearly distinguished the two first periods; but he subdivides the third into the flourishing period 1500-700 B.C., and the period of decline 700 B.C. to the Persian Conquest.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

BOOK I.

THE OLD MONARCHY.

MANETHO, according to the Armenian version of Eusebius, having enumerated the gods of Egypt, beginning with Vulcan and ending with Horus', says, "these first exercised power among the Egyptians.

	Years.	
Next, the royal authority devolved by continued succession to <i>Bytis</i> , in the space of	13,900	{ which are lunar, of 30 days each.
After the gods heroes reigned	1,255	
Then other kings	1,817	
Then 30 other kings of Memphis	1,790	
Then 10 other kings of This	350	
Then followed a dominion of manes and heroes	5,813	

"The sum amounts to 11,000 years (11,025), which, however, are lunar, of a month each."

Without attempting any other explanation of these successions and numbers than what has been already given², we pass to the

First Dynasty.

"After the manes and demigods, the first kingdom is reckoned to have consisted of eight kings, of whom the first—

¹ Vol. i. p. 300.

² Vol. ii. p. 76, 80.

	Years
1. MENES the Thinite, reigned ¹	62
He died, torn to pieces by a hippopotamus.	
2. ATHOTHIS, his son, reigned	57
He built the palace at Memphis. He was a physician, and anatomical books of his are in circulation.	
3. KENKENES, his son, reigned	31
4. OUENEPHES, his son, reigned	23
Under him a great famine prevailed in Egypt. He erected the pyramids near Cochoe.	
5. USAPHAIDOS (USAPHAIS), his son	20
6. MIEBIDOS (NIEBAES), his son	26
7. SEMEMPRES, his son	18
Under him a great pestilence prevailed in Egypt.	
8. BIENNECHES, his son	26"
In all	263

The summation of Africanus makes the total 253; that of Eusebius 252 in Syncellus, and the same in the Armenian, notwithstanding the shortening of the reign of Menes. These discrepancies will not be noticed in future, unless for some special reason.

The word *Dynasty*, which does not occur in the older writers on Egyptian history, appears to be used by Manetho nearly in the same sense as when we speak of the Carlovingian or the Capetian dynasty, as an hereditary succession of sovereigns. On the failure of the line, election was resorted to in Egypt. All the kings of the first dynasty succeeded from father to son; afterwards the mention of their relation to each other is omitted, but the descent appears to have been in the same line till the dynasty was changed.

That Menes of This was the first mortal king of Egypt, is one of the very few points in which all the authorities—Herodotus, Eratosthenes, Diodorus, Manetho—agree. This, or Thinis, was a town in Upper Egypt, giving its name to the nome in which

¹ Eusebius in the Armenian makes his reign 30 years.

Abydos stood, and not far from that ancient and celebrated seat of the Osirian worship¹. We know little more of This, but Abydos was next to Thebes in importance among the cities of Upper Egypt. The agreement of the historians ends here; for while Menes is to Herodotus the founder of Memphis as well as of the monarchy, Diodorus attributes to another monarch, living many centuries later, the foundation of Memphis² and the performance of the great works which were necessary to restrain the Nile, and obtain an area for the site of the capital. Since their accounts so entirely differ, and we have no decisive reason for preferring one to the other, we may doubt if either of them rests on properly historical authority. According to Herodotus a reign of the gods, according to Diodorus of gods and heroes; according to Manetho of gods, *manes* and heroes, preceded the reign of Menes. This is in fact to confess that nothing historical could be related of preceding times. It is indeed common to say, that the reign of the gods means a reign of the priests, and that a period of sacerdotal sway preceded the monarchical, which Menes established. It is not in itself improbable; but had it been known as an historical fact to the ancients, it would have been handed down to us as such, not concealed in this mode of expression³. Besides, if the reign of the gods means a reign of the priests, what is the historical equivalent of the reigns of the *manes* and the heroes?

The entire uncertainty of all that precedes Menes may even throw doubt on his own historical reality; for we do not com-

¹ Ptol. Geogr. B. iv. c. 5. Steph. Byz. de Urb. s. voc. Strabo, p. 813.

² He says (1, 51) that Memphis was so called from the daughter of the king who founded it. The river Nile, assuming the form of a bull, fell in love with her, and her son, Ægyptus, was a king remarkable for benevolence, justice, and worth, from whom the whole country took its name. There seems here some allusion to the worship of Apis.

³ "On croit que ces demidioux étaient des grands prêtres, qui régnaient au nom des dieux, dont ils mettaient les images ou les momies sur le trône." (Lesueur, Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte, p. 309.)

monly find the darkness of a mythic period succeeded at once by light and certainty. The real founders of great cities in ancient times being generally unknown, it was common to suppose one, bearing the same name as the city itself; and as *Menfis*¹ (Coptic, *Menbe*) appears to have been the orthography of the capital of Lower Egypt, Menes was assumed as the founder. His name, written Mena, is found in a solemn procession, in which the images of the predecessors of Rameses the Great are exhibited², on the walls of the Rameseion at Thebes, and therefore, if fictitious, it is of very ancient date. The monument, however, belongs to the 18th dynasty, so that many hundred years must have intervened between the origin of the monarchy and the date of the inscription. The same combination of characters occurs also in the hieratic manuscript of Turin, and is thought with probability to have stood at the commencement of the list of kings, which that papyrus contains. This evidence also refers to the reign of Rameses the Great³, and therefore establishes the fact of a belief that Menes had been the founder of the monarchy—a predecessor not only of Memphite but Theban kings⁴.

Menes has been considered as identical with Mizraim, who is mentioned (Gen. x. 13) as the father of several African nations.

¹ Tochon d'Anneçy, Médailles des Nomes. Eratosthenes interprets the name Menes *Μένιος*. Jablonsky, in De Vignoles' Chronology, conjectures *Μένιος*, which Bunsen adopts, and refers to the root *men*, *perpetuus*. (Egypten, B. 2, p. 45, Germ. See also his Coptic Vocabulary, 1, p. 573.) Memphis is denoted by hieroglyphics which read *Mennofre*, "abode of good" (Wilkinson, M. and C. 3, 278), or good abode, *ἔργον ἀγαθόν*. (Plut. Is. p. 359.)

² Champollion, Lettres d'Égypte, p. 270.

³ Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit. 2nd series, 1, 206.

⁴ It deserves to be remarked, that the name of Mnevis, the bull of Heliopolis, consecrated to the Sun and Osiris, is written hieroglyphically *Mena* (Lepsius, Einleitung, 1, 261), and that Diodorus calls Mneves (1, 94) the first legislator of Egypt. Pliny (36, 8, Sillig) speaks of a palace of *Mnevis*.

The name *Mestraia* is hence given by the author of the *Laterculus* to Egypt. The Old Chronicle speaks of three races as inhabiting Egypt successively, the *Auritæ*, the *Mestræi*, and the Egyptians. The *Auritæ* derive their name from *Aeria*, the Greek epithet for Egypt, signifying *dark*¹; and neither name has any historical authority. The termination of *Mizraim*, which is plural, or as commonly pointed dual, is sufficient to show that no real person was intended², and that *Mizraim* stands in the genealogy only as representative of the nation, and as indicative of the relation in which the people of Semitic language considered the Egyptians to stand, towards the common ancestor of the postdiluvian nations. *Mizraim* therefore has an ethnological, not an historical significance, denoting the origin of a people, not a monarchy. The name itself is unknown to the Egyptians; they called their land *Cham* or *Chemi*³, an appellation which was also known to the Semitic nations, since *Mizraim* is described as the son of *Cham* (Gen. x. 6). To endeavor to combine in one historical statement conceptions originating in different countries and from unconnected sources, can lead to no satisfactory result. The name of *Mizraim*, however, conveys to us important information, since in its dual form it recognizes a double character in the Egyptian people. This cannot have consisted in their living on both sides of the Nile; for that circumstance has never constituted a division in population, language, manners, government or religion. Egypt is the country which the Nile overflows; Egyptians are the people, who, whether on the eastern or western bank, below Elephantine, drink of its waters⁴. But the distinction of Upper and Lower Egypt exists in geological structure, in language, in religion, and in historical tradition; and to this the dual form of *Mizraim* evidently alludes, prov-

¹ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 280.

² *Misraim non est nomen hominis; id non patitur forma dualis.* (Boch. Geogr. Sacra, lib. 4, c. 24.)

³ Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 364 C.

⁴ Her. 2, 18. Vol. i. p. 4.

ing its origin in times when the whole valley from Syene downwards was peopled. The name exists also in a singular form, *Metzur*¹, and from its derivation appears to allude to the narrow and compressed shape of the greater part of the country, for which reason Egypt is called by the prophet Isaiah (xviii. 2), "a nation spread out in length²."

The great works attributed to Menes, as the founder of Memphis, are fully described by Herodotus³; they were necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a capital city in that place. To build a temple and unite the people in the worship of a tutelary god was as essential to their coalescence in a community, as in the middle ages the erection of a church. Memphis is sometimes designated⁴ as Ptah-ei, "the abode of Ptah." The circumstances added by Diodorus betray a later origin. Thus he says that the Egyptians originally lived on herbs, then on fish, afterwards on the flesh of cattle, and that Isis, or one of their ancient kings called Menas, taught them the use of the lotus and grain⁵. This is not in harmony with another account in the same author, that Menas taught the Egyptians to worship the gods and perform sacrifices; and that he also introduced the use of tables and couches and carpets, and the whole apparatus of civilized luxury. Tnephactus, the father of Bocchoris the Wise, making an expedition into Arabia, was compelled to live one day on the simple fare of the common people, and enjoyed his meal so much, that he denounced a curse on the king who had first introduced luxury; and caused it to be inscribed, in sacred characters, in the temple of Jupiter at

¹ It appears to have been an archaism of poetry, 2 Kings, xix. 24, where "rivers of besieged places" we should read "rivers of Egypt." (Is. xix. 6; Mich. vii. 12, where a similar correction should be made.)

² גֹּר' מִמֶּשֶׁר. Comp. Boeth. Geogr. Sacra, u. s. Strabo (17, p. 789) compares it to a long sash or girdle.

³ 2, 99. See Vol. i. p. 95.

⁴ Wilkinson, M. & C. 3, 278.

⁵ Diod. 1, 45.

Thebes. This, adds the historian, is the principal reason why the glory and honor of Menas have not remained to succeeding times. In this account a double purpose is evident, to point a satire against luxury, and to explain the obscurity in which the history of Menas was involved. The founder of Memphis was certainly not the person who introduced religion among the Egyptians, or taught them the use of grain; but popular tradition, or historical hypothesis in every country, is prone to assume that the commencement of its separate history is also the commencement of civilization, and to disregard the law of development, by attributing the changes of centuries to the life of one man¹.

Eusebius adds to the information of Africanus, that Menes led an army beyond the territories of Egypt, and acquired renown. It does not appear from what source he derived his authority whether from Manetho or not. Under the first sovereign of the third dynasty it is said that the Libyans revolted. These were probably the border tribes on the east of the Canopic branch of the Nile. They bore impatiently their incorporation with Egypt, whose manners and religion were different from their own². We may suppose that their original conquest and annexation was the work of Menes. In later times the Libyans seem to have assimilated themselves to the Egyptians. The Oracle of Amun was established in the Great Oasis, and animal worship prevailed among the Libyans³. The Lehabim, who are said to owe their origin to Mizraim (Gen. x. 13), are supposed to be the Libyans⁴, but this mode of expression does not always indicate an historical descent.

On the whole, Menes seems to fill nearly the same place in regard to Egyptian history as Romulus to the Roman. The monarchy of Egypt, like that of Rome, must have had a founder; whether

¹ Of the song of Maneros, said to be the son of the first king of Egypt, see vol. i. p. 201.

² Her. 2, 18.

³ Strabo, 16, p. 760.

⁴ Michaelis, Spic. Geogr. 1, 262.

in either case bearing a name analogous to that of the capital of the kingdom is doubtful. As Romulus was represented by later historical hypothesis to have established the principal civil institutions and religious rites of the Romans', as if he and his people had sprung out of the earth, instead of being a colony from the civilized Latins, so Menes was said to have taught religion to the Egyptians, and introduced the use of grain and even luxury among them, though he came from This, the ancient seat of the worship of Osiris, and began his reign over united Egypt by works which certainly do not indicate the infancy of art. Romulus vanished by a supernatural death, and was suspected to have been taken off by a hostile political faction. Menes was said to have been torn to pieces by a hippopotamus², the emblem of crime in the Egyptian mythology. Such disappearances may generally be taken as an indication that fiction has been at work, and when they occur at the very point where the confines of history and mythology meet, throw a shade of doubt over the personality of their subject³.

The establishment of the capital of Egypt at Memphis was the first step towards the nation's assuming a place in history. Insulated in the Thebaid, it might have continued for ages without any reciprocal action between it and the other great nations of the world, without knowledge of the sea which lay beyond the marshes in which the Nile appeared to be swallowed up,—without

¹ Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. 2, 7-29.

² Phot. Bibl. Cod. cexlii. p. 1047. Ὁ ἵπποπόταμος ἐν τοῖς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν ἀδικίαν δηλοῖ. It was consecrated to Typhon (Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 371 C.) and denoted the Western horizon, as the abode of Darkness. Euseb. Præb. Evang. 3, 12.

³ This, however, affords no ground for an identification of Menes with the *Menu* of the Indians and the *Mannus* of the Germans, as if he were only another name for the human race. See Buttmann's Mythologus, 2, 239. Menes is not the first man, but only the first mortal king. Menu and Mannus denote simply a human being, but Menes has no such sense in Egyptian.

means of contact with the civilization which was advancing from Mesopotamia to the shores of the Mediterranean. In this sense its history may be said to begin with Menes, although a long period must have preceded his reign, in which the people was acquiring the capacity of a national existence, and receiving the impress of a national character.

Menes was succeeded by his son Athothis. A name which has been read Athoth appears among the fragments of the Canon of Turin, but the correctness of the reading is doubtful¹. Of him we are told, that he built the palace at Memphis; that he was a physician, and that books of anatomy written by him were still extant, whether in the time of Manetho or Africanus is doubtful¹. It is worthy of remark, in connexion with the fame of this early sovereign as a physician and anatomist, that not only was Egypt the most celebrated country in the world for drugs and physicians², but that Memphis was the seat of the worship of *Æsculapius*, and therefore it may be presumed remarkable for the cultivation of the art of Medicine³. Books on the various branches of the medical art formed part of the sacerdotal library of the Egyptians⁴, all of which was attributed to *Hermes* or *Thoth*; and it has been conjectured that the name Athoth hides that of the god, from its signifying "that belongs to Thoth⁴." We seem therefore hardly

¹ Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature, 2nd series, 1, 206. Lesueur, *Chronologie*, pl. xii. xiii. The letter A is wanting, but it is often prefixed euphonically in Coptic, as in Greek.

² Hom. Od. δ, 228. Jerem. xlv. 11. Herod. 2, 84. See vol. i. p. 291.

³ Amm. Marcell. 22, 14. *Memphim urbem frequentem, presentiaque numinis Æsculapii claram*. The Mohammedans consider the subject of the hieroglyphical inscriptions to be the charms and wonders of *physic* (*Vyse*, 2, 319).

⁴ See vol. i. p. 291.

⁵ Translated by Eratosthenes 'Ερμωϊνς. "The Christian Fathers often cite a Hermetic book, in which the second Thoth instructs a scholar who is sometimes called Tat, sometimes *Æsculapius*. See Cyrill. adv. Jul. p. 83

yet to have quitted the domain of mythology. A great deal of supposititious literature owed its origin to Egypt, and that a divine and royal name should have been given to a work of the Ptolemaic or Roman times would be much less wonderful than that a book should have been preserved through so many centuries.

From the time of Athothis, who built a palace at Memphis, we may consider it as the capital of the Old Monarchy. The occasional residence of the sovereign may still have been in the cities whence the several dynasties took their name, but the hills near Memphis appear to have been their burial-place. He was succeeded, according to Eratosthenes, by another Athothis, according to Manetho by Kenkenes, and here the accordance between the two lists ceases. The reign of Kenkenes was marked by no events; in that of his son and successor, Uenephes, a great famine prevailed in Egypt. Its entire dependence on the rise of the Nile makes famine, when it occurs, more dreadful than in countries which have a greater variety of surface, and derive their moisture from rain and small streams. Egypt has indeed a remedy against famine, in the exuberance of her harvests in fruitful years, and the power of storing up the grain and pulse which are her chief productions, to supply future deficiencies. Yet we see, from the history of Joseph, that this policy had not been adopted before his time by the Egyptian monarchs. Uenephes is also said to have built the pyramids at Cochoe. This mode of interment appears in Egypt not only to have been exclusively royal, but exclusively Memphite, pyramids being scarcely found in Upper Egypt¹, and the great functionaries who lie buried around the pyramids of Gizeh being all deposited in excavations. A regal residence required a regal cemetery, but

Augustin. de Civ. Dei, viii. 23. Chron. Pasch. 65, 68. This Tat is placed by Manetho " (rather the author of the spurious Sothis) "among those gods to whom the sacred literature was attributed. He is probably the second Egyptian king Athothis." (Mövers, die Phönizier, 1, 527.)

¹ Vol. i. p. 124.

the pyramids were probably only of brick or rough stones; for the art of building with hewn stone was not introduced till the reign of Tosorthrus of the third dynasty. The site of Cochoe is unknown. As all the known burial-places of the Memphite kings, however, were in the Libyan hills, on the western side of the Nile, it is here that we should look for the pyramids of Uenephes. His monuments have yielded to the power of Time, which has been unable to make any impression on the works of Cheops, Chephres, and Mycerinus; or they may have been among those numerous ruined and nameless pyramids, whose existence the Prussian expedition has ascertained. It is probable that the method of embalmment was already practised; *Kos* is the word used in the Coptic version of Gen. 1. 2, for the embalmment of Jacob; it is found in several names of places¹, and seems to have entered into the composition of *Kochome*. Indeed the Armenian Eusebius reads "the town (χώμη) of *Cho*."² Athothis is said to have been a physician and anatomist. Embalmment in early times was a branch of the medical art; anatomy also does not seem in Egypt to have proceeded beyond such a knowledge of the internal structure as the evisceration which accompanied embalmment would furnish. The bodies of the predecessors of Uenephes having been preserved by this art would be naturally transferred to these receptacles; for he is said to have raised not one, but several pyramids. In the reign of Semempses it is recorded that Egypt was afflicted with a pestilence; and Eusebius adds that many prodigies accompanied it; agreeably to the experience of all ages, that events unnoticed at other times are understood as significant when the public mind is rendered superstitious by alarm and suffering³.

¹ Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, 1, 220.

² See Bunsen, *Urk.* p. 9.

³ Tacit. *Hist.* 4, 26. Quod in pace fors seu natura tunc fatum et ira dei vocabatur.

Second Dynasty. Nine Thinite kings.

	Years.
1. BOETHOS (BOCHUS, Euseb.) reigned	38
In his reign a great opening of the ground took place, and many persons perished at Bubastos.	
2. KAIECHOS (CHOOS, Euseb.) reigned	39
In his reign the bulls Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat, were established by law as gods.	
3. BINOTHUS (BIOPHIS, Euseb.)	47
In whose reign it was decided that women should have the prerogative of royalty.	
4. TLAS	17
5. SETHENES	41
6. CHAIRES	17
7. NEPHERCHERES	25
In whose reign the Nile is fabled to have flowed eleven days, mixed with honey.	
8. SÆOCHRIS	48
Who was five cubits three palms in height.	
9. CHENERES	30
In all	302

This dynasty, like the first, is called of Thinite kings, although Memphis had become the capital. It is not said whose son the founder of the second dynasty was; probably he was descended from a collateral branch. It is evident, however, that though called Thinite, they were supposed to be kings of all Egypt: otherwise it would have been absurd to have dated events, changes of religion and political institutions by their reigns¹.

The mention of the city of Bubastos or Bubastis, which is situated in the Delta, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, below Heli-

¹ Lepsius, however, (Einleitung, 1, p. 489) considers this dynasty contemporaneous with the first.

opolis¹, as having in these early times a large population, shows that when the priests told Herodotus² that in the days of Menes all Egypt, except the Theban nome, was a marsh, and that below the Lake of Mœris nothing had yet appeared above water, they spoke entirely without historical authority. They saw, what Herodotus says was evident to one who only used his own eyesight, and had not been previously informed of it, that the Delta was "acquired land, and the gift of the Nile³." But being ignorant of the rate at which such phænomena proceed, and conceiving the commencement of their own special history to be the commencement of everything, they made the formation of the Delta, and the whole country below the Theban nome, the work of thousands of years, to have begun with Menes. With the same ignorance of the rate of progression, they represented to Herodotus that there had been a rise of level in the soil of Egypt below Memphis equal to eight cubits in 900 years⁴. The time of the changes by which the Delta was elevated and laid dry stretches far beyond history, and Menes did not found his capital that he might reign over a marsh.

Such an event as the sudden opening of a chasm in the ground, and the consequent destruction of a great multitude of people, would be regarded as a prodigy, and therefore be preserved in the Egyptian annals, scanty as they are. Egypt is not very subject to earthquakes, and the chasm is more probably to be attributed to the undermining of a part of the city by the Nile, on the bank of which it stood. A similar chasm in the Forum at Rome filled the minds of the people with superstitious terror, and it was believed that nothing less than the self-devotion of Curtius could have averted the omen and closed the abyss⁵. Though the story of the expiation may be false, the terror was real.

The reign of Kaiechos is distinguished by the establishment of the worship of Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the

¹ See vol. i. p. 46.

² Her. 2, 4.

³ Her. 2, 4, 5.

⁴ Her. 2, 13.

⁵ Liv. 7, 6. Plin. 15, 20.

Mendesian goat at the town of that name. We have here a more decisive evidence that Lower Egypt, in the early times of the Old Monarchy, was in a state not materially different from that in which it was known to the Jews and the Greeks. Mendes stood not far from the sea¹; the Delta therefore, even to its extremity, must have been already firm and dry. It is not the introduction of animal worship among the Egyptians, as sometimes supposed, that is here recorded; *that* lies far beyond the commencement of history; but specially the establishment of the worship of the bull and the goat in the three cities mentioned. Lower Egypt was the principal seat of this superstition. Among other things attributed to Menes, he was said to have introduced the worship of the bull². Basis, the sacred bull of Hermonthis in the Thebaid, is never mentioned by the older writers, and appears to have been an object of merely local reverence, while Apis was passionately worshipped by the whole nation³. Every nome had its own animal type of divinity, and abstained from using its flesh for food; but we read of no such extravagant and superstitious homage being paid to the ram at Thebes as to the bull at Memphis. Next to the bull Apis, the cat seems to have been the animal most superstitiously worshipped by the Egyptians, and the chief temple of the goddess Pasht, to whom it was consecrated, was at Bubastos in the Delta.

A shield has been found by Lepsius in a tomb near the pyramids of Gizeh containing the name *Ke-ke-ou*, which, there can be little doubt, answers to the Kaiechos of Manetho's list⁴. Sethenes, Chaires and Nephhercheres have also been identified with some probability⁵. The establishment of the prerogative of royalty or behalf of women in the reign of Binethris, is not connected with the mention of any female succession or claim. History knows only of one queen, Nitocris, and she is not said to have succeeded to the throne by a law of the kingdom, but to have been chosen

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 802.

² Elian, Hist. Anim. 11, 10

³ Bunsen, B. 2, p. 106, Germ.

⁴ Lesueur, p. 279, 310.

by a special act of the people, who had put her brother to death¹. In the monuments only one female appears with the attributes of royalty, Set Amen, Amense or Amesses of the 18th dynasty, who probably reigned as guardian of her son or younger brother. In the lists besides Nitocris, Scemiophris appears at the end of the 12th dynasty, the sister of Ammenemes; and Acencheres of the 18th is called by Josephus daughter of Horus, neither of which is confirmed by the monuments. The specialty of these cases makes us doubt whether the words² imply female inheritance, since in such frequent change of dynasty, had there been no Salic law, it is scarcely possible that we should not have found daughters succeeding to the throne. The words "royal prerogatives" do not necessarily imply more than the monuments exhibit—their exercising regal functions, without being included in the list of sovereigns. Diodorus indeed says, that the queen of Egypt enjoyed greater honors than the king, attributing the distinction to the merits of Isis³; in accordance with the practice of a country which allotted greater respect to the female than the male. This appears, however, if the fact be correctly stated, to have been matter of courtesy and sentiment rather than of legal right⁴.

In the reign of Nephhercheres the Nile was fabled to have flowed eleven days, mixed with honey. As rivers were esteemed divine by the ancients⁵, their changes were noted with superstitious apprehension. Whatever affected the Nile, which physically as well as religiously was of vast importance to the Egyptians, would be very likely to be recorded. To have their sacred river changed into

¹ Her. 2, 100. Τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιλίην.

² Ἐκριθῇ τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν.

³ Diod. 1. 27. Διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας (the merits of Isis) καταδείχθηναι μείζονος ἡμετέρας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τὴν βασιλισσάν τοῦ βασιλέως.

⁴ See what Herodotus says (p. 46 of this vol.) of the inferiority of women in Egypt.

⁵ Athenag. adv. Gentes, quoted in Voss, de Idol. ii. 78.

blood was one of the humiliations which preceded their permission to the Israelites to depart. Similar changes in rivers are among the omens which have been handed down to us abundantly in the Roman history¹, and the fabulousness² of this account of the Nile's flowing mixed with honey is no proof against the historical character of the period and of the sovereigns. The great stature ascribed to Sesochris we shall hereafter see, has probably been transferred by later authors to Sesostris, whom Herodotus and Eusebius celebrate for his size, though nothing of this kind is asserted by Manetho of the Sesostris of his 12th dynasty.

Third Dynasty. Nine Memphite kings.

	Years.
1. NECHEROPHES (NECHEROCHIS, Euseb.) reigned	28
Under him the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, and the moon having increased in an extraordinary way, were alarmed and surrendered.	
2. TOSORTHUS (SEBORTHOS, Euseb.)	29
He was called Æsculapius by the Egyptians, in reference to his medical art; and he invented building by means of polished stones (ξεστῶν λίθων): he also cultivated the art of writing. [The remaining six did nothing worthy of being recorded, Euseb.]	
3. TYRELS	7
4. MESOCHRIS	17
5. SOUPHIS	16
6. TOSERTASIS	19
7. ACHES	42
8. SEPHOURIS	30
9. KIRPHERES	26
Total	214

According to Eusebius there were only eight kings in this dynasty,

¹ See Bryant's observations on the Plagues of Egypt, p. 26.

² The expression μυθεῖται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ῥῆναι must belong to Africanus, not Manetho.

and they reigned, not 214, but 197 years. He specifies the names only of Necherochis and Sesorthus, for so he writes the two first. The revolt of the Libyans, which occurred in the reign of Necherophis, has been explained in speaking of the conquests of Menes; its termination by the terror excited through some unusual appearance of the moon is quite in the character of ancient superstition¹. The reign of Sesorthos or Tosorthrus, briefly as its events are summed up, was evidently one marked by great improvements in Egypt; he held the same place in the history of medicine in that country as *Æsculapius* in Greece²; and he introduced the use of squared and polished stones in architecture, instead of the rough surfaces and irregular angles of their previous mode of building. The improvement or more extensive practice of the art of writing is naturally connected with this change in building. Writing in its earliest stage in Egypt was hieroglyphic engraving, which could not be practised with facility except on the surface of smoothed stones. And this may have been the reason why both are attributed to the same sovereign.

There is no certain correspondence between the monuments and the names in this dynasty. A shield which has been read Chufu has been found in the grotto of Benihasan, and has been supposed to be the Souphis who stands fifth in the list; it contains, however, one character (the arm and scourge) not commonly found in Chufu, and if it belong at all to this dynasty seems rather to answer to Sefhouris, the eighth. A name resembling *Tosorthrus* or *Sesorthus* occurs in the necropolis of Memphis, and another which has been read *Aches*³.

¹ Her. 1, 74, of the eclipse which put an end to the war between the Lydians and the Medes.

² The expression *Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν ἱατρικὴν νομόμιαται* must be that of Africanus, not Manetho, though there is no reason to doubt that the information came from his annals.

³ Lesueur, p. 311. Lepsius says (*Einleitung*, 1, 651) that only a few dates of months are known to him of this dynasty.

*Fourth Dynasty*¹.

Eight Memphite kings of another family (seventeen, Euseb.) reigned 284 years (448 Euseb.)

	Years.
1. SORIS	29
2. SUPHIS	63
He raised the largest pyramid, which Herodotus says was built by Cheops; he was even a contemner of the gods and [having repented, Euseb.] wrote the sacred book, "which I acquired when I was in Egypt as a very valuable thing," Africanus ["which the Egyptians cherish as a very valuable thing," Eusebius, who adds, "and of the rest nothing worth mention has been recorded"].	
3. SOUTHIS	66
4. MENCHERES	63
5. RATOISES	25
6. BICHERIS	22
7. SESERCHERES	7
8. THAMPHTHIS	9
Total	284

We may congratulate ourselves that we have at length reached the period of undoubted contemporaneous monuments in Egyptian history. The pyramids and the sepulchres near them still remain to assure us that we are not walking in a land of shadows, but among a populous and powerful nation far advanced in the arts of life. And as a people can only progressively attain to such a sta-

¹ According to Bunsen, after 190 years the kingdom of Menes was divided, one branch reigning in Upper, the other in Lower Egypt, the Memphite constituting what he calls the imperial dynasty, alone recognised in the chronology of Eratosthenes. Each of these dynasties came to an end at the same time, 224 years after their establishment, and the kingdom was reunited, 414 years after Menes, under the fourth dynasty. (B. 2, vol. 2, p. 65 foll., Germ.)

tion, the light of historical certainty is reflected back from this æra to the ages which precede it. There is, however, extraordinary variance among the ancient authorities, nor is the evidence of the monuments altogether free from difficulty.

We see that Manetho declares Souphis to have been the builder of the Great Pyramid, taking no notice of the building of the Second; and we shall find hereafter that he attributes to Nitocris, a queen of his sixth dynasty, the erection of the third. Eratosthenes gives in immediate succession Saophis, Saophis II. and Moscheres, but says nothing of the building of the pyramids, as indeed throughout his lists he mentions nothing either of the works or the exploits of the kings. Herodotus says that Cheops built the Great Pyramid, his brother Chephren the Second, and Mycerinus the Third: Diodorus that Chembes or Chemmis built the Great Pyramid, Kephren his brother, or Chabryis his son, the Second, and Mecherinus or Mencherinus the Third. Pliny, after quoting the names of twelve authors who had written on the pyramids, declares that the builders of them were unknown. Till very lately they seemed to give no evidence on behalf of their founders. No inscriptions appeared either within or without; it had grown into one of the common-places of morality, that the builders of these stupendous works had been deprived of the fame which they coveted¹. The Great Pyramid had long been open, and the central chamber contained a sarcophagus, but without a name; Belzoni succeeded in opening the Second, and found a sarcophagus beneath it; but that also was without an inscription. At length Colonel Vyse in the course of his researches found a way into the chambers already described over the king's chamber, and in two of them discovered shields in

¹ N. H. 36, 12 (17). Qui de his scripserunt sunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butorides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion. Inter omnes eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.

the common phonetic character¹. They are drawn with red paint on the calcareous blocks which form the sides, along with various other marks, supposed to be those of the quarry-men or masons. One of these shields contains four characters which it is agreed should be pronounced *Chufu* or *Shufu*; another is mutilated, but has evidently ended in *fu*, and therefore probably contained the same name. Another chamber contains a shield with the same group², but prefixed to it the jug and ram which are found with the figures of the ram-headed god of Thebes, commonly called Kneph, Neph, Cnuphis, Chnoum, or Num. Chufu is without violence made to answer to the Souphis of Manetho, the Saophis of Eratosthenes, and the Cheops of Herodotus³. And as it is improbable that the same king should be designated in two different ways in the same monument, it has been concluded that there were two of the name of Chufu, one being distinguished by the additional characters of the jug and the ram⁴. Herodotus speaks indeed only of one Cheops; but Eratosthenes mentions a second Saophis, and Manetho a second Souphis. The name of the second has been read Kneph-Chufu, or Chnoum-Chufu, and it is possible that this additional syllable may have given rise to the name Chembes, which Diodorus attributes to the builder of the Great Pyramid.

It will be seen by recurring to the description of this structure (vol. i. p. 100), that a long straight descent conducts from the opening to a subterranean chamber, in which, however, no sarcophagus or inscription has been found. Now from the analogy of all the other pyramids, we are led to conclude

¹ Vyse on the Pyramids, 1, 279. Vol. i. of this work, p. 106.

² Lepsius (Denkm. taf. vii.) gives a drawing of an alabaster vase with the banner of a king, the same as Ricci found at Wadi Magara, connected with the name of Chufu. (Rosell. Mon. Stor. iii. 1, 3.)

³ The final *u* is sometimes omitted in the shield of this king.

⁴ See Pl. III. C. 3, at the end of vol. 1.

that this was the place in which the interment was originally designed to be made. To this the passage from the opening leads directly. Why it was abandoned, and two chambers constructed in the heart of the pyramid itself, we are not informed, nor can we form any probable conjecture. The lower of these two is traditionally called the Queen's Chamber, but there is nothing which marks it as destined for such a purpose; and it was not the usual practice of the Egyptians to inter kings and queens in the same monument. It should seem that Herodotus had the subterranean apartment in view, when he spoke of a canal which Cheops introduced from the Nile, by which he insulated his own grave. The actual depth of this apartment below the ground in which the pyramid stands is ninety feet; and though this is still considerably above the highest level of the Nile¹, in the absence of accurate measurements, it might be easily supposed practicable to bring in a canal from the river; but this would have been too obviously absurd, if meant of the King's Chamber in the centre of the pyramid, 138 feet above the ground². Diodorus also speaks of (Chembe) Cheops as not being interred in his pyramid, but in some secret place, that his body might not be exposed to the insults of the oppressed people³. Now we know that in the time of Strabo, the Great Pyramid was open⁴; probably therefore in the time of Diodorus. But these authors seem to have known nothing of any sepulchral vault except the subterranean; the way to that was open, from the mouth in the side of the pyramid; but all access to the Queen's and King's Chambers was barred by the block of granite which closed the place at which the passage to them diverges; nor do they appear ever to have been seen till a forced passage was made by the Caliphs⁵. The subterranean vault

¹ "On the 23d of October, 1838, the level of the river (it being High Nile) was 137 feet 3 inches below the base of the Great Pyramid." (Vyse, 2, 148.)

² Vyse, 2, 111.

³ 1, 64.

⁴ Lib. 17, p. 808.

⁵ Abdollatif in Col. Howard Vyse, 2, 340.

being empty, the tradition of Diodorus had a natural origin. It seems then not improbable that Cheops or Chufu, abandoning his original intention to construct himself a monument *beneath* a pyramid, began the structure which now exists, and that his sarcophagus was placed in what we call the Queen's Chamber. It certainly contained a sarcophagus when this part of the pyramid was opened under the Caliphs¹. It is in the very centre of the structure, which may originally not have been carried much higher. His successor, the second Chufu, distinguished by the addition of the ram and jug, appears to have continued his work and constructed for himself the King's Chamber, in which his sarcophagus still remains. The mixture of stones containing the names of the two Chufus in the vacant spaces over the King's Chamber, may be explained by the supposition that the second used some materials which his predecessor had prepared, and which had been marked by his name. It is not surprising, that as both bore the same name, Herodotus and Diodorus should have considered them as one.

The Second Pyramid contains no name in any part of it; but in the adjacent tombs² the shield of a king whose name reads *Shafre*³ has been found, and the figure of a pyramid. In him we recognize without difficulty the Chephren of Herodotus and Diodorus, though there is no corresponding name either in

¹ Edrisi quoted in Vyse, 2, 335. "The alley is ascended until a door is reached near a block of stone by which one ascends towards another sloping alley.—By this door a square room is entered *with an empty vessel in it*.—Returning hence to the place through which one enters, the second alley is ascended. Another square room is then reached—*an empty vessel is seen here similar to the former*."

² The tomb was that of his chief architect, who calls his master, "the great one of the Pyramid." (See Lepsius, Denkmäler, taf. viii. D.) The pyramid is here always represented with a square base, projecting beyond the pyramidal part.

³ Birch in Vyse, 2, 98.

Manetho or Eratosthenes. Diodorus mentions a tradition that he was not the brother, as Herodotus represented him, but the son of Cheops, and that his name was not Kephren, but Chabryis¹. As there were two Chufus, he might be the son of one and brother of the other; and the difference between Shafre and Chabryis is not so great as to decide that they were not the same person. Herodotus in his account of the Second Pyramid says, that it was inferior to the first in other respects, and also in not containing any subterranean chambers². In fact, however, its only known chamber is subterranean.

The Third Pyramid is assigned by Herodotus and Diodorus to Mycerinus, Mecherinus or Mencherinus³. In Manetho, Mencheres immediately follows the second Suphis, but is not mentioned by him as the builder of the Pyramid. All doubt on this subject has been removed by the discovery of the coffin⁴, inscribed with the name of Menkera. Herodotus calls him the son of Cheops, which is not very probable, if according to his statement the brother of Cheops, Chephren, had reigned after Cheops fifty-six years. The accounts of this king are very inconsistent. According to Herodotus he was a mild and humane monarch, who opened the temples which had been closed for 106 years, and relieved the people of their burdens. And yet he built a pyramid, which, though it fell short of both the others in dimensions, exceeded them in costliness of material and execution⁵. His justice was such that he was more extolled by the Egyptians than any of their kings⁶; yet he was said to have indulged an unnatural passion for his own daughter, who died of grief at the outrage which he offered to her. He was remarkable for his piety, and yet endeavored to make the oracle of Buto "a liar⁷." These things excite

¹ 1, 64.² Herod. 2, 127.³ Τινὶς μὲν Χερῖνον leg. Μενχερίνον. (Diod. 1, 64. Böckh, Manetho, p. 597.)
Vol. i. p. 111. ⁴ Her. 2, 129. ⁵ Diod. 1, 64.⁶ Θέλων τὸ μαντήϊος ψευδόμενον ἀποδίδαι. (Herod. 2, 133.)

a suspicion that two kings of the same name, but very different characters, have been blended in one tradition¹. In the tablet of Abydos, which here first begins to be legible, we have in the fifteenth shield the evident traces of the name of Menkera; the fourteenth appears to have contained the same name, though little of it is now left; with the addition of the hatchet, which signifies *god*². It had been observed by Lepsius, that the name of Menkera occurs in the Ritual of the Dead³ as a deceased king, and that it is frequently found on scarabæi which had been used as amulets, and which from the style of their workmanship must have been executed long after his death. This clearly points to a deification of Menkera, or to some cause for which his name was held in special reverence. The same group of characters which is found on the mummy-case in the Third Pyramid is inscribed in red paint on a slab in one of the smaller pyramids of Gizeh, traditionally supposed to be the tombs of queens. The sarcophagus which it contains has no sculpture, and the mummy-case which it once contained has been reduced to dust; but from its small size and the appearance of a tooth which was found in it, it has been concluded that it had received the body of a young female—the wife or daughter of Menkera⁴.

The 106 years occupied by the reigns of Chufu and Shafre were regarded by the Egyptians as a period of national oppression and suffering. The people were worn out by forced labors in the quarries and at the pyramids, and the temples were closed, that the celebration of the sacred rites, which occupied so large a portion

¹ Lepsius, *Einleitung*, 1, p. 309, observes that Psammitichus has the addition *Menkera* in his shield, and supposes that he has been mixed up with Mencheres the builder of the Third Pyramid.

² See Wilkinson's copy in the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptian Society, Pl. 98.

³ It is written in the Ritual (*Das Todtenbuch*, col. 64), as on the tablet of Abydos, with a single character, *ke*, for "offering;" on the coffin this character is thrice repeated, making the plural *keu*. ⁴ Vyse; 2, 48.

of the Egyptian year, might not draw off the people from their work. So strong was the hatred with which their memory was regarded, that the common Egyptian was unwilling even to name them, and would gladly have thrown the odium of their erection on a foreign race. In concluding his account, Herodotus observes, that the Egyptians alleged them to have been built by the shepherd Philiton, who then fed his flocks in this district. Nowhere else is such a person mentioned, and it has been supposed that in this obscure passage we have an allusion to the Palæstinian Shepherds¹, who, under the name of *Hyksos*, appear subsequently in Egyptian history, oppressing the people for several hundred years, and destroying their temples. The builder of the Great Pyramid was specially the object of popular dislike, which embodied itself in the Greek tale of his compelling his own daughter to prostitution, in order to obtain funds for his work². Manetho admits the impiety of his Souphis³, but represents him to have also composed "the sacred book," the subject of which is unknown.

Soris, the king whose name stands at the head of this dynasty, is thought to be the same with the *Shoure*, whose shield has been discovered in the necropolis of Memphis⁴. In the present state of our knowledge, however, little reliance can be placed on these insulated identifications. What is more important is, that the dominion of Egypt, in the æra of the building of the Pyramids, extended to the northern part of the Arabian peninsula. The motive of the Egyptian kings for establishing themselves here was evidently to obtain possession of the copper-mines, which have been

¹ Kenrick's *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 167.

² Her. 2, 126.

³ Possibly the idea of impiety may have been connected with the erection of a building so lofty that it seemed to invade the skies. Comp. Gen. xi. 4. "Let us make us a tower whose top may reach to heaven."

⁴ Lesueur, *Chronol.* p. 271, 311. Birch (Vyse, 3, 22), gives the name *Shoure* to a king whose shield is found at Abouseir, and read by Lepsius *Amchura* (Bunsen, B. 2, 99).

already described'. The whole land was called in Hieroglyphics *Mafkat*, or the Copper Land², and the principal mines were at Wadi Magara and Sarabit el Kadim. Large mounds of ore, and masses of scorïæ, attest the extent of the ancient operations. Numerous stelæ record the names of the kings in whose reigns the mines were wrought. Those at Wadi Magara are the oldest. Both the Chufus, Shoure, and a king whose name is found in the Pyramid of Reega, and read Ousrenre or Ranseser³, are seen in acts of adoration, with dates of their respective reigns. Shoure is represented as in the act of smiting a captive whose hair he grasps, and therefore probably made conquests in this region.

The seventh king in Manetho's list is Sebercheres; this has been corrected by Lepsius into Nephhercheres⁴, and identified with the Nefrukera whose name occurs in the necropolis of Memphis, and on the tablet of Abydos follows that of Menkera. A Nephhercheres, however, is actually found in the fifth dynasty of Manetho, who may seem to have a preferable claim.

The glimpse which we thus obtain of the condition of Egypt, in the fifth century after Menes, according to the lowest computation, is far from satisfying our desire for details, but on the other hand it reveals to us some general facts which lead to important inferences. In all its great characteristics it was the same as the Egypt of a thousand years later. It was a well-organized monarchy; the tombs of Gizeh preserve the names and offices of various public functionaries, military and civil. Its religious system was

¹ Vol. i. p. 51.

² See Lepsius, *Tour to the Peninsula of Sinai*. Comp. Hieroglyph. of the Eg. Society, pl. 41 Xo.

³ Birch, in Vyse, 3, 12, 2, 5. The block on which the name is found at Reega appears to have been taken from some other monument. Among the hieroglyphics is the figure of an obelisk.

⁴ The pnenomen Neferkera has been found also on the cover of a small ivory box, now in the Louvre, but it is not probable that it is of such high antiquity (Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 15).

already elaborated and extended throughout the country; the Memphite sovereign, the second Chufu, takes for his difference the hieroglyphic of the tutelary god of Thebes and Elephantine. On the coffin of Menkera we see the same formulary phrases which are familiar to us in so many later funereal inscriptions¹. The deceased king is identified with Osiris; his regal dignity is indicated by the bee and branch prefixed; the same epithet, "living for ever," is given him, which is assigned to Ptolemy on the Rosetta stone. The system of hieroglyphic writing was the same, in all its leading peculiarities, as it continued to the end of the monarchy of the Pharaohs. We possess no contemporary manuscripts, but the inscriptions in the pyramids show that the linear hieroglyphic had been already introduced, which prepared the way for the hieratic. As the character of the inkstand and reed-pen is seen in these, we cannot doubt that linen or papyrus was already used as a writing material. We have no statuary of this age, but the hieroglyphics in the tombs are cut with great force and precision. While the present surface only of the pyramids was examined, they might seem a barbarous monument of wasted labor rather than of skill; but the accurate finishing of the masonry with which the passages and even the exterior were lined and cased, and the precise orientation of the whole, show that both art and science had attained to considerable perfection².

The relation of the Memphian monarchy to Upper Egypt remains obscure. No mention is even incidentally made of Thebes; a city may have existed there, but not of sufficient importance to be the seat

¹ Birch in Vyse, 2, 96.

² These inferences are fully supported by the drawings from the tombs near the Pyramids contained in the "*Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*," the fruit of the Prussian expedition under Lepsius; of which the First Part has appeared while this work was passing through the press. The opinion expressed in vol. i. p. 229, of the inferiority of art in this age, must now be somewhat modified.

of a rival power to Memphis. Hitherto no trace of the dominion of the Memphian kings has been found at Thebes or elsewhere in Upper Egypt, except some alabaster vases from Abydos, bearing the standard of Chufu; and portable antiquities afford no decisive evidence. But this is no proof of Theban independence, since the fixed monuments of this age are entirely sepulchral; and the Memphian kings and their great officers would be buried near their own capital. If Thebes has no monuments of Memphian dominion, neither has it any of its own, and it appears probable that till the 12th dynasty of Manetho it continued to be a place of little account.

Fifth Dynasty.

Eight kings from Elephantine¹. (Thirty-one, Euseb.)

	Years.
1. USERCHERES reigned	28
2. SEPHRES	18
3. NEPHERCHERES	20
4. SISIRE ²	7
5. CHERES	20
6. RATHURES	44
7. MENCHERES	9
8. TANCHERES	44
9. ONNOS	33
Total	218

Although the heading says eight kings, nine are mentioned, and the sum agrees with the separate numbers².

¹ Eusebius has transferred here by mistake the names of Othoes and Phiops from the 6th dynasty.

² Bunsen, 2, 190 (Germ.), would remove Onnos to the beginning of the 6th dynasty, and supposes that Othoes stands there by a false reading of the transcribers. Onnos, it is true, has 33 years and Othoes 30, but this last number is assigned to Onnos in the Turin papyrus.

The supposition that some of the dynasties of Manetho are collateral, is nowhere more probable than in regard to this dynasty of Elephantine kings. No one fact is recorded concerning them. They appear, however, to be a branch of the Memphite dynasty, as the names Sefhres, Nephhercheres, Mencheres, bear a close analogy to those which we have already found in use among them. Userkerf has been found by Lepsius¹ among the tombs of Gizeh, and he seems to be the Usercheres of Manetho. Although he stands at the head of this dynasty, yet if it were a derivative and dependent line, he might be interred among his ancestors of the Memphite dynasty. Snephres (Snefru), which we may suppose Manetho to have written, instead of Sefhres, has also been found at Gizeh² and Karnak; and Nephhercheres, the third in his list, follows Menkera on the tablet of Abydos, and has been found on alabaster vases from Abydos³. The tablet of Abydos, however, does not agree with Manetho; the shields which follow that of Mencheres exhibit different names from his⁴, yet names combined out of similar elements, so as to favor the supposition that they contain another derivative, though not royal line⁵. Sesrenre would be the reading, according to Lepsius, of the name usually read *Ousrenre* (see vol. i. p. 262), and this would answer to Sisires, No. 4. Unas or Onas is found in a fragment of the Royal List of Turin, and appears to be the Onnos of Manetho⁶. The phonetic value of some of the characters in these early shields is uncertain.

¹ Bunsen, B. 2, p. 180, Germ. Lesueur, p. 312.

² Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, altes Reich. Abth. ii. Bl. 2.

³ Bunsen, 2, 186. He observes that the name is written with a different character from the earlier Nephhercheres.

⁴ See Wilkinson's copy in Hierogl. of the Egyptian Society, pl. 47. Some of them are no longer legible on the tablet in the British Museum.

⁵ Bunsen, u. s. p. 188.

⁶ Bunsen, 184. He supposes a name beginning with the sign of Thoth to be Takeres, which he conjecturally substitutes for Tancheres, eighth in the list. This king is supposed by others to be represented by an inscription at

If Othoes were the same as Onnos, it would appear that this Elephantine dynasty was brought to a close by a conspiracy of his life-guards, by whom he was murdered, and a new Memphite dynasty succeeded. If, however, the Elephantine was not a sovereign, but a collateral dynasty, then the kings whose names are about to be enumerated must be regarded as the immediate successors of the fourth dynasty, in which the builders of pyramids were included. It is possible that these Elephantine kings may be the Ethiopians of whom Herodotus speaks¹, Elephantine being on the boundary of that country, but the number, eighteen, does not agree.

Sixth Dynasty. Six Memphite kings.

	Years.
1. OTHOES reigned	30
He was killed by his life-guards.	
2. PHIOS	53
3. METHOSUPHIS	7
4. PHIOPA. Beginning to reign at six years old, he continued to.	100
5. MENTHESUPHIS	1
6. NITOCRIS, the most spirited and beautiful woman of her time, of a ruddy complexion. She erected the Third Pyramid, and reigned	12
	203

Saccarah, read thus: "The king (Tankera), son of the Sun (Assa)." One character in the first shield, however, is doubtful, and according to analogy, Assa should be the proper name (Lesueur, *Chronologie*, p. 312).

¹ 2, 100. "The priests read to me a list of 380 other kings, and in so many generations 18 were Ethiopians" Lepsius considers both the 5th and 6th dynasty as Ethiopian (Eiul. 1, 255), and makes them amount together to 15, to which are to be added the three Ethiopian kings of the 25th dynasty. The evidence for these arrangements has not yet been published, nor that on the ground of which he pronounces (517) that the 5th dynasty was not collateral.

Eusebius gives only Nitocris by name, but the number of years is the same. The similarity of the names Phios and Methosuphis and Phiops and Menthesuphis in this list, has given rise to a suspicion that they are really the same. We find in Eratosthenes the following succession:—

	Years.
Apappus	100 within an hour.
A nameless king	1
Nitocris, instead of her husband	6

It would be against all probability that such coincidences should be accidental¹. The names Apappus and Phiops do not indeed in their actual form appear the same. The hieroglyphics of the king whose name is read Pepi may however be read Apap, and if we retrench the final *s* from Phiops, which was an addition made to give it a Greek termination, we have a name also not very remote from Pepi. The shields of Pepi have been found at Chenoboscion and elsewhere in much greater numbers than those of any preceding king, though not with dates which confirm the account of his extraordinary long reign², the sixteenth year being the highest; nor has any yet been found in Lower Egypt³, a singular circumstance, as the dynasty is called Memphite. The identification of Pepi with Phiops and Apappus must therefore be considered as still problematical. No other name belonging to this dynasty has been identified hitherto on the monuments. There is a group which reads *Mentopt* or *Mentuotep*, twice occurring, one of which Bunsen⁴ refers to *Mentheophis*, his correction of the Menthesuphis of the lists, and the other to the eighth dynasty. They may belong to the Middle monarchy or to the eleventh dynasty. A fragment of

¹ I have already explained (p. 82 of this vol.) the principle on which I believe the list of Eratosthenes to have been compiled.

² The long life of Phiops is not more incredible than that of Gorgias of Leontini, who is said (Cic. Sen. 5) to have lived to 107.

³ Lepsius, Einl. 1, 265.

⁴ B. 2, 194. Ark. p. 64, note.

the Canon of Turin contains, without a name, the number 90 years as the duration of a reign¹, and from its length there can be little doubt that it refers to P'hiops. It is followed by a date of 1 year 1 month, which appears to be that of Menthesuphis.

The figure of Pepi is found in a singular combination with that of another, whose name is read Remai, or Maire. The two princes appear seated on their thrones in the Hall of Assembly, wearing one the crown of the upper, the other that of the lower country; whence Wilkinson concludes² that either they were contemporary sovereigns, one ruling at Thebes and the other at Memphis, or that Pepi was the phonetic name of Remai, and that they were the same monarch. This distinction of the names becomes henceforward important and will require to be explained.

In the oldest monuments, as those of the pyramids and tombs of Gizeh, the names of the Egyptian kings are enclosed in oval rings or shields, and each king has only one. The characters included in the shield are phonetic, and express the name of the king as it was pronounced, Mena, Chufu, Shafre, &c. In later times, however, each king has usually two shields; over the first are placed a bee and a branch of a plant³; over the second the figure of a vulpanser and the disk of the sun, which are read Son of the Sun. Where two shields are found, the second always contains the name of the sovereign in phonetic characters; thus in the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties it is the name in the second shield which corresponds to the lists of Manetho. The first shield, if there are two, contains always the disk of the Sun or Re, and joined to this two or more characters. Champollion considered the signs included in these shields as symbolical titles, rather than names of the kings; and they are not alphabetical letters, like those of the second shields. They are, however, in one sense phonetic; for the objects and ideas which they represent had of course

¹ Lesueur, p. 266.

² Manners and Customs, 3, 282.

³ See Pl. II. vol. 1, Nos. 11, 12, and p. 270.

names in the old Egyptian language, and these, if pronounced, would become a compound name. Thus the two shields in Plate II. 11, 12, read, "The king (*Re-seser-Tmei*, Sun, Guardian of the Truth), Son of the Sun (Amunmai Rameses)." Each king had a combination of these signs, by which he is as readily distinguished from all others as by his phonetic shield; but those of the same family usually preserved a general similarity in their signs. In the case of the two royal figures on the monument of the Cosseir road, the shield on the left, if they are considered to be distinct persons, will be read Remai or Maire; but if the same, then it will be considered as a title of Papi, and explained "beloved of Re," which is the meaning of the word Remai. Such a title, it has been thought, might give rise to second names, as we sometimes call the Ptolemies simply Philadelphus or Epiphanes. Lepsius, however, has observed¹ that he has not found a single indisputable example of the titular shield passing into a proper name²; and its phonetic reading is in most cases conjectural.

There is a third way in which the kings of Egypt were distinguished. Each had a standard³ on which a group of characters is represented, sometimes placed beside the shields, and which serves to discriminate them in the absence of these. On the obelisks, where all their titles are usually set forth, the standard is found immediately under the pyramidion; over it is represented the hawk of Horus, sometimes crowned with the *pschent*, and accompanied by the uræus or royal serpent and the disk of the sun; the standard itself contains a group of symbolical characters not strictly phonetic, but like those of the titular shield capable of passing into a name, by the pronunciation of the words answering

¹ Einleitung, 1, p. 255.

² Bunsen supposes, though with little probability, that Papi, or Phiops Apappus, with the title Maire, is the Mæris of the Greeks, the author of the great works in the Fyoun, B. 2, 209.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 1, 156.

to the objects delineated. An example of this may be seen in Pl. II. No. 15, where the standard of Rameses III. is given. It is surmounted by the hawk of Horus crowned, with the uræus and disk; the banner itself reads, "The strong bull, beloved of Truth." The hawk sometimes appears (ib. 15) as an emblem of royalty, with the character for *gold*, and is called "the golden Horus."

The standard and the titular shield were assumed no doubt by the king on his accession; the phonetic name belonged to him as an individual, but when he ascended the throne he enclosed it within a shield as a mark of royalty. The standard or the titular shield alone is sufficient to distinguish one king from another; and the phonetic shield is not found on the tablet of Karnak, nor that of Abydos, except in the case of the king by whom it was erected; but it is the phonetic shield which connects them with history. So the armorial bearings of a modern sovereign discriminate him from others; but it is only by the knowledge of his name that his historical place is ascertained.

The sixth name in the list of Manetho is that of Nitocris, whom he describes as a woman of great beauty and spirit, and the builder of the third pyramid. She is no doubt the same as the Nitocris of Herodotus, if identity may be predicated of persons who agree in name, but differ in almost everything else. The Nitocris of Herodotus, after having drowned the Egyptians who had put her brother to death, committed suicide by plunging herself into a pit full of ashes—a mode of destruction common as a punishment among the Persians, but unheard of among the Egyptians. The Nitocris of Manetho is the builder of the third pyramid, a work not to be accomplished in the short interval between her accession and her suicide. Another difficulty is, that we have seen that Mencheres was deposited in the third pyramid, and is therefore to be presumed to have been its builder. This difficulty has been partly removed by the researches of Colonel H. Vyse, and the ingenious combinations of Bunsen. By a reference to the description already

given of this pyramid¹, it will be seen, that in a large chamber, which is nearly under its centre, a sarcophagus of red granite had been placed, the fragments of which are strewed about². The sarcophagus of Mencheres was in an interior and lower chamber, to which a passage led from the larger. This larger chamber, besides the passage by which it is now entered from the exterior, has another going off at the same angle, but which never reaches the exterior. The upper passage had been worked by the chisel from the north or exterior, the lower from the interior; whence Perring concludes that the upper must have been formed first, and the lower cut outward through the pyramid³. These appearances have been explained by supposing that Mencheres built a pyramid of much smaller size than the present, of which the entrance was the passage which is now closed up. It would have reached the exterior at about the same height above the ground as the present passage, and the pyramid, if its angle of inclination were the same as that of the present structure, would have a base of 180 feet and a height of 145. In this state Mencheres left his pyramid; Nitocris enlarged it to its actual dimensions, cased it with red granite, and designed at least that her body should be placed in it, but was perhaps frustrated in this purpose by her own suicide or the vengeance of the people. Thus the traditions which ascribed it to Mencheres and to Nitocris would have each a portion of truth.

Another story is related by Herodotus which at first appears simply absurd—that this pyramid was built by a celebrated Greek courtesan of Naucratis of the times of Amasis or Psammitichus,

¹ Vol. i. p. 110.

² So Bunsen says (B. 2, 168), perhaps from the personal communication of Perring; but Col. Vyse says (2, 81), that these pieces of the granite could not have been fragments of a sarcophagus. The portions were of *this* material, which was also used in the passages.

³ Howard Vyse, 2, 79. See vol. i. p. 110, of this work.

respecting whom Strabo tells a tale very similar to that of Cinderella and her slipper. As she was bathing, an eagle snatched her shoe from the attendant, and carrying it to Memphis, dropped it in the lap of the king, who was sitting in the open air to administer justice. Charmed with the elegance of the shoe, the king sent through the land to discover its owner, and having found her at Naucratis, made her his queen, and after her death she received the third pyramid as her burial-place¹. It was acutely observed by Zoega, however, that the courtesan, Rhodopis, had been created by the interpreters out of the queen Nitocris². Both were celebrated for their beauty, and the name Rhodopis or "rosy-faced" is exactly descriptive of Nitocris, who is said to have been "ruddy in complexion."

No such name as Nitocris has been found upon the monuments of this age; but it occurs, written Neitakreti, in the Canon of Turin³. If we may venture to combine Herodotus with Manetho, the husband whom she succeeded, and whose death she avenged, was Menthesuphis, who reigned only one year. The following dynasty points to some violent change in the government, to which the death of Nitocris gave occasion.

Seventh Dynasty.

SEVENTY MEMPHITE KINGS, who reigned seventy days	70
(Eusebius, Five Memphite kings who reigned 75 days. Arm.	
75 years.)	

Eighth Dynasty.

	Years.
TWENTY-EIGHT MEMPHITE KINGS, who reigned	146
(Eusebius, Five Memphite kings, who reigned 100 years.)	

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 808.

² De Obelisc. p. 390. See also Bunsen, 2, p. 236, Germ.

³ Lepsius, Einl. 1, 262. Lesueur, p. 318, places it in the eighth dynasty.

Ninth Dynasty.

	Years.
NINETEEN HERACLEOPOLITAN KINGS, who reigned	409
(Eusebius, Four Heracleopolitan kings, who reigned 100 years.)	
The first of whom, ACHTHOES, the most atrocious of all who had preceded him, did much mischief to the people of all Egypt, and afterwards fell into madness and was destroyed by a crocodile.	

Tenth Dynasty.

NINETEEN HERACLEOPOLITAN KINGS, who reigned	185
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Eleventh Dynasty.

SIXTEEN DIOSPOLITAN KINGS, who reigned	43
After whom AMMENEMES	16
"Thus far Manetho brought his first volume, altogether 192 kings, 2800 years, 70 days."	

The difficulties which this concluding portion of the first volume of Manetho's dynasties offers are very great. The seventy Memphite kings, who reigned seventy days, must have been a temporary government, formed of the chief men of the kingdom, and ruling each for a day; for, as Herodotus (2, 147) observes, the Egyptians could not exist without kingly government. The Roman senators, on the death of Romulus, exercised authority each for five days¹. The number of seventy days is no doubt correct, for it occurs again in the summation at the end, and can only have arisen here, as the odd number of days is not elsewhere mentioned in giving the length of each king's reign. Eusebius has made a

¹ Liv. 1, 17. Rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant; decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat: quinque dierum spatio fieiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat. Comp. Diod. 1, 66.

correction, but as it appears arbitrarily, and reads, according to the Armenian version, "five kings who reigned seventy-five years"; but then it would be unexplained how seventy days should appear in the sum of the first volume. Other corrections have been suggested, but they are too arbitrary to be received¹.

There were in Egypt two towns called Heracleopolis². Heracleopolis Magna was situated at the entrance of the valley of the Fyoun, on an island, as the ancients called it, formed by the Nile, the Bahr Jusuf, and a canal. After Memphis and Heliopolis it was probably the most important place in Lower Egypt. Heracleopolis Parva, which is only mentioned in later times, was near Pelusium, in the Sethroite nome, and beyond the westernmost branch of the Delta. If it existed under the old Monarchy, it was quite insignificant, so that it is not likely its king Achthoes could have inflicted much mischief upon all the inhabitants of Egypt. But if a powerful state sprung up at Heracleopolis Magna, after a revolution at Memphis, which left the government in a feeble condition, it was well adapted by its position relatively to the Upper and Lower country and the Fyoun, to domineer over them all. With the eighth dynasty Memphis appears to have lost its pre-eminence. It passed first to Heracleopolis, afterwards to Thebes, finally to the towns of Lower Egypt, Tanis, Bubastis, Sais. We hear nothing more of a Memphite dynasty.

The tyranny of the founder Achthoes is absolutely all we know of these two Heracleopolitan dynasties. The text of Africanus

¹ Bunsen would transplant twenty (K) from the number of reigns of the eighth dynasty (KZ), which he thinks should be eight instead of twenty-eight, and with Eusebius read five as the number of kings in the seventh. The whole would then stand thus:

Seventh Dynasty.—Five Memphite kings, reigned 20 years 70 days.

Eighth Dynasty.—Eight Memphite kings, reigned 146 years. (B. 2, p. 248, Germ.)

² Strabo, 17, p. 789, 809. Steph. Byz. s. v. Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, 1, 309, 2, 80. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 4, 5.

assigns to them together the incredible length of 594 years; that of Eusebius 285. To a dynasty reigning here at the entrance of the Fyoun, it seems most natural to assign the commencement of those great works which tradition connected with the name of Mœris. No king of that name has been found in the lists or the monuments; and therefore probably Mœris is the designation of the natural collection of waters at the western side of the Fyoun, the Birket-el-Kerun. The word *Mou* in Coptic signifies *water*, and appears to be the first syllable of this word, which was variously spelt *Moiris* or *Muris* by the Greeks. Joined to *res*¹, which denotes *the south* in the same language, it would naturally describe, in contrast with the Mediterranean, this great southern lake, which in its extent, the quality of its waters and the form of its shores, so much resembled the sea, as to suggest the idea that it had been originally a portion of the Mediterranean². The dimensions assigned by Herodotus (2, 149) to the lake Mœris (3600 stadia) cannot have belonged to an excavation in the centre of the Fyoun; nor would any one describe the length of a canal as the perimeter of a lake. It is indeed impossible to reconcile all the accounts which the ancients give us of the lake Mœris; but one circumstance appears decisive: if the Birket-el-Kerun be not the lake Mœris of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, these three eye-witnesses have passed over one of the most remarkable objects in Egypt. There was no doubt also an artificial reservoir in the centre of the Fyoun, which retained the water of the inundation to be dispersed when it was needed over the adjacent country; and Linant has partially traced its embankment.³ That it was designed to render this service to any other district than the Fyoun is not asserted by the ancients and appears improbable.

¹ The terminations *res* and *ris* are constantly interchanged. Thus we have Uaphris, Sesostris, Sesochris, as well as Mencherea, Nephhercherea, the origin of both forms being *Re* or *Ra*.

² Strabo, 1, 50. 17, 809.

³ See vol. i. p. 42.

If the Fyoun was rendered habitable and fertile by the kings of the Heracleopolitan dynasties, it will be explained how it becomes of so much importance under the twelfth. Sesortasen erected an obelisk and Ammenemes built the Labyrinth there; previously to this time we find no monument and no mention of it in history.

The name Achthoes is the only one preserved in the lists, between Nitocris, the last of the sixth dynasty, and Ammenemes, the last of the eleventh. There is therefore no room for any comparison between the lists and the monuments. Eratosthenes has also no name which corresponds with the monuments in this interval¹.

Achthoes is said to have been killed by a crocodile. This circumstance may have been invented to explain the animosity which the people of Heracleopolis nourished against the crocodile; and their worship of the ichneumon, which was believed not only to destroy its eggs, but even to creep down its throat and eat away its vitals². The mention of this circumstance is an additional presumption that Heracleopolis Magna was the seat of this dynasty.

THE SECOND VOLUME OF MANETHO.

Twelfth Dynasty. Seven Diospolitan kings.

	Years.
1. SESONCHOSIS, the son of Ammenemes, reigned	46
2. AMMENEMES, who was killed by his own guards of the bed-chamber	38
3. SESOSTRIS	48

He subdued all Asia in nine years, and part of Europe as far as Thrace (everywhere erecting memorials of his occupation

¹ Comp. Bunsen, B. 2, p. 252 foll., who has proposed various corrections of Eratosthenes. In his system the two Heracleopolitan dynasties are collateral.

² Strabo, 17, p. 812.

Years.

of the nations, engraving masculine emblems on tablets where the men had been valiant, feminine where they had been cowardly), so that he was esteemed by the Egyptians first after Osiris.

(Eusebius adds, He is said to have been four cubits three palms two fingers in height.)

4. LACHARES (Lamaris, Eus., Lampares, Arm.) 8

He prepared the Labyrinth in the Arsinoite nome as a tomb for himself.

5.¹ AMERES 8

6. AMMENEMES 8

7. SCEMIOPHRIS, his sister 4

160

Until a recent time, this dynasty, notwithstanding the completeness of its list of names, appeared to have no confirmation from the discoveries in hieroglyphics. Even its historical character, though marked by so conspicuous a name in the Egyptian annals as that of Sesostris, was hardly established; for this conqueror is known to us from Diodorus and Herodotus, who place him much later in the history. The Labyrinth was another work which might have rescued this dynasty from any doubt of its historical existence, but its remains had not been explored, so as to ascertain the name of its founder; and Herodotus had referred its erection to so late an age as that of the Dodecarchia. Several shields had been discovered bearing the names of kings which began with the letters A M N, but the other characters being unknown, they had not been referred to the Ammenemes whose names recur so often in this dynasty, but to some unknown kings. The monumental evidence indeed seemed to fix them to a later dynasty. Champollion had ascertained the names of several of the kings of the 18th

¹ Instead of Ameres, Ammenemes and Scemiophris, Eusebius has after Lamaris "his successors, years 42."

dynasty, beginning with Ahmes or Amosis, whose titular shield is the 40th in the tablet of Abydos¹. The 17th dynasty consisted of Shepherd kings, who could not be expected to be recorded on an Egyptian monument. The five which preceded Ahmes, it was natural therefore to conclude, must represent the five kings of the 16th dynasty, who were Thebans according to Eusebius. On the obelisks of Heliopolis and the Fyoun, the latter of which bore marks of antique workmanship in the bluntness of the pyramidion and the unusual proportions of the height and breadth², a name had been read Osortasen, which from the titular shield connected with it, appeared to belong to a sovereign whose name stood first in a succession of four in one of the grottoes of Benihasan, and the third and fourth of these were the same as the 35th and 36th of the tablet of Abydos. The names corresponding to the 37th, 38th and 39th shields were afterwards discovered, and found to be another Osortasen and two beginning with the letters A M N, followed by the same unknown characters—evidently therefore belonging to one royal family.

Major Felix, to whom, in conjunction with Lord Prudhoe, the discovery of this succession is due, conjectured that these kings were really those of Manetho's 12th dynasty, whose names ought to have been given as those of the 17th, and made the immediate predecessors of Amosis, founder of the 18th. Sir Gardner Wilkinson³ considered the dynasties between the 13th and 18th to have been interpolated or contemporary in Lower Egypt. Dr. Hincks, in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy⁴, had also advanced the opinion, that the five names on the tablet of Abydos, which precede the 18th dynasty, constituted the 12th dynasty of Manetho, and that the five dynasties between the 12th and the

¹ Birch, Gall. Brit. Mus. pl. 29.

² Bonomi, in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 8vo. 1, 169.

³ Manners and Customs, 1, 36.

⁴ Vol. 19, P. 2, p. 68.

18th were either contemporaneous or imaginary. The names, read as they were by the authors of these suppositions, Osortasen and Ammoneith-Thote or Amun-m-gori, did not however answer to the names of Manetho. Lepsius had been led, by the circumstance that some of the work of the so-called Osortasen at Thebes had been surrounded by a construction of the kings of the 18th dynasty¹, to conclude that a considerable period must have intervened between this dynasty and that to which he belonged, and one of desolation for Egypt; that consequently he could not have been of the 17th dynasty, but probably lived before the invasion of the Shepherds. The letters of uncertain sound in the shields of the three kings he read *het*, and the whole name becoming thus *Amun-em-het*, there could be little difficulty in identifying it with the Ammenemes of Manetho. The authority for reading the first letter in the shield of Osortasen *O* was very slight; Lepsius considered it as an *S*, and made the name Sesortasen. Thus he had obtained an ascending series, going backward from Amosis²; Ammenemes (IV.), Ammenemes (III.), Sesortasen (III.), Sesortasen (II.), Ammenemes (II.), Sesortasen (I.), Ammenemes (I.), and the first five of these corresponded to the five shields (39–35) on the tablet of Abydos, which preceded that of Amosis. It seemed therefore impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the tablet of Abydos passed over all the dynasties intermediate between the 12th and the 18th, and connected these immediately with each other. Into the reason for this omission we shall have to inquire hereafter; at present it is sufficient to say, that the coincidences between the names of the shields and those of Manetho's lists are such, that we must renounce all attempt at identification if we do not admit them to be the same.

As the lists now stand, however, the coincidence, though striking, is not complete. We have three Ammenemes, but instead of

¹ See vol. i. p. 146.

² Bunsen, B. 2, p. 287, Germ.

Sesortasen we have Sesonchosis and Sesostris. The latter name does not differ so widely from Sesortasen, but that they may well have been the same, allowance being made for the change which an Egyptian name would undergo, in being adapted to Greek pronunciation. In this case, as the name had become very celebrated among the Greeks, the change to which it had been subjected would be greater than ordinary, and Manetho, who wrote for the Greeks, might adopt the form in which they would recognise the well-known conqueror. The change of Sesonchosis into Sesortosis would, perhaps, be improbable if it stood alone, but ceases to be so amidst so many coincidences. The descending series thus becomes—

1. Ammenemes I . . . Last of the 11th dynasty.
2. Sesortosis I The Sesonchosis or Gesongosis of the MSS.¹
3. Ammenemes II . . . Second of the 12th dynasty.
4. { Sesostris or } II . Third of the same dynasty.
 { Sesortosis }

Here we find again a variance between the monuments and Manetho; for while they furnish a third Ammenemes, his text reads Lachares or Lamares, who is followed by Ameres. To this Lamares², called *Labaris* by Eusebius³, the building of the Labyrinth in the Arsinoite nome is attributed, but the unquestionable evidence of the Labyrinth itself declares that Ammenemes was its founder. In Eratosthenes we have Mares or Maris, as the thirty-fifth king, in a position answering generally to the Lamares of Manetho; and according to Diodorus⁴, Marus was the name which

¹ ΓΕΣΟΝΤΟΞΙΣ, the reading of one MS., does not differ very widely from ΣΕΕΟΠΤΟΞΙΣ. See Bunsen, Urk. p. 22, Germ.

² The titular shield of Ammenemes III. has been read Ra-n-mat, and it has been supposed that this gave rise to the name Lameres, R and L being interchangeable, but there is no clear example of the titular name finding its way into the lists.

³ Chron. Can. p. 15, ed. Scalig.

⁴ 1, 61.

some assigned to the builder of the Labyrinth. All these names, Marus, Maris, Ammeres, appear to owe their origin to an attempt to connect the foundation of the Labyrinth with the creation of the Lake Mœris. In the form Labaris preserved by Eusebius, and assigned as the founder of the Labyrinth, we have apparently the origin of Lamares, Lamparis, Lachares, and an evident attempt to etymologize the Greek name. The *Imandes* or *Maindes* of Strabo¹ on the contrary appears to be a corruption of Ammenemes, and so also the Mendes of Diodorus (*u. s.*). Dismissing Lamares and Ammeres, we may substitute in their place the two Ammenemes of the monuments. Three reigns, all of eight years, succeeding each other, are certainly not very probable.

Continuing our list, therefore, we have after Sesostris—

5. Ammenemes III. substituted for Labaris and Ameres;
6. Ammenemes IV., the Ammenemes of Manetho's list.

This arrangement is conformable to the Turin papyrus, in which we have in succession the titular shields, which are ascertained to belong to Ammenemes I., Sesortasen I., Ammenemes II., Sesortasen II., Sesortasen III., Ammenemes III., Ammenemes IV.²

According to Manetho, Ammenemes (IV.) was succeeded by his sister Scemiophris, reigning four years. No such person has been discovered in the monuments; but a king whose name is read Sebeknofre, is found in the Turin papyrus after Ammenemes IV., and on the Karnak Tablet, to whom a reign of 3 years 10 months 24 days is assigned, and it is a probable conjecture of Lepsius that the queen Scemiophris is no other than this king, supposed to be a female from the apparently feminine termination. A third Sesortasen appears in the monuments, who is not mentioned by Manetho. He succeeded the second Sesortasen. Ammenemes, the father of Sesonchosis (Sesortosis I.), was probably the

¹ 17, 811. Epit. p. 1312, Almel.

² Bunsen, 2, 299. Lesueur, 316, 317, who give the lengths of the reigns.

same as the Ammenemes who closes the eleventh dynasty. His name is found in the grottoes of Benihasan, and on two tablets of the Louvre it is conjoined with that of Sesortasen I.¹, whence their joint reign has been inferred. From the investigations of Lepsius and Bunsen it also appears that after the death of Ammenemes I., Sesortasen I. reigned alone for several years, and that in the latter part of his life Ammenemes II. was associated with him in the government². The reign of Sesortasen III. was probably included in that of Sesortasen II., the father having admitted the son to share his power. If the father survived the son, and consequently resumed the sole sovereignty, this would account for the absence of the son's name in Manetho's list.

Of Ammenemes, whom, according to this arrangement, we are to call the Second, it is only recorded that he was assassinated by his own officers of the bed-chamber³.

Sesostris succeeded to Ammenemes II. The resemblance of the names of several Egyptian sovereigns, and the more remarkable coincidence, that three of these appear to have been conquerors, have produced a confusion in the history of Sesostris, which till lately it was impossible to clear up. Four kings of very distant ages,—*Sesochris*, the eighth of the second dynasty; *Sesostris*, the third of the twelfth; *Sethos-Sesoosis-Rameses*, of the nineteenth;

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, page 46.

² Bunsen, *B.* 2, p. 293. A *stèle* in the Museum at Leyden mentions the 43rd year of Sesortasen I. as being also the 2nd of Ammenemes II.

³ I take the word *ἑκταίριος* in its etymological sense. We have I think no evidence of the prevalence in Ancient Egypt of the practice which prevailed in Assyria and is now common throughout Egypt and Western Asia. That its introduction was attributed to Semiramis is a presumption that it was not an Egyptian custom (*Her.* 3, 92. *Ammian. Marcell.* 14, 6. *Claud. Eutrop.* 1, 339). Pliny's *Nectabis* (36, 13, 2) lived after the Persian conquest. The use of סָרִיס (Gen. xxxvii. 36) is no proof of the custom, the name being used for a great officer, as 1 Sam. viii. 15. Rosellini (*M. Civ.* iii. 2, 137) thinks that real *evirati* appear in the monuments.

Sesonchis, of the twenty-second, have all partially contributed to the history of one king, who has been variously placed, according to different hypotheses. The gigantic stature which Herodotus assigns to Sesostris¹ is the historical attribute of Sesochris, who was five cubits and four palms in height². The erection of monuments recording his own victories beyond the limits of Egypt³ belongs, as far as we know, only to Sesoosis-Rameses, of whom monumental tablets have been found at Nahr-el-Kelb, on the Syrian coast. The erection of two obelisks at Heliopolis⁴ again belongs to Manetho's Sesostris, the Sesortasen II. of the monuments, the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus, since the name of this sovereign appears on that which still remains, and they were usually placed in pairs. Another form under which the name of this sovereign and warrior has come down to us, is Sesonchosis, as it stands first in the twelfth dynasty. Had it occurred only there, we might have acquiesced in the correction of *Sesortosis* before mentioned. But the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (4, 272) says that "Sesonchosis, king of all Egypt after Orus, son of Isis and Osiris, conquered all Asia and the greater part of Europe;" adding that Herodotus calls him Sesostris. It is not probable that the same corruption of Sesortosis into Sesonchosis should have taken place here, and therefore we are compelled to believe that this passage exhibits a further confusion of Sheshonk or Sesonchis, the Shishak of Scripture, with Sesostris. Sesonchis was really a great foreign conqueror, and inscribed the palace of Karnak with the representations of numerous sovereigns whom he had led captive. To this Sesonchosis, Dicæarchus, whom the Scholiast appears to follow, ascribes the institution of castes, and of the use of horses for riding—a fresh illustration of the propensity to refer the origin of customs lost in immemorial antiquity to some eminent name. How little chronology was regarded in these matters

¹ 2, 106. Diod. 1, 55.

² See page 104 of this volume.

³ Herod. 2, 102. Diod. 1, 55.

⁴ Diod. 1, 59.

is evident from the circumstance, that Dicæarchus makes this Sesonchosis to be the successor of Orus, the last of the gods, confounding him with the Menes of the common story. It would be lost labor to endeavor to reconcile such contradictions, and build them up into a chronological system.

The account which is given by Africanus of the conquests of Sesostris may seem to leave no doubt that he is really the hero of the Grecian story. We have already seen, however, that Africanus interposes remarks of his own among the names of the Manethonian lists; and what is said of Sesostris has such a close verbal resemblance to Diodorus, that as Africanus does not appear ever to have seen the work of Manetho, it is probable that he has copied this notice from Diodorus¹.

Since, therefore, the traditions of the Greeks respecting Sesostris either belong to the historical Rameses, or are wholly vague, we cannot venture to attribute to the Sesortasens of the monuments anything which is recorded of Sesostris². The monuments themselves, however, attest the power of the twelfth dynasty. Rosellini dug up near the Second Cataract a *stèle*, now preserved in the Florentine Museum³; it stood in an edifice raised by Rameses I., on the spot where Sesortasen I. had placed a memorial of his own victories. He is represented upon it standing in the presence of a hawk-headed deity, named Mandoo, who holds in his hand a cord to which are attached shields whose edge represents the battle-

¹ The error with regard to the significance of the emblems which he is said to have inscribed on his *stèle* is much more likely to have originated with the Greeks or their half-learned interpreters than with a high priest. Such emblems do occur among the hieroglyphics, but in a widely different sense from that attributed to them by Herodotus and Diodorus.

² Bunsen (B. 2, p. 309, Germ.) considers Sesortasen II. as the great Sesostria, and supposes him to have conquered Ethiopia as far as the shores of the Red Sea, and crossed into Arabia, and thence to the continent of Asia (Strabo, 16, p. 769).

³ Mon. Stor. iii. 1, p. 38. Mon. Reali, tav. xxv. 4.

ments of a town, and which are surmounted by the upper half of the human figure, with the hands bound behind. This is the way in which, on the monuments of Egyptian conquerors, their vanquished enemies are usually exhibited¹. The nations thus led captive appear from the absence of beard to be African, though they exhibit nothing of the negro physiognomy. Five are still extant on the monument, and when perfect it must have exhibited several others. The inscription on the base has not been fully made out, but it appears to record a sacrifice or offering to Mnevis, the white bull of Heliopolis. At Thebes Rosellini found a fragment of a statue of Sesortasen I., which from the manner of its insertion among later constructions, appeared to have been preserved as a relic of some building raised by him, and afterwards destroyed in the devastations of the Shepherds. The tombs of Benihassan are memorials of this dynasty, and in one of them, where a chief of the name of Ammenemes was buried, is an inscription to this king, who is there called "ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt²." The obelisk of Heliopolis gives him the same title, along with others of a more mystical kind, but records no historical fact. That of the Fyoun is equally destitute of information, but adds the title "beloved by Ptah." Several funeral tablets have been found in the neighborhood of Memphis and of Abydos, dedicated to persons who held office under him; they bear various dates, from the ninth year of his reign to the forty-fourth³. Manetho assigns forty-six as the duration of the reign of his Sesonchosis, whom we have supposed to represent Sesortosis I. The occurrence of his name at the copper-mines in the peninsula of Sinai⁴ shows that this region still remained in the possession of Egypt.

¹ Rosellini reads the names *Kas* or *Kos* (which may be the Cush of Scripture), *Shiameik*, *Soa* and *Shiat*, with two not perfectly legible.

² Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 30.

³ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 37.

⁴ Wilkinson. *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 406

There is in the grottoes of Benihasan a remarkable picture of the age of Sesortasen II. or Sesostris¹. The name of the occupant of the tomb has been read Nevophth; and his son, who like the father was of the military caste, is represented as standing to receive a procession of foreigners. They are preceded by a royal scribe, who holds out a scroll, on which is written the sixth year of Sesortasen II., and it is declared that the strangers having been vanquished, they are brought hither to the number of thirty-seven. Such at least appears to be the general sense of the inscription, but the interpretation of the characters is by no means certain. Instead of thirty-seven, only twelve adults and three children actually appear in the procession, and none of them are bound. To the royal scribe another Egyptian succeeds, and is followed by the king of the strangers, who leads an ibex by the horn and bows reverentially. He is uncovered, and wears a tunic of bright colors and an elaborate pattern; in his hand he carries a curved staff not unlike that which is seen in the hand of Osiris. Another stranger follows, of humbler rank, leading an ibex. Four men, armed with a kind of club or bow and spear, precede an ass, carrying two children in a pannier, along with an instrument whose use it is not easy to define, but which appears to represent some kind of shield. A boy on foot armed with a lance is followed by four females, and these by another ass with panniers. The whole procession is closed by two men, one of whom carries a lyre and a plectrum, the other a bow and a club. The inscription contains apparently the name of the strangers, but it has not been satisfactorily made out. Their lighter color and their aquiline noses show that they are neither Egyptians nor natives of a more southern country than Egypt. As they bring no gift but the ibex, it is probable they belong to a pastoral tribe², Arabian or Palestinian. They have

¹ See vol 1, pp. 40, 41. Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1. 48. *M. R. Tav* xxvi.-xxviii.

² Compare Isaiah lx. 7. "The rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee."

been thought to represent the migration of Jacob and his family, and certainly the bringing of children in panniers looks like the removal of a family, unless we suppose them to be hostages. But the figure of a prisoner is inconsistent with this idea; and the most probable supposition is, that the picture represents the bringing of tribute, by one of the nations bordering on the Asiatic frontier of Egypt, whom Sesortasen had reduced¹. Champollion believed them to be Greeks, induced partly by their garments, on which is seen the pattern which we call Greek, and find on the old fictile vases. But nothing else recommends this conjecture, and when we consider the close connexion of Greek with Phœnician art, such a coincidence will not appear surprising.

These grottoes of Benihasan are the best record of the state of manners and art in the flourishing period of the 12th dynasty, when the prosperity of Egypt was about to receive a check by the invasion of the Shepherds. We have already described the architecture of this age, so closely resembling the Doric². The pictures of Egyptian life testify to a state of civilization, in which both the elegant and the useful arts had been carried to a high degree of perfection. It may appear singular that as this dynasty as well as the preceding is called Diospolitan, scarcely any trace of them should be found at Thebes. The fragment of the statue of Sesortasen which has been preserved, however, shows that it was adorned by them.

Whether Sesortasen were the first who made conquests in Nubia depends on the place which we allot to the kings who bear the names of Sebekatep, or Sebekotph, and Nefruatep³, and are found in the Tablet of Karnak and the Turin Papyrus. If they

¹ Mr. Osburn (*Egypt and her Testimony to the Truth of the Bible*, pp. 38, 39) reads the namet *Jebusites*.

² Vol. i. pp. 213, 214.

³ Five Sebekateps and two Nefruateps may be distinguished in the monuments.

belong to the eleventh dynasty, which was Theban, Nubian conquest would seem to have begun with them, as the name of Sebekatep occurs at Semne, in the inscriptions which Lepsius supposes to record the rise of the Nile, along with that of Ammenemes¹. Their place however is doubtful, and they have been reckoned with the kings of the Middle Monarchy². Three kings of the name of Nantef have also been found, who from their place in the Tablet of Karnak³ and from their sepulture at Qoorneh appear to have belonged to a Theban dynasty, probably the 11th. Sesortasen I. certainly carried his arms into Nubia; under the 18th dynasty when the monarchy revived in greater splendor than ever, it seems to have been completely incorporated with Egypt, and the banks of the Nile were covered with temples in which their titles are recorded. These facts conclude very strongly against the opinion that civilization descended, either with conquest or the gradual spread of population, along the Nile from Meroe and Nubia to Egypt. It has been supported by the claims of the Theban priests which Diodorus admitted, by the unfounded opinion of the superior antiquity of the remains of Meroe, and perhaps by the fame of the poetical Ethiopians; but is contradicted by the monuments, which show us that Lower and Middle Egypt were the seats of powerful governments before Thebes had attained to any renown, and that Nubia had no civilization before her conquest by Egypt, which began with the 11th or 12th dynasty.

The age of the Labyrinth and the name of the sovereign by whom it was built have been most variously stated by the ancient writers, and nothing but the evidence of the ruins themselves has enabled us to assign with certainty Ammenemes as its founder. Herodotus, we have seen, attributes the building to the twelve

Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundssternperiode*, p. 627, note ².

Bunsen, *Ägyptens Stelle, Mittleres Reich*, pl. iv.

³ See *Hierogl. of the Egyptian Society*, pl. 96. Burch in *Gliddon's Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 80.

kings or chiefs who composed the Dodecarchia; not only making no mention of any other, but expressly calling them "the original founders'." This is in itself very improbable, if we consider how vast was the work, surpassing, as Herodotus says, not only all the works of Grecian architecture, but the Pyramids themselves. It is also in the highest degree improbable that, though after the Egyptian fashion each of these chiefs may have prepared a tomb for himself during his lifetime, they should have been deposited there after Psammitichus had dethroned them. Probably the circumstance that the number of the principal halls was twelve, led to their erection being attributed to these twelve kings. Diodorus gives a different account. He describes, as Herodotus does, the twelve kings as designing to leave a common memorial of themselves in the place which they prepared with all imaginable art for this purpose; and he fixes very precisely on the spot on which the Labyrinth actually stood—the entrance of the Canal into the Lake of Mæris²; but he does not call it the Labyrinth. On the contrary, he says³, that the Labyrinth was built by a much earlier king, who lived long before the building of the Pyramids, by some called Mendes, by others Marrus. Even here, however, we may trace some analogy to the account of Herodotus; Mendes or Marrus was made king immediately after the termination of the Ethiopian invasion under Actisanes; and in Herodotus, the retreat of the Ethiopians is followed by an interregnum of the priest Sethos, and then by the builders of the Labyrinth.

Strabo describes the Labyrinth as standing upon a *plateau*, about thirty or forty stadia from the entrance of the canal, and as consisting of the same number of palaces as the nomes of Egypt

¹ 2, 148. Φάμενοι θήκας αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχῆν τῶν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κροκοδείλων. These kings can be no other than those whom he has before mentioned—the Dodecarcha, who he says determined to leave the Labyrinth as a memorial of themselves.

² 1, 65.

³ 1, 61.

formerly amounted to¹. What this number was he does not specify, but from Herodotus and Pomponius Mela we learn that it was twelve². The establishment of an oligarchy of twelve, during the temporary suspension of monarchy, points to such a territorial division previously existing, and probably corresponding to that of the temples of the gods of the second order. One stadium from the Labyrinth stood a pyramid, 400 feet square at the base and of equal altitude, in which, says Strabo, a king named Imandes (Maindes) lies buried. This is the pyramid of Howara, which stands on a desert plain between the Bahr Jusuf and the ravine called Bahr-be-la-ma, which runs down to the north-eastern end of the Lake of Kerun. Its present height is about 106 feet, and its base 300³. It is constructed of crude bricks, mixed with straw, and has been originally cased with stone. The sepulchral chamber has been explored by Lepsius, and the discovery of the name of Ammenemes III. has removed all doubt respecting the time and purpose of its erection. He is the same sovereign whose shield occurs everywhere in the ruins of the Labyrinth.

These varying accounts may be partly reconciled by the observation that the pyramid and the labyrinth are sometimes spoken of as having a common destination, and sometimes discriminated. Strabo discriminates them; the labyrinth was according to him a collection of palaces⁴, the pyramid a place of sepulture. Herodotus, on the authority of the inhabitants, speaks of the kings and sacred crocodiles as being interred in the subterranean chambers of the labyrinth; Manetho (or Africanus) says Lamares built *the Labyrinth* as a sepulchre for himself; and Pliny, following Lyceas,

¹ B. 16, p. 787, 811.

² Psammetichi opus Labyrinthus domos ter mille et regias duodecim amplexus. (Pomp. Mela, 1, 9, 65.)

³ Perring on the Pyr. 3, 82.

⁴ The Memnoneion of Abydos, which was a palace, was (Strabo, 17, 813) a building in the style of the Labyrinth, only less complex.

calls it the sepulchre of Moeris. It appears quite contrary to Egyptian usages that the same building should be used as a palace and a cemetery. Notwithstanding therefore the tradition of the neighborhood recorded by Herodotus, the fact of the Labyrinth being at all a place of royal sepulture is questionable. It is however not unlikely that the embalmed crocodiles may have been deposited in the vaults. The name *Petesuchis*, which Pliny gives to the king who founded the Labyrinth 4600 years before his time¹, evidently alludes to this destination of the building; for Suchos was the tame crocodile of the Arsinoite nome, and *Pet* or *Pet-n* occurs frequently in similar combinations². It is not probable that the Labyrinth was all built by a single sovereign; Diodorus³ speaks of its being left unfinished by its founders, and we have seen reason to conclude that the Pyramids, though attributed by the ancients to a single reign, were not begun and concluded by the same person⁴.

The name *Labyrinth* appears to be of Greek origin, and we do not know what word corresponded to it in the ancient Egyptian. It originally denoted a complicated system of passages and galleries⁵, such as are found in mines, catacombs and internal quarries. As they were usually of unknown age, mythical personages were assigned as their authors. Those at Nauplia were attributed to the Cyclops⁶, that at Cnossus to Dædalus. The last-mentioned is usually supposed to have been a building, like the Egyptian; but no one speaks, as an eye-witness of it; and the story probably originated from the existence of a real labyrinth, excavated in times of unknown antiquity at Gortys in Crete⁷. The idea of per-

¹ Cod. Bamb. Plin. 36, 19 (13). *... τὸν αὐτὸν αἰῶνα τὸν αὐτὸν αἰῶνα τὸν αὐτὸν αἰῶνα*

² See vol. i. p. 323, note 1. *... τὸν αὐτὸν αἰῶνα τὸν αὐτὸν αἰῶνα* * 1, 66.

³ No name except that of Ammenemes III. appears to have been discovered by the Prussian Expedition, but only the foundations are left.

⁴ Such a gallery was called by the Greeks *Λάβρα*, from which, pronounced *Λάβρα*, *Λάβρα*, *λαβρινθος* would be formed by a regular analogy. (Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 209. Hoeckh's Creta, vol. 1, p. 62.)

⁵ Strabo, 8, p. 369.

⁷ Walpole's Travels, 2, 402.

plexity which we associate with the name, and which the myth represents as the designed end of the construction, was the necessary consequence, in the one case of the multitude of intersecting passages, in the other of the endless succession of apartments, repeating each other. Herodotus describes the Labyrinth of Egypt as the palace of Versailles might be described by one who had been led through it by a guide, and had been at once astonished and bewildered by what he had seen. We can distinguish, however, in his description, *hypostyle halls*, which were roofed by single blocks of stone¹, filling the whole space of the intercolumniations, *closed apartments* adjoining to these, and *porticoes* leading to other roofed apartments. The multitude and similarity of these buildings might well make it impracticable for a stranger to find his way through them, especially as the majority of them had no light². Herodotus says they were in all 3000, 1500 above ground and an equal number below. The exactness of this statement rests of course on the fidelity of his guides, who delight in large and round numbers, which are rendered more doubtful by the circumstance that the building was only one story high above the ground. The ruins which have been explored by the Prussian Expedition, show that the whole was a rectangle of 800 feet by 500. Pliny speaks of this as well as the other Labyrinths as being arched, *fornicibus tecti*; but there is no trace of the use of the arch here or in any other building of this age. It appears to have been chiefly built of a hard white limestone, which has been mistaken for Parian marble³; but the fragments of granite which lie scattered about show that this more costly material had also been used for columns, shrines and statues. The white limestone was proba-

¹ Strabo, p. 811.

² Pliny, N. H. 36, 19 (13). *Majore in parte transitus est per tenebras.*

³ Plin. 36, 19, (13) 2. *Ægyptius labyrinthus (quod miror equidem) introitu lapide e Pario, columnis reliquis e Syenite, molibus compositis, quas dissolvere ne sæcula quidem possint.*

bly brought from the Gebel-el-Mokattam, where an inscription records the working of a quarry of hard white stone, in the reign of a sovereign of the name of Ammenemes, whose precise place in the series cannot be ascertained, as his distinctive title does not accompany his phonetic name¹.

Manetho, according to Africanus, reckoned 2300 years from Menes to Ammenemes I. (see p. 129). If to this we add 160 years for the 12th dynasty, we have 2460 years for the duration of the Old Monarchy. That there is some great error of excess in these numbers cannot be doubted, but they can be corrected only by unauthorised conjecture. Bunsen, taking Eratosthenes for his standard, reduces the Old Monarchy to 1076 years. The question can be settled in no other way than by the discovery of some evidence to show whether any and which of the dynasties of Manetho were contemporaneous.

¹ The cornice of the *stele* bears the date "43rd year," and the builder of the Labyrinth reigned only twelve. But this date is no part of the inscription, nor does it express the reign of Ammenemes. (Birch in Vyse, *Pyramids*, 3. 94. *Tourah Quarries*, Tablet No 1.)

BOOK II.

THE MIDDLE MONARCHY.

Thirteenth Dynasty.

	Years.
SIXTY DIOSPOLITAN KINGS, who reigned	453

Fourteenth Dynasty.

SEVENTY-SIX XOITE KINGS, who reigned	184
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Fifteenth Dynasty.—Of Shepherds.

SIX FOREIGN PHœNICIAN KINGS, who also took Memphis. They likewise founded a city in the Sethroite nome, advancing from which they reduced the Egyptians into subjection. The first of these who reigned was SAITES	19
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From him the Saitic nome was called.

2. BNON	44
3. PACHNAN	61
4. STAAN	50
5. ARCHLES	49
6. APHOBI8	61
	284

Sixteenth Dynasty.

THIRTY OTHER SHEPHERD KINGS, reigned	518
--	-----

Seventeenth Dynasty.

FORTY-THREE OTHER SHEPHERD KINGS, AND FORTY-THREE THEBAN DIOPOLITES. Together the Shepherds and Thebans reigned	151
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Eusebius gives these dynasties with very important variations.

Thirteenth Dynasty.

	Years
SIXTY DIOSPOLITAN KINGS, reigned	453

Fourteenth Dynasty.

SEVENTY-SIX XOITE KINGS, reigned	184
	[484 in another copy.]
	Arm. 434.

Fifteenth Dynasty.

DIOSPOLITAN KINGS, reigned	250
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Sixteenth Dynasty.

FIVE THEBAN KINGS, reigned	190
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Seventeenth Dynasty.

(FOUR) FOREIGN PHOENICIAN SHEPHERD KINGS¹ (brothers), who also took Memphis.

First, SAITES reigned	19
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From him the nome Satis was called. They founded a city in the Sethroite nome, advancing from which they subdued Egypt.

2. BNON	40
3. APHOPHIS	14
4. After him ARCHLES	30

103

No name is preserved by Africanus or Syncellus from the thir-

¹ For Ποιμίνας ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ Φοίνικες we should probably read ΗΞΑΝ Δ̄ (four) ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ. Syncellus complains of the arbitrary manner in which Eusebius had transposed the 15th Dynasty into the 17th; his motive was to adapt the Egyptian to the assumed Biblical chronology. (P. 62, 115 Dind.)

teenth and fourteenth dynasty; consequently we are deprived of the means of comparing them with the monuments. Xoïs was a town of considerable size in Lower Egypt, lying near the centre of the Delta, in an island formed by the Sebennytic and Phatnitic branches of the Nile¹.

The establishment of the Shepherd Kings at Memphis, which is so briefly noticed in the extracts by Africanus, is fortunately related at great length by Josephus in a passage quoted by him from Manetho. Apion the Grammarian, one of those vain pedants whom the school of Alexandria produced in such abundance², had attacked the Jews, who were very odious to the Egyptians, and especially to the Alexandrians, in a work on the Jewish history, in which he gave a very reproachful account of the origin of their nation. To this work Josephus replied. In a remarkable Introduction he shows how late was the origin of Greek letters and history, compared with the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phœnician, and opposes to the unfavorable accounts of the Græco-Egyptian Apion, what he considers to be the honorable testimony to the Jewish people, which Manetho had delivered from the Egyptian records. Having described Manetho as a man well skilled in Grecian learning, and who had derived his materials, according to his own declaration, from the sacred records of his country, he thus proceeds with his quotation from the second book of his 'Egyptiaca' (Cont. Apion. 1, 14):—

"We had once a king called Timæos, under whom, from some cause unknown to me, the Deity was unfavorable to us, and there

¹ Champollion, *Égypte sous les Pharaons*, 2, p. 214, thinks its site was at Sakha, which is the Arabic equivalent of the Coptic *Xeos* and the old Egyptian *Skhoon*. The road from Rosetta to Cairo across the Delta passes through it. (Steph. Byz. s. v. Strabo, 17, p. 802.)

² "Apion Grammaticus, quem Tiberius Cæsar *cymbalum mundi* vocabat, quum publicæ famæ tympanum potius videri posset, immortalitate donari a se scripsit, ad quos aliqua componebat." (Plin. Præf. H. N.)

came unexpectedly from the eastern parts a race of men of obscure extraction, who confidently invaded the country and easily got possession of it by force, without a battle. Having subdued those who commanded in it, they proceeded savagely to burn the cities, and razed the temples of the gods, inhumanly treating all the natives, murdering some of them and carrying the wives and children of others into slavery. In the end they also established one of themselves as a king whose name was *Salatis*; and he took up his abode in Memphis, exacting tribute from both the Upper and the Lower Country, and leaving garrisons in the most suitable places. He especially strengthened the parts towards the East, foreseeing that on the part of the Assyrians, who were then powerful, there would be a desire to invade their kingdom. Finding, therefore, in the Sethroite¹ nome a city very conveniently placed, lying eastward of the Bubastic river, and called from some old religious doctrine² Auaris [or Abaris], he built it up and made it very strong with walls, settling there also a great number of heavy-armed soldiers, to the amount of 240,000 men for a guard. Hither he used to come in the summer season, partly to distribute the rations of corn and pay the troops³, partly to exercise them carefully by musterings and reviews, in order to inspire fear into foreign nations. He died after a reign of 19 years. After him another king called *Bnon* reigned 44 years; after him another, *Apachnas*, 36 years and 7 months; then *Apophis* 61 years, and *Jannas* 50 years and 1 month. Last of all *Asses* 49 years and 2 months. And these six were their first rulers, always carrying on war and desiring rather to extirpate the Egyptians. Their whole nation was called *Hyksos*, that is Shepherd Kings; for *Hyk* in the sacred language denotes King, and

¹ Syncellus has preserved the true reading; the MSS. and Schol. Plat. Timæus read *Saito*.

² Ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας.

³ Σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος.

Sos is a Shepherd in the common dialect, and hence by composition *Hyksos*. But in another copy it is said, that not Shepherd Kings but Captive Shepherds are designated by the word *Hyk*; for that on the contrary, *Hyk* or *Hak* with the aspirate distinctly means Captives; and this appears to me more credible, and accordant with ancient history. The before-named kings, he says, and their descendants, were masters of Egypt for 511 years.

“After this he says that a revolt of the kings of the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt took place against the Shepherds, and a great and prolonged war was carried on with them. Under a king whose name was *Misphragmuthosis*, he says that the Shepherds were expelled by him from the rest of Egypt after a defeat, and shut up in a place having a circuit of 10,000 aruræ. This place was called *Auaris*. *Manetho* says that the Shepherds surrounded it entirely with a large and strong wall, in order that they might have a secure deposit for all their possessions and all their plunder. *Thuthmosis*, the son of *Misphragmuthosis*, endeavored to take the place by siege, attacking the walls with 480,000 men. Despairing of taking it by siege, he made a treaty with them that they should leave Egypt and withdraw, without injury, whithersoever they pleased; and in virtue of this agreement they withdrew from Egypt with all their families and possessions to the number of not fewer than 240,000, and traversed the desert into Syria. Fearing the power of the Assyrians, who were at that time masters of Asia, they built a city in that which is now called *Judæa*, which should suffice for so many myriads of men, and called it *Jerusalem*.

“And in a certain other book of his *Egyptiaca*, *Manetho* says that this nation who are called Shepherds are described as Captives in their sacred books. And he says rightly; for the keeping of sheep was the ancient habit of our forefathers, and they were not unnaturally described as Captives by the Egyptians, since our forefather *Joseph* declares himself to the king of the Egyptians to be

a captive, and afterwards at the command of the king sent for his brethren into Egypt. Into these things, however, I will inquire hereafter more accurately."

This is the account which Josephus gives from Manetho of the invasion, reign and expulsion of the Shepherd kings. If we except some evident exaggerations of numbers, such as the host of 480,000 men besieging a city or fortified camp containing 240,000, there is nothing in it which is not quite credible and natural. The nomadic nations have always envied the wealth and luxury which agriculture, commerce and art have procured for their more civilized neighbors; and when these have been weakened by the neglect of military accomplishments, have found it easy to overturn their power and lay waste their country. Such has in fact been the history of Asia; and had it not been for the valor of *Ætius* in the plains of Chalons, and Charles Martel at Tours, Europe might have been subject for centuries to the sway of "men of unknown extraction from the East, who razed her cities and destroyed the temples of the gods, and carried her children into captivity." If the Hyksos are, as some accounts represented, Arabs, they belonged to the same race as that to which the Hindu, the Parsee and the Christian have been obliged to yield up their lands and their sanctuaries.

How long the war and consequent devastation of Egypt lasted, before Salatis¹ established himself as king in Memphis, we are not told. Africanus must have included in the nineteen years allotted to Salatis the whole period both of his reign and the conquest, as he reckons nothing for an interregnum, or for that of the last king of the preceding dynasty. It seems to have been the maxim of the Egyptian monarchy, that the sovereign never dies. From

¹ The name Salatis, preserved by Josephus for *Saites*, is supposed to bear an analogy to the Hebrew שָׁלַט, "to rule." It occurs Gen. xlii. 8 but the endeavor on the strength of this coincidence to identify Salatis with Joseph is an example of overstraining evidence.

Menes to Nectanebus the throne appears in the chronological lists always full. The struggle lasted during the reigns of the six first Shepherd kings, after which the Egyptians appear to have made no further attempts at resistance.

If we are to consider all the dynasties of Manetho as strictly successive, and adopt the largest numbers, 637 years ($453 + 484$) must have intervened between the 12th dynasty and the invasion of the Shepherds; and again, 953 years ($284 + 518 + 151$) from that invasion to their expulsion. There are, however, special reasons in this case for admitting them to have been contemporaneous. Manetho does not speak of one king as being at the head of the Egyptians when the Shepherds invaded them, but of "those who commanded in the country¹," from which we may infer that the unity of the monarchy was already dissolved. Again, when the Shepherds are expelled, it is said that "the kings from the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt rose up against them²." It seems probable, therefore, that before or in consequence of the invasion of the Shepherds two separate kingdoms were formed, one at Thebes, the other at Xoïs, which lasted through the whole of the time that the Shepherds maintained themselves in Egypt. Each of them had peculiar local advantages for the establishment of a kingdom, which the invaders might prefer to leave dependent and tributary, rather than attempt to subdue. The Thebaid was remote from Memphis where they fixed their capital, and by retiring into Ethiopia, as Amenophis is said to have done on occasion of a second inroad, the Egyptian kings could easily place themselves beyond the reach of invaders. Xoïs, on the other hand,

¹ Καταβροσθήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἰσθράτευσαν καὶ βραδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι κ. τ. λ. (Jos. u. c. 14).

² Μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιμένις ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον αὐτοῖς συμβῆσθαι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον. (Jos. u. c.)

was protected by its position amidst the intersecting branches of the Nile, which probably rendered it inapproachable by land forces. When Sabaco and the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, Anysis took refuge in the marshes, and maintained himself for fifty years in an island which he made habitable by laying down ashes in the muddy soil. When Inarus revolted from the Persians (460 B.C.) they reduced without difficulty the rest of the country, but Amyrtæus kept possession of the marshes for several years, perhaps as many as forty¹.

The Theban dynasty lasted 453 years, the Xoite 484, and these numbers are not very different from the 518 or 511 assigned to the dominion of the Shepherds. Africanus indeed appears to make the 16th dynasty last 518 years, besides the 284 of the 15th; but according to Josephus the six kings of the 15th and *their descendants*² reigned 511 years. The 17th dynasty of Shepherds and Theban kings represents the period of the struggle, described by Josephus as great and protracted. It lasted for 150 years.

The motive of the Shepherd kings for establishing their place of arms at Abaris, in the Sethroitic nome, is stated, conjecturally, by Manetho to have been the apprehension of invasion from the Assyrians, then predominant in Asia. Another obvious reason was to maintain a connexion with the countries from which they came, and secure a retreat in the event of the Egyptians recovering their independence. The Sethroitic nome was a Typhonian region, and probably the name itself was allusive to this divinity³. Manetho

¹ Herod. 2, 140. 3, 15. Thucyd. 1, 110.

² Τοῦτους δὲ τοὺς προκατ'ωνομασμένους βασιλεῖς, τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἑνδεκά. (Jos. u. 8)

³ "Non spernendam censeo observationem viri doctissimi (Marshami) suspicantis tractum illum qui campos Pelusiacos comprehendit et ad lacum usque Serbonidem extenditur, olim Sethroiten dictum, nomen hoc accepisse

implies that the name Abaris or Auaris had a similar reference¹, but the Egyptian language affords no clue to such an etymology.

Josephus says that in another *book* of the *Egyptiaca*, or in another *copy* of the passage which we have already transcribed, Manetho explains the name Hyksos as "captive shepherds," not "shepherd kings." To this etymology also the Egyptian language, as we are acquainted with it, gives no support. Indeed the Jewish historian must have calculated upon very uncritical readers, if he supposed that they would believe the Shepherds and his forefathers to be the same. Except their Palestinian origin, and their retreat into Palestine, everything in their history is different. The children of Israel came on the invitation of Pharaoh, a handful of men, into Egypt, and were placed in the land of Goshen, by his appointment, to tend his cattle. When they subsequently multiplied so as to become an object of alarm to the Egyptians, they were subject to cruel persecution and oppression, to which they made no resistance, and even when they were encouraged by Moses to quit the land of their bondage, they never ventured to fight for their liberties. National vanity has often strangely perverted history, claiming conquests which have never been made; but if the Israelites were really the Hyksos of Manetho, they must have foregone the glory of being the conquerors of Egypt, in order to represent themselves as its bondsmen.

Manetho never represents the Hyksos as the same with the Jews, although Josephus artfully slides in the words "our forefathers" into the account which he gives, apparently on Manetho's

a Typhone, quem Egyptios lingua sua cognominasse *Seth* infra monebimus. Addere possum *rubicundum* Egyptiis dici *ros*, ex quo conficitur *Sethros* commodissime significare *Typhonem rufum*." (Jablonsky, P. III. p. 65. Comp. vol. I. p. 369.)

¹ This word has been derived from עֶבֶר, and connected with the sojourning of the Hebrews,

authority¹. It is true, Manetho says that the Hyksos, when they retired by treaty from Egypt, established themselves in Judea and built Jerusalem. But this rather proves them not to have been the Jews; who, instead of building Jerusalem, did not even possess it till the time of David. At their entrance, under Joshua, into Palestine, it was held by the Jebusites, a Canaanitic tribe². Their king was killed in battle; but his people still held the upper city, the place of strength, while the tribe of Judah and Benjamin dwelt around the base. Manetho, therefore, identifies the Shepherds, not with the Jews, but the Jebusites; and Josephus, who had related the facts which I have just mentioned in his 'Antiquities³,' cannot have been ignorant of the fallacy of his own argument. Theophilus Antiochenus and Tatian, in the second century⁴, when they speak of the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt, follow, not Manetho, but Josephus interpreting Manetho. It appears therefore that the ancient and authentic records of Egypt made no mention of the Jews, their coming into Egypt, their settlement in Goshen, their bondage, or their Exodus. But there was a popular and traditionary account of them⁵ which Josephus has quoted from Manetho, evidently formed under the influence of those feelings of hatred and contempt of which the Jews were the object on the part of their neighbors. It belongs, however, to the history of the eighteenth dynasty, where it will be particularly considered.

If we could find in the lists or the monuments, the Timæus under whom, according to Manetho, the invasion of the Shepherds

¹ He repeats the same unfair substitution in cap. 26, with the additional circumstance that they built the Temple.

² Josh. x. 1, 23; xv. 63. Judges, i. 21; 2 Sam. v. 6.

³ Ant. 5, 2; 7, 3.

⁴ See the passages quoted in Bunsen's *Urkundenbuch*, v. vi.

⁵ Οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίους γραμμάτων ἀλλ' ὥς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐκ τῶν δδασπότως μυθολογουμένων (cap. 16).

took place, we might connect this event with the previous history of Egypt. No such name however is found. He is called Concharis in the *Laterculus* of Syncellus, a name equally unknown to the monuments. The last king in the list of Eratosthenes is Amuthartaïos, and it is probable that this list, as it begins with Menes, the founder of the old monarchy, ends with the king who was reigning when Salatis established himself at Memphis; but between this name and Timaïos there is no resemblance¹. None of the six names of the Shepherd kings preserved by Manetho has been found on the monuments², nor is there any monumental or architectural, or even sepulchral trace of the long period of their occupation of Egypt. The 39th shield on the tablet of Abydos is that of Ammenemes IV.; the 40th, Aahmes or Amosis, whom Manetho places at the head of the 18th dynasty. So that the whole interval of the Shepherd dominion appears to be passed over, as one of usurpation.

Of the seventy-six tributary kings of Xoïs, no monuments remain that can be referred to them on satisfactory evidence; though it is by no means improbable that among the many which have not yet had a place assigned them in the series³, some may belong to this dynasty. The tributary kings of Thebes, however, during the same interval, have been supposed to have a record in the tablet of Karnak and in the papyrus of Turin⁴. Five, as already mentioned,

¹ Bunsen would correct 'Αμυθαρταῖος in Eratosthenes into 'Αμυντταῖος, which he substitutes conjecturally for ἡ βασιλεὺς HMIN TIMAIOΣ in the extract from Josephus.

² A shield which reads *Ases* is the 4th in the tablet of Karnak, but from its place cannot be Ases, the Hyksos king of Josephus. See p. 121, 122, 152 of this volume.

³ A long list of these may be seen in Leemans' *Monumens Egyptiens portans des Légendes royales*, and subsequent discoveries have much increased their number. See Barucchi *Cronologia Egizia*. Turin, 1844.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkm. taf. i.*

bore the name of *Sebekatep*, and two of *Nefruatep*. Such repetitions, resembling the Louises, Henriess and Georges of modern royal families, appear to have been very common among the Egyptian dynasties. It seems upon the whole probable that the Sebekateps lived in the beginning of the thirteenth dynasty, since a monument dated in the reign of one of them speaks of Ammenemes III. as deceased¹. The whole number of shields is thirty in the second half of the chamber of Karnak, but several are illegible. As the kings of Thebes in the Hyksos period were more than thirty, some cause, to us unknown, must have led to the selection of these. The fragments of the Turin papyrus show some of the same names as the chamber of Karnak², and when entire, this portion of the manuscript appears to have contained sixty-five shields.

The seventeenth dynasty, as it now stands, is apparently corrupt; at least it is improbable that there should be exactly forty-three kings both of the Shepherds and the Thebans, and that in both lines kings should reign on the average only three and a half years. The error, however, appears to be in these numbers, not in the duration of the dynasty. The kings of Thebes declared themselves independent, and cast off their allegiance as tributaries to the Shepherd kings of Memphis. A long and bloody war, or succession of wars, ensued, for a century and a half, which ended in the Hyksos being driven by Misphraginuthosis into Abaris.

Without the testimony of Manetho, we should have been wholly ignorant of this most important event in the history of Egypt. For neither Herodotus nor Diodorus, nor any of the Greek and Latin historians, give any account of it. This is the more remarkable, as the Egyptians had informed them of their subjugation by

¹ Birch in Gliddon's *Otia Egyptiaca*, p. 82.

² Lepsius, *Denkm.* taf. iv. v. vi. Bunsen's plate v. The names in the shields, which in the papyrus are written in the *hieratic* character, are here transcribed in the hieroglyphic.

the Ethiopians, so that national vanity did not carry them so far as to suppress all facts inconsistent with the immemorial independence of their nation. There is indeed a passage before referred to in Herodotus, in which a trace of the invasion of the Hyksos may be visible, but which could never have been so understood without the explanation which Manetho affords. Speaking of the odium in which the memory of the builders of the pyramids was held, he says¹, "that the people did not much like to name them; but even called them the pyramids of the shepherd Philition or Philitis, who fed his flocks in this region at that time." Since the pyramids have been explored, no doubt can remain that they are the work of native kings, and of a much earlier time; yet it is possible that among the various traditions to which their high antiquity had given birth, one may have connected them with the obscurely remembered invasion of the Hyksos, and that the name Philitis may represent Philistim. The scriptural writers certainly attribute a connection with Egypt to the Philistines², who in Amos ix. 7 are spoken of as an immigrant people, like the Israelites themselves; and the name, though confined in the Bible to a small district, was used for the whole country, which thence derived the name of Palestine. The account given by Apollodorus (2, 1, 3), that Ægyptus the son of Belus brother of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, came from Arabia and conquered Egypt, unhistorical as it is, may have had its origin in the invasion of the Hyksos, who are called both Phœnicians and Arabians, and who settled in Palestine on their expulsion from Egypt³. The connexion of

¹ 2, 128.

² Gen. x. 14. The *Casluhim* there mentioned are probably the dwellers about the *Mons Casius*, a part of that Typhonian region which the Hyksos occupied. Δίμνη Σέρβωνις καὶ χώρα περὶ ἣν φασὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα κεκρύφθαι, πλησίων οὖσαν τοῦ πρὸς τῷ Πηλουσίῳ Κασίου ὄρους. (Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 248. Herod. 3, 5.)

³ "In Agenoris ex Ægypto in Phœniciam migratione videtur latere opinio

the mythe of Isis, Osiris and Typhon with Phœnicia, of the Tyrian with the Egyptian Hercules', and generally of Phœnician with Egyptian civilization, will be best explained by the supposition that the nomad tribes of Palestine were masters of Egypt for several generations, and subsequently returned to the same country, carrying with them the knowledge of letters and the arts, which they were the instruments of diffusing over Asia Minor and Greece. Phœnicia has evidently been the connecting link between these countries and Egypt, which directly can have exercised only a very slight and transient influence upon them.

The narrative of the invasion, the dominion and the expulsion of the Hyksos contains nothing that is incredible; but the duration which is assigned to their sway is certainly startling, not so much because it requires a great extension of Egyptian chronology, as because we do not find in Egypt the traces which we might naturally expect of a dominion said to have lasted six centuries and a half. There are no marks, at least none that have been ascertained, of the city of Abaris, whose walls included a space more than double that of Rome under Diocletian, and not much inferior to that of London at the present day². Although they occupied a country in which pyramids, obelisks, temples, and palaces presented themselves on every side, they seem never to have employed the art of their subjects in raising any corresponding memorial of themselves. An equal degree of inertness must have seized on the Egyptians themselves. Under the 12th dynasty, to judge from the descriptions and remains of the Labyrinth, art and skill must have been at a high point of elevation; under the 18th dynasty they showed themselves in unimpaired perfection; but not a single contemporaneous work of art has been found, from the 13th to the

de communi nescio qua Phœnicum et Ægyptiorum credita origine." (Heyne ad Apollod. 2, 1, 4. Kearick, Egypt of Herod. 2, 182.)

¹ Herod. 2, 44.

² Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 14, with Bunsen's note, Urkundenb. p. 44.

18th dynasty. These things are not sufficient to make us doubt the fact of the invasion and expulsion of the Hyksos; but they may excite a suspicion that the chronology of this period of oppression and confusion is not to be relied on, and that as usual it has been unduly extended¹.

The occupation of Egypt by the Hyksos appears to have been from first to last military. The fortified camp of Abaris, the possession of Memphis and of various other places throughout Egypt which were garrisoned by them, placed the whole country entirely in their power; but the difference of religion, language and institutions would prevent any amalgamation between them and a people so peculiarly inflexible in all these relations as the Egyptians were. Their monarchs took care to preserve the military discipline, on which the maintenance of their superiority depended: from Memphis, where the seat of their government was established, they visited Abaris every summer, and by military exercises and reviews at once kept up the spirit of the soldiers and made an imposing display of force in the eyes of the natives and foreigners. During the first six reigns a policy of destruction and extermination was pursued; afterwards it should seem that on payment of tribute, the sovereigns of Thebes and Xoïs were allowed to exercise the powers of royalty, and the people to pursue their labors in peace.

Probably the condition of Greece under the Turks affords the nearest historical parallel to that of the Egyptians under the

¹ Bunsen extends the dominion of the Shepherds to 929 years (B. 3, p. 48, Germ.), and supposes the fifty-three kings mentioned by Apollodorus (Sync. p. 147. 279, ed. Dind.) to be the Theban Kings contemporary with the Shepherds. Lepsius (Einl. p. 520) supposes that Apollodorus began his second list with Amosis, the head of the 18th dynasty and of the New Monarchy, and ended it with Amasis the contemporary of Cambyses. Here the *Laterculus* of Syncellus ends, and it comprehends in this interval just fifty-three kings.

Hyksos. In both cases a nomadic and military tribe have established themselves among a sedentary and civilized people, whose energies had been impaired; in both, the repugnance occasioned by difference of blood, language and religion has not only prevented any fusion of the two races, but has preserved the hostile feeling between them in undiminished strength, after the cessation of a state of warfare. The Turks have been said to be only *encamped* in Europe, and this was literally true of the Hyksos in Egypt. The number of 240,000, said to have been collected within the walls of Abaris, probably represents the average amount of the Hyksos population, who living on the tribute paid by the Egyptians, followed no other occupation than that of arms, and came in succession to their fortified camp to undergo their military training. The recovery of their country and their capital by the Greeks seemed at one time imminent; had it taken place, their language and religion would have been reinstated with no change from the long predominance of the Turks; the Mosch of the Sultan would have become again the Church of St. Sophia, and the people have re-appeared, after the oppression of four centuries, identical with the subjects of the Palæologi, but regenerated in spirit by the struggle by which their independence was purchased. In such a case it is conceivable that their tables of royal succession might omit all mention of the Mahmouds, Selims and Mustaphas, and pass from the last Constantine to the first Otho. It is true, the period of Turkish sway is not equal to the shortest time at which the dominion of the Hyksos in Egypt has been reckoned. But no nation has ever equalled the Egyptian in the fixedness of its character and institutions. The relations of the Greeks to their Turkish masters might have continued much longer unchanged, had they both been as completely insulated from all foreign influences and political combinations as the Egyptians were.

On the whole, though it is difficult to realize to ourselves a dominion continuing for six centuries and a half, and then termi-

nating with so few traces as the Hyksos left in Egypt, this difficulty is not sufficient to justify us in rejecting the positive testimony of Manetho to events which he could have no motive to feign. We have indeed his testimony only at the second hand, and that not of a wholly trustworthy witness. But though Josephus has certainly perverted, we cannot believe that he invented, his alleged quotation from Manetho. His learned adversary would have easily detected such a fraud.

The confusion and destruction which attended the conquest of the Hyksos, have rendered the chronology of this period of Egyptian history quite uncertain, beyond the reigns of the six kings of the 15th dynasty. We can place no reliance on the assigned length of periods, which furnish us with neither names, nor facts, nor monuments, because we have no control over the fictions or the errors of historians. Until this deficiency is supplied, it must remain a fruitless attempt to carry up a connected chain of authentic chronology, through the Middle Monarchy to the termination, and thence to the commencement of the Old, even if the chronology of the latter were better ascertained than it is.

BOOK III.

THE NEW MONARCHY.

Eighteenth Dynasty, according to Africanus.

(Sync. p. 62-72; 115-136, Dind.)

	Years.
1 Sixteen Diospolite kings, of whom the first was Amos ¹ , under whom Moses went out of Egypt, as we shall show.	
2. CHEEBROS, reigned	13
3. AMENOPHTHIS	24
4. AMERSIS	22
5. MISAPHRIS	13
6. MISPHRAGMUTHOSIS ²	26
7. TOUTHMOSIS	9
8. AMENOPHIS	31
This is he who is thought to be Memnon and the Speak- ing Statue.	
9. HORUS	27
10. ACHERRES	32
11. RATHOS	6
12. CHEEBRES	12
13. ACHERRES	12
14. ARMESSES	5
15. RAMESSES	1
16. AMENOPHATH	19

¹ Amos should have headed the list of Africanus with the years of his reign, but in consequence of the incidental mention of his name this seems to have been omitted. Syncellus calls his father Asseth.

² By the general consent of critics, ΜΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ has been substituted for ΑΙΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ in the text of Josephus from Eusebius and Syncellus.

According to Eusebius :—

Eighteenth Dynasty.

	Years.
1. Fourteen Diospolite kings, of whom the first, AMOSIS, reigned	25
2. CHEBRON	13
3. AMENOPHIS	21
4. MIPHRES	12
5. MISPHRAGMUTHOSIS	26
6. TOUTHMOSES	9
7. AMENOPHIS	31
He is thought to be Memnon and the Speaking Statue.	
8. HORUS	36 [38]
9. ACHENCHERSES	16 [12]
Under him Moses led the Jews in their Exodus from Egypt.	
10. ACHERRSES	8
11. CHERRES	15
12. ARMAIS, who is also Danaus	5
Afterwards being exiled from Egypt, and flying from his brother Ægyptus, he comes into Greece, and having made himself master of Argos, rules the Argives.	
13. RAMESSES, who is also Ægyptus	68
14. AMENOPHIS	40

From the Tablet of Abydos.

It has been already observed that this monument contains no names of kings, except Ramses the Great, only the prenominal or titular shields. The researches of Champollion, however, aided and corrected by those of our countrymen and of Lepsius, have ascertained the corresponding phonetic names, and thus we are enabled to present the following series for comparison with the lists of Manetho and Eusebius :—

1. AAHMES.
2. AMENOPH (I.).

3. THOTHMES (I.).
4. THOTHMES (II.).
5. THOTHMES (III.).
6. AMENOPH (II.).
7. THOTHMES (IV.).
8. AMENOPH (III.).
9. HORUS.
10. RAMSES (I.).
11. MENEPHTAH (I.).
12. RAMSES (II.).
13. RAMSES (III.), in whose reign the tablet of
Abydos was erected.

The discrepancies are obvious. The Amoses of the lists is evidently the Aahmes of the tablet and monuments, but Chebros appears neither on the tablet nor elsewhere. Amenoph, the second on the tablet, is the third in the lists; Miphres and Mispfragmuthosis are again not found on the tablet. Touthmosis of the lists answers to Thothmes of the tablet; but whereas the tablet gives three in succession of this name, the lists present only one. Amenophis II. is found in both, followed, however, on the tablet by a fourth Thothmes and a third Amenoph. In Horus again they agree; but his successor on the tablet is Ramses, in the lists Achencheres or Acherres.

There can hardly be a question which authority is to be preferred. No better evidence than that of a monument, erected by public authority, can be produced in an historical inquiry. Its testimony is liable to no corruption, such as written documents may undergo, from accident or fraud, nor to the variations which are inevitable in oral tradition. It represents the most authentic knowledge of the age in which it was erected, and must therefore take precedence of every other kind of document. It is true that this age may have falsely believed itself possessed of certain knowledge, and such a belief could acquire no additional authority by being recorded on stone. There is no room here, however, for this distinction. The time of the erection of the monument was not

much further removed from the reign of Amosis than the present year from the Restoration, and it is incredible that the Egyptians, so learned in their own history and antiquities, should have been in error in regard to the succession of their sovereigns during this period. That Manetho in the age of the Ptolemies, when the tablet of Abydos was extant in its integrity, with the command of numerous other documents, should commit an error on such a point, is indeed strange, but less incredible than an error in the tablet itself. There is in the Rameseion at Thebes a representation of a procession in which the ancestors of Rameses the Great appear, and their succession from Amenoph I. corresponds with that of the tablet of Abydos¹. Again, we find in a tomb of Qoorneh a succession of four, from Thothmes III. to Amenophis III., in which there is the same correspondence. A procession at Medinet Aboo, similar to the first-mentioned, begins with Amenophis III. and goes on to Ramses IV. This is beyond the limit of the tablet of Abydos, but as far as they are co-extensive they agree².

There are some indications of confusion of names in Manetho's list. If we omit Chebros, a name without analogy among those of this dynasty, Amosis is succeeded by Amenoph, according to the tablet; Misaphris, Mephres (Joseph.) or Miphres (Euseb.) and Misphragmuthosis have the appearance of both originating from a title and a phonetic name, Miphra-Touthmosis, or "Thothmes beloved of Phre³." These will be the Thothmes I. and II. of the tablet; and the Touthmosis of the lists will correspond with the Thothmes III. of the tablet. Amenophis will then occupy the same position in both. But here again occurs a discrepancy.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, p. 204.

² Rosellini, *ibid.*

³ Thothmes III. actually bears in the monuments the title of *Mei re*, or with the article *Mei phre*, "beloved of Phre." (See Birch, *Brit. Mus. P.* 2, p. 80.) Although no indisputable example has been found of a title substituted for a name, *Rameses-Meimoun* affords one of the title being incorporated with the name.

Amenoph II., the vocal Memnon of the lists, is followed on the tablet by Thothmes IV.; but in the lists by Horus, who in the tablet succeeds Amenophis III. After Horus the diversity becomes still greater. He is followed on the tablet by Ramses I., in the lists by Achencheres or Acherres, and the name of Rameses in the shape of Armesses or Armais only appears after Rathos, Cheres, and Acherres.

There is a remarkable variation in the lists themselves. According to Africanus, Amenophis I. is succeeded by Amersis, or, according to one MS. Amensis, who does not appear in Eusebius nor on the tablet. Africanus seemed to have gained confirmation from the discovery of a personage named Amense among the royal monuments of the 18th dynasty, with this peculiarity, that the inscriptions in which this figure appears have the feminine termination, article, and pronoun, and the title "*Beneficent Goddess, Lady of the World*," while the dress, attributes, and insignia are those of a male¹. Hence Champollion devised the hypothesis that Thothmes I. immediately succeeded to Amenophis I.; that his son Thothmes II. followed him and died without issue. His sister Amense succeeded him and reigned twenty-one years; her husband, who was named Thothmes, exercised the rights of sovereignty in her name, and was the father of Thothmes III. Amense survived her husband and married for a second, Amenenthes, who also governed in her name, and was not only regent during the minority of Thothmes III., but exercised sovereignty conjointly with him for several years. The shields which contain the title of this supposed Amenenthes have very generally been defaced, and the legend of the second or third Thothmes substituted for them, on a variety of monuments still existing at Thebes. This Champollion believed to have been the effect of the hatred which Thothmes III. cherished towards his step-father, by whom he had been

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1. p. 222, 223. Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, xv

oppressed during the years of his minority. The name which he read Amenennehe or Amenenthes, is found, as well as that of Amense, on the obelisk of Karnak, along with his image; and if Rosellini may be believed, it exhibits traits unlike those of the sovereigns of this dynasty, and thus favors the supposition that he was a stranger in blood¹.

This ingenious hypothesis has not stood the test of subsequent research. The name Amenset (for such it is, not Amense) is read by Lepsius *Set amen*; and Amenenthe, *Nemt Amen* (Hatusu). This name has feminine affixes, and therefore appears to represent a female sovereign, or at least regent, having the titles "Daughter of the Sun, Beneficent Goddess, Lady of the Worlds." He thus disposes of the relations of the first sovereigns of the 18th dynasty. Amosis, the founder, was succeeded by his son Amenophis, who had a sister, Set Amen, and a brother, Thothmes I. Thothmes I. had a queen Aahmes, whose relation to the founder of the dynasty is uncertain, and who exercised during his reign the functions of a female regent. This Aahmes is the Amersis or Amensis of the lists, the Amessis described by Josephus as the sister of Amenophis, which would make her to be the daughter of Amosis. Thothmes I. had two sons, who reigned successively under the titles of Thothmes II. and Thothmes III. During the reigns of both Thothmes II. and III., the regency was exercised by their sister Nemt Amen. The succession then proceeds, without any further interruption, from father to son, through Amenophis II., Thothmes IV., Amenophis III., and Ilorus, who appears to have left no male child, as Acherres or Acencheres, the next in the lists, is said by Josephus to have been his daughter². Such is the combination by which Lepsius and Bunsen have endeavored to reconcile the monuments with the lists. We may adopt it provisionally,

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, 228.

² Bunsen, *Dynasty xviii.* pl. vii. *Egypten's Stelle*, B. 3, p. 78.

with a caution to the reader how uncertain are all such systems in the present state of Egyptian history, and especially without a full knowledge of the evidence on which it is founded. Any other arrangement must be equally hypothetical.

Manetho, in the extracts of Josephus, makes no mention of Amosis as bearing part in the long war which preceded the expulsion of the Hyksos and their blockade in Abaris, under Misphragmuthosis. His monuments, however, bear traces of his being engaged in war. A funeral inscription of one of his naval officers, quoted by Champollion-Figeac¹, relates that he entered into his service while the king was residing at Tanis; that battles were fought upon the water; that a part of the troops were detached to the South; that these operations took place in the sixth year of Amosis, and that in the following year he went to Ethiopia to collect tribute. It is to be regretted that the author has not told us where this monument exists, nor by whom it has been read, and therefore we cannot cite it with perfect confidence. There are, however, unquestionable records of his reign. At Semneh in Nubia there is a tablet on the south front of the western temple, in hieroglyphics of an archaic character, over which a subsequent inscription has been cut. The title of Amosis occurs in it, along with that of Thothmes II., and it appears to commemorate the services of one who had been an officer of Amosis². Two tablets in the Louvre contain similar records, extending through the reigns of Amosis and his successors to Thothmes III. Though their import is obscure, and it is scarcely possible that one individual can be relating his own services and their rewards, through so long a period, there appears to be mention made of prisoners taken in war in the reign of Amosis³. The quarry of Masarah, in the Gebel-e-

¹ L'Univers. *Ægypte*, p. 300.

² Young, *Hieroglyphics of Egyptian Society*, pl. 91. Birch, *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit.* 2nd series, 2, 325.

³ Mr. Birch, to avoid the difficulty of supposing the same individual to

Mokattam, contains a *stele*, on which is a representation of a block of stone, drawn on a sledge by three pair of oxen¹. Above is an inscription bearing the title of Amosis, along with his queen Nofre-at-are or Nofre-are, and declaring that in the twenty-second year of his reign, the quarries of hard white stone were worked for the repair of the abode of Ptah, and the abode of Amun in Thebes. Such repairs might be undertaken at any time; but if we suppose that the Hyksos had been recently driven into Lower Egypt, the restoration of the temples of Memphis and Thebes, which had suffered from their ravages, would be one of the first acts which a pious sovereign would undertake. There is another inscription of the same import, and of the same year of the reign of Amosis, but less perfect, in the quarries of the Gebel-el-Mokattam².

To Amosis succeeded, according to the tablet of Abydos and the other lists which I have quoted, AMENOPHIS I. He was unquestionably a warlike and victorious sovereign. The monument already quoted speaks of captives made in the land of Kesh and also in the North, among an unknown people called Kehak. If these are an Asiatic nation, we may presume that the frontier land of lower Egypt towards Palestine had been cleared of the Shepherds, as Amenophis could not otherwise have ventured to march into Asia. His presence also in Ethiopia is recorded in a grotto at Ibrim, near Aboosimbel, where he is represented sitting³ in the have been sixty four years in service, would reduce the lengths of these kings' reigns; but neither the lists nor the monuments allow this shortening.

¹ Vyse on the Pyramids, 3, 99. Masarah Quarries, Tablet No. 6.

² Howard Vyse, Pyramids, vol. 3, p. 94. Masarah Quarries, Tablet No. 8.

³ Rosellini, M. R. tav. xxviii. 1. He calls the officers *athlophori*, as if the fans were ensigns of victory; but from the mode of carrying them, they appear evidently to be what Champollion called them, fly-flaps. Were they ensigns of victory, it would be somewhat hasty to infer with Rosellini that "they signify the victory which Amenophis had gained over the Hyksos." (Mon. Stor. iii. 1. 74.)

middle of a small temple, attended by an officer of state, who holds over him the feather-fan, and two others, fly-flaps. In the collection of Egyptian antiquities made by Mr. Salt, and since transferred to the Louvre, are found several small tablets, resembling in shape the *stèle* of an inscription, on which Amenophis I. is represented, grasping captives by the hair, carrying them with their heads downwards, and preparing to destroy them with the curved battle-axe¹. Some of these are clad in leopards' skins, and are natives of the South; others, from their ample drapery, plainly belong to colder climates. Conventionally they represent the Ethiopian and the Asiatic people, and we may conclude that Amenophis carried on wars successfully against both. These tablets appear to have been designed to be worn as ornaments on the breast; and it is a reasonable inference that a sovereign who was thus honored must have acquired the affection of his people by some distinguished service; such as the recovery of the ancient dominion of the Sesortasens and Amenemes over Ethiopia. On another of these tablets the king appears grasping a lion by the tail, either symbolically, or as a record of his prowess in hunting. One of the wives of Amenophis (Aahmes) is always represented black². She appears beside her husband, along with another who is of a fair complexion, on a tablet in the British Museum³. It is not indeed absolutely certain that the dark lady was the wife of Amenophis; her name is the same as that of the wife of Amosis, and the title of "royal dame," which she bears, is consistent with her having been the widow of the predecessor of Amenophis. In either case,

¹ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. i. 107. A similar tablet is in the British Museum, and represents Amenophis in a war-chariot (Birch, *Gall. of B. M. P.* 2, pl. 30).

² Rosellini, *M. R.* tav. xlv.

³ Birch, *Gall. of Ant.* 2, pl. 30. The fair-complexioned wife whose name was *Aahotph*, is also found with Amenophis in a tomb at Qoorneh (Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, 212).

the renewal of relations between Egypt and Ethiopia is equally evident.

Amenophis I. appears from various monuments to have been the object of a kind of posthumous religious worship, different in its kind from the honors which were sometimes paid to deceased monarchs in Egypt. In one of the little chapels, excavated among the quarries of Silsilis, in the reign of Menephtah, Amenoph I., along with Atmoo and another Egyptian deity, receives an offering of incense from the king, and in the tombs of private individuals at Thebes, similar honors are paid to him on the part of the deceased¹. One of these tombs is of the age of Menephtah I., and it appears from the inscriptions that a special priesthood was instituted to pay these honors to Amenophis. In another inscription he is joined with Amonre, Phre and Osiris, and receives a libation from the priest Amenemoph. In a singular painting in a Theban tomb², he is represented with the attributes of Sokari, a character nearly identical with the infernal Osiris, and therefore is painted black, and in this character he is found depicted in the interior of coffins³. In these posthumous honors his wife Aahmes-Nofreare is frequently joined with him. All these circumstances combined lead us to suppose, that the popular tradition in Egypt connected Amenophis with some great service rendered to his country and its religion. He may be regarded as a second founder of the monarchy, having replaced it in the pre-eminence which it had lost by the invasion of the Hyksos.

We have seen that in the lists Chebros is made the successor of Amosis. It has been supposed that this name is the translation of a titular shield, converted into a substantive person. Rosellini⁴

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 82.

² *Ibid.* iii. 1, 98.

³ Birch, *Gallery of Brit. Mus.* 2, p. 75.

⁴ *Mon. Stor.* 1, p. 213, note (2). Sharpe refers to Chebros the last shield in the lowest line of the central division of the chamber of Karnak, which

conjectures that it has originated from *Shefre*, the title of Thothmes I.; Bunsen¹ from *Neb-rus-ra*, the title of Amosis; but neither conjecture is satisfactory.

The next in succession on the monuments is THOTHMES I. With him appears to have begun the construction of those splendid edifices at Thebes, which still attest the power and civilization of Egypt under the New Monarchy. We have seen that some trifling remains are found there of the works of Sesortasen, who lived near the end of the Old Monarchy; but the great monuments of Luxor, Karnak and Medinet Aboo date from the 18th dynasty. It was natural that Thebes, which had been the refuge of the Pharaohs, while the Hyksos held their court at Memphis, or some other town of Lower Egypt, should become the chief capital of the restored race of native kings, the site of their temples, palaces and tombs. Thothmes I. began the construction of the immense pile of the palace of Karnak. About the centre of the great inclosure which comprehended the buildings in their final extension, stood two obelisks, inscribed with the name of this king². We know from other instances that it was not the custom of the Egyptians to place these monuments in open spaces, without connexion with other objects; they stood before the entrance of temples or palaces, and therefore we may conclude that Thothmes, if he did not erect, at least planned some edifice to which these obelisks were an appendage. As far indeed as a plan can be made out, amidst the ruins by which this whole space is encumbered, he actually began a vast square of buildings which Thothmes III. completed³. One of the obelisks is still standing, the other has

is commonly read *Nebtura*. See Hierog. of Eg. Soc. pl. 96. Sharpe, History of Egypt, plates. No. 43, 4, 5.

¹ *Egyptens Stelle*, B. 3, p. 82.

² See Wilkinson's great Plan of Thebes, Karnak, &c., vol. i. p. 145 of this work.

³ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 113, 123. The obelisk is figured, *M. R. tav. xxx*

fallen, and is broken to pieces. They were in size rather inferior to the obelisks of Luxor, but in workmanship nearly equal. Only the central line of the inscription belongs to Thothmes I.; the lateral lines were added by Ramses V., according to a practice very common with the Egyptian monarchs. The inscription itself contains no historical information, beyond the fact of a victory over the nations of the Nine Bows, who are commonly understood to be the Libyans, and the erection of the two obelisks. The rest is occupied by those pompous titles of divine affinity and dominion, which disappoint the decipherer of hieroglyphics, when he hopes to find on these immortal monuments some information worthy of the pains bestowed in preserving their legends to posterity.

A memorial of Thothmes I. is also found on the western side of the Nile at El-Assaseef, a valley lying to the north of the Rame-seion¹. A gate of red granite, of very fine execution, which is still standing amidst the ruins, exhibits his name and title along with those of his successors. Here he appears in conjunction with an Aahmes, the name the same as that of the queen of Amenophis, but apparently a different person. She is described as wife and sister of a king, and as ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt. It has been conjectured that she was the sister of Amenophis, and the Amessis of the lists, in which she immediately follows Amenophis, and regent in the reign of Thothmes I².

The monument already referred to as recording the services of a military officer, who had served in several successive reigns, mentions wars of Thothmes I. in Ethiopia, and also in the land of *Naharaina*³. This name occurs in other historical monuments of the 18th dynasty. As Mesopotamia is called in Scripture⁴ *Aram Naharaim*, "Syria of the two rivers," it is generally supposed, that the *Naharaina* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions is Mesopotamia;

¹ Vol. i. p. 132.

² Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, B. 3, p. 79.

³ Transactions of Roy. Soc. of Lit. 2nd Series, 2, 325.

⁴ Genes. xxiv. 10.

and it is not incredible, that even in this early part of the 18th dynasty, Egyptian sovereigns should have encountered the power of the Assyrians on this field. It was through fear of the power of the Assyrians, "who were then predominant in Asia," that the Hyksos, when driven out of Egypt, established themselves in Palestine.¹ The motive of their first king Salatis, for fortifying the eastern frontier of Egypt was, that he foresaw the probability of attacks on the part of the Assyrians. That the dominion of Thothmes I. extended as high up the Nile as the island of Argo in Upper Nubia, appears from his name having been found there².

It has been already mentioned that, according to Lepsius, the Amense of Rosellini and Champollion is to be read Set Amen, and that she was a daughter of Amosis and sister of Amenophis and Thothmes I. According to the same author, after the death of Thothmes I., the functions of royalty were exercised by Nemt Amen, the sister of Thothmes II., Nemt Amen being the reading which he has adopted for the Amenenthe or Amenenhe of Champollion and Rosellini. The singular circumstance that at El-Assaseef³ and elsewhere this personage is represented with the dress and attributes of a male, yet that feminine prefixes are used throughout the inscriptions, has been explained by the supposition that she exercised sovereignty in her brother's name. That she was the daughter of Thothmes I. appears from the obelisk before the granite sanctuary at Karnak⁴; that she was the sister of Thothmes III., among other evidence from a statue in the British Museum, in which her name, or rather title, appears to have existed, although subsequently chiselled out, and she is designated as such⁵. The cause of this mutilation can only be

¹ See before, p. 154.

² Vol. i. p. 16.

³ Vol. i. p. 132.

⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, 227 Birch, *Gall. Brit. Mus.* P. 2, p. 78.

⁵ The title exists, apparently without mutilation, on the pyramidion of the fallen obelisk of Karnak, where Amunra appears, crowning Nemt

conjectured ; the most plausible supposition is, that her regency was either usurped or exercised with harshness, and her memory obnoxious to her brother or to the Egyptian people. Sometimes the name of Thothmes II., sometimes of Thothmes III., has been substituted for hers.

The dominion of THOTHMES II. appears to have been not less extensive than that of his predecessor. His name has been found at Gebel-el-Birkel, the Napata of the Romans¹. In his reign we first find mention of the Royal Son or Prince of Ethiopia, which continues to appear on monuments till the reign of Seti-Menephthah², and from which we may infer that during this period Ethiopia formed a viceregal government dependent upon Egypt. The viceroy appears to have been of the blood royal of Egypt. We have scarcely any record of the facts of Thothmes the Second's reign. Of the state of the arts at this period, however, there is extant a most remarkable specimen in the great obelisks of Karnak. They were erected by Nemt Amen in the same central court of that pile of buildings, in which the smaller obelisks of Thothmes I. stood, but far surpass them in magnitude and beauty. One of them is still standing ; it is of rose granite and ninety feet in length. Of its execution Rosellini thus speaks³ :—"All the figures and the hieroglyphics are delineated with such purity and freedom, cut with such art, and relieved within the excavated part with such perfection and precision of outline, that we are lost in astonishment in contemplating them, and wonder how it has been possible to work this hardest of materials, so that every figure seems rather to have been impressed with a seal than engraver with a chisel. The fragments of the companion obelisk which are lying on the ground may be handled ; those parts which represent

Amen, designated as a "daughter of the king." It probably escaped mutilation from its elevated position. Birch, Gall. of Brit. Mus. pl. 32.

¹ Wilkinson, M. & C. 1, 52, note.

² Lepsius, Einl. 1, p. 320, note.

³ Rosellini, M. R. tav. xxxi.-iv.

animals in particular are treated with such accuracy of design and finish of execution, as not to be surpassed by the finest cameos of the Greeks." The pyramidion represents Amunre seated, and placing his hand on the head of the king, whom he thus inaugurates. There is a peculiarity in the arrangement of the hieroglyphical inscriptions. The central column is occupied by the customary form of the dedication; but the two lateral columns, which in some obelisks, as that of Heliopolis, are left vacant, in others are filled by inscriptions of subsequent sovereigns, are here occupied more than half way down, with repetitions of the figure of Amunre on one side, on the other of the dedicating sovereign, who offers to the god wine, ointment, milk, perfumes and sacred insignia. The dedication and offering are usually in the name of Nemt Amen, but in some of the compartments the youthful Thothmes III. appears, bringing an offering to the god. The name of Thothmes I. is also found, but he is only referred to as having begun the buildings near which the obelisks were erected. Thothmes II. nowhere appears¹, whence it seems probable that Nemt Amen set them up during the time in which she exercised the regency on behalf of her younger brother Thothmes III. The name of a much later sovereign, Setei Menephthah, is twice found, but the state of the stone plainly shows that it has been subsequently introduced. The name of Nemt Amen has escaped the mutilation which it has generally undergone, perhaps owing to the beauty of the monument. The fallen obelisk closely resembles its companion, in the subject of the inscription and the figures of the lateral compartments.

The reign of THOTHMES III. is one of the most glorious in the annals of the 18th dynasty. The earliest part of it appears to have been passed under the tutelage of Nemt Amen, whose name is found on an inscription at Wadi Magara of the sixteenth year of

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 164.

his reign¹. The limits of the dominion of Egypt on the side of Arabia were therefore not reduced; Surabit-el-Kadim, between Ain Moosa and Mount Sinai, contains his name, along with those of Cheops and others of the age of the Pyramids². To the south we find memorials of this monarch at Semneh, a little beyond the Second Cataract. Semneh appears to have been in this age the frontier town of the Egyptian dominions towards Ethiopia, and as such to have been fortified with great care and skill³. In later times, after the occupation of Egypt by the Ethiopians, Elephantine became the frontier. The traces of the presence of sovereigns of the 18th dynasty further to the south, as in the island of Argo and at Napata, are only occasional, and do not prove a permanent occupation; but between the First and Second Cataracts the frequent recurrence of temples and the remains of towns indicate that this region formed virtually a part of the kingdom of Egypt. Here too, as appears from inscriptions on the rocks, the earliest rise of the Nile was watched and recorded⁴; in later times this was registered by the Nilometer of Elephantine, when that was the beginning of Egypt. The remains at Semneh are partly of the reign of Thothmes III. and partly of Amunoph II. and III., but they exhibit only acts of adoration, and throw no light on political events, except that the absence of the name of Nemt Amen leads to the conclusion that these inscriptions belong to the later part of his reign.

Following the course of the Nile downward from the Second Cataract, we find frequent memorials of Thothmes III. The temple of Amada was begun by him and completed by Amunoph II. and Thothmes IV. He is represented in the act of dedicating

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2, 320. The earliest date of his reign, the fifth year is found in a papyrus of the Museum of Turin, the oldest known with a precise date. (Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers, Egypte*, p. 311.)

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 407.

³ Vol. i. p. 194, note ¹.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 18, note

a temple and the lands annexed to it to the god Phre¹. At Ombi he appears on the lintels of a gateway, preserved when the temple was rebuilt by the Ptolemies. He is dedicating the building to the god Sebek or the crocodile, and Nemt Amen is joined with him in this act². A fragment bearing his title was found by the Tuscan Expedition at Edfoo, which is also of the Ptolemaic times. At Ellithyia his name is also traced, and joined as at Ombi with that of Nemt Amen.

His most magnificent works, however, were those which adorned Thebes, many of which are still extant. There is a mutilated obelisk in the Atmeidan or Hippodrome of Constantinople brought from Egypt by one of the Byzantine emperors, and which is of the reign of Thothmes III³. Probably it stood in the central court of Karnak. At first sight the shields which enclose the royal titles might seem to belong to some other sovereign or even sovereigns, for the signs in all are different. But they all contain the three elements⁴ which form the title of Thothmes III. on the tablet of Abydos and elsewhere—the disk, the crenellated parallelogram and the scarabæus, and therefore it is probable that the additional signs do not indicate a different sovereign, but only those variations which we know to exist in the titles of kings whose identity is unquestionable. There is only one circumstance which gives this monument an historical significance; among the usual lofty titles of royalty, mention is twice made of the “Land of Naharain⁵,” and in the second instance the figure of a boat and the character

¹ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, p. 177. He calls this monarch throughout Thothmes IV.

² Rosellini, *Mon. di Culto*, tav. xxviii.

³ It is figured from a drawing of Mr. Cory in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2, 228.

⁴ A fourth, the waving line or *n*, is often found, always according to Champollion-Figeac (*Univers*, p. 309) in the hieratic writing.

⁵ Col. 1, bottom. Col. 3.

for waters lead to the supposition that a naval expedition or a naval combat is intended. The analysis of the hieroglyphics, however, is too imperfect to afford us exact information, and there is little probability in the supposition that Thothmes III. built a fleet on the coast of the Indian Ocean, and so ascended the Euphrates to attack the Babylonians¹. The obelisk which Sixtus V. raised up and placed before St. John Lateran at Rome, the loftiest and most perfect in its execution of all that are extant, was set up in the reign of Thothmes III., and in its central column of hieroglyphics bears only his titles; Thothmes IV. added the lateral columns. This act of the dedication of obelisks is represented on one of the walls of the palace of Karnak, on such a scale that the inscriptions on them can be read². They are not identical with those on any obelisk now known, but have a general analogy to that of St. John Lateran. One records the erection of two, the other of three, or it may be an indefinite number of obelisks, which are said to be of granite and resplendent with gold; from which it has been concluded that the pyramidion may have been surmounted with a golden ornament, or gilded as many portions of Egyptian architecture are known to have been³.

One of the most instructive memorials of the reign of Thothmes III. is a painting in a tomb at Qoorneh, copied by Mr. Hoskins in his *Travels in Ethiopia*⁴. It represents four principal nations of the earth, bringing their tribute to the king, who is seated on his throne⁵. Two obelisks of red granite, beside which the various

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2, 223.

² They were first published by Mr. Burton and repeated from him by Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 185, 187; Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 251.

³ Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 3, 237.

⁴ P. 327, foll. See also Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, p. 234. *Manners and Customs*, vol. 1, pl. iv. at the end of the volume.

⁵ Ipse, sedens niveo candentis limine Phœbi,
Dona recognoscit populorum, aptatque superbis

objects are deposited by the bearers, and registered by the royal scribes, probably mark the great court of the palace of Karnak as the scene of the ceremony. The tribute-bearers are arranged in five lines, the first and the third appearing to form part of one procession. A few negroes, having all the characteristic physiognomy of the race, as well as a black color, are intermingled with men of the same red-brown hue as the Egyptians. They bring only natural productions¹, blocks of ebony, tusks of ivory, strings of colored stones, ostrich-eggs and feathers, a tree, gold and silver in rings, bags and ingots, and a variety of animals—apes, leopards, an oryx and a giraffe, with cattle and dogs². The name of their land has been read *Pount* or *Phunt*, but this affords us no information, as it corresponds with no known name in geography.

Postibus; incedunt victæ longo ordine gentes,
 Quam variæ linguis habitu tam vestis et armis.
 Hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Muleiber Afros
 Finxerat. Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis,
 Extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
 Indomitique Dahæ, et pontem indignatus Araxes.

Virg. *Æn.* viii. 720.

What had become in Virgil's time merely poetical ornament had been a fact in the history of the Asiatic and Egyptian monarchies. The *pomps* of the Ptolemies (*Athen.* lib. 5, 32) were an imitation of the real tribute-bearing processions under the Pharaohs.

¹ Her. 3, 97. Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτου, οἱ περὶ τε Νύσση κατοικοῦνται, ἀγνέουσι δύο χοίνικας ἀπὸρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἑβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. The representation of the tribute brought to the Great King at Persepolis, exhibits, besides vases, articles of dress and ornaments, also horses, camels, oxen, mules and sheep. (*Niebuhr*, *Voyage* ii. plates 22, 23.)

² Among the objects brought in the procession described by *Athenæus*, *u. s.*, were "26 Indian cattle, 8 Ethiopian, a large white bear, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes, 1 camelopard and 1 rhinoceros." There were also 2400 dogs, some Indian, some Hyrcanian, some Molossian, and of other breeds.

Those of the third line are specifically called "Nations of the South." From the products which they bring they are evidently inhabitants of the African continent, and of a wide range of country, including the Libyans on the west, the Nubians on the south, and the Ethiopians of the deeper interior. The color of the men of the second line is not different from that of the Egyptians and Libyans, but their hair is gathered in curls on the front, and divided into two long locks behind, one of which falls on the shoulder. They wear, like the Libyans, only a short kilt round the middle; but while the Libyan is white with a colored border, that of the third line is of various checks and patterns, closely resembling the drapery of the foreigners who are seen in the tomb of Nevothph¹. Their offerings are vases of silver and gold of graceful form and elaborate workmanship, and others which resemble, if the representations can be relied upon, the fictile vases of the Greeks and Etruscans. Their name, which is written *Kufu* or *Kafa*, affords little clue to their locality, but their resemblance to the Egyptians in color and the advanced state of the arts among them, indicated by the vases which they bring, lead us to conclude that they must belong to the coast of Palestine, which received colonies at an early age from Egypt². The gold and silver vases would suit well with the skill in the toreutic arts attributed by Homer to the Sidonians³. The Libyans, Egyptians and Ethiopians have naked feet, but these have buskins, reaching half-way up the leg, of the same pattern with their kilts. The third company of tribute-bearers, forming the fourth line of the picture, are men of white complexion, with reddish hair and beards. They wear long garments of white cloth sleeved to the wrists, with the addition of gloves reaching to the elbow; their heads are covered with a close-fitting cap, and

¹ P. 142 of this vol.

² Gen. x. 14. But the resemblance of *Kufa* and *Caphthor* is too slight to found an argument of identity.

³ Il. ψ . 741. Od. α . 424.

everything indicates that they belong to a colder climate than any of the others. Some of them are armed with bows and arrows, and others lead a chariot and horses. Their tribute consists of ring money of gold and silver, colored woods, precious stones and vases, some of which resemble those brought by the Kufa, but which are in general of less beautiful form and less elaborate workmanship. Their name is *Rot-n-no* or *Lud-n-nu*, but this gives us no precise information of their locality, all comparison with known geographical names being merely conjectural, and it is difficult to fix on any country whose products shall correspond with all the articles of the tribute. The long garments and gloves, with the chariot and horses¹, would suit Northern Media, or the regions near the southern shore of the Caspian; but one of the men carries a tusk of ivory, and leads an elephant and a bear. The range of latitude in which the elephant can live has certainly ascended higher to the north in ancient times than at present, but it is difficult to conceive that so great a change has taken place between the times of Thothmes III. and that of the commencement of our knowledge of the zoology of the ancient world, as that elephants should be found in Asia Minor. In the fifth line women, both of this nation and of the people of the South, are introduced, leading their infant children, or carrying them in their arms, or on their shoulders, or in a basket, fastened by a strap to the forehead, a custom which still prevails among the tribes which border the Nile².

If there could be any doubt that we have here the representation of a real scene and the evidence of a dominion extending from Nubia to Northern Asia, no such doubt can attach to the monument which is known as the Statistical Table of Karnak³.

¹ Birch, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2, 335, thinks they are the Cappadocians, called also Leuco-Syrians or fair Syrians. This is not improbable. They were *δαίμονες ἰσχυροτάτων* (Dionys. Perieg. 974).

² Wilkinson, Mod. Egypt and Thebes, 2, 236, note.

³ Hieroglyphics of the Eg. Soc. 41. Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. xiii. I quote

This document is of the reign of Thothmes III., and the inscription placed above it declares its object to be to record the victories of this sovereign. It divides itself into three distinct portions by the dates 29th¹, 30th, and 31st years. As it is mutilated near the beginning, it is not clear in what land the monarch was when the record of his exploits begins, but from the subsequent occurrence of the name of the Tahai² and the traces of the obliterated name, it seems probable that they are the people first referred to. It is conjectured that they are the Dahæ, a nomad nation on the northern frontier of Persia³, or the Taochi mentioned by Xenophon⁴ as living between Armenia and Pontus, and maintaining themselves in independence of the Great King. In this case, however, they cannot have brought tribute of frankincense; and the sign which has been so explained must represent some other object. Honey and wine are also mentioned among their tributes, and we know from Strabo⁵ that the vine flourished even as far north as Hyrcania, and that these countries were very productive of honey. Their name occurs frequently in monuments recording the victories and expeditions of the Egyptian kings. Two other nations, one called *Vava*, the other *Arutu*, are mentioned in the same inscription, and men, ingots of the precious metals, copper, iron and lead with other metals which cannot be precisely ascertained, 618 bulls, 3636 goats, corn, are all enumerated among the spoils or tribute of the land⁶. This expedition of the 29th year is called the 5th, in the former for the facility of reference, as the columns are numbered across as well as vertically. The copy of Lepsius, however, is more exact.

¹ Col. Z b.

² Col. V x.

³ Herod. 1, 125. From their name Δάοι, that of *Davus*, borne by slaves, is supposed to be derived, as *Geta* from another nomad tribe.

⁴ Xen. Anab. 4, 7, 1. 5, 5, 17. From Steph. Byz. s. v. Τάοχοι, it seems probable they were the same people as the Däi or Tāi. (Birch, Tr. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2, 330.)

⁵ Geogr. B. 2, p. 73.

⁶ The cattle enumerated may be regarded as contributions for the use of the army, while serving in the country.

reference to some enumeration of which the earlier part is wanting.

In the 30th year of his reign¹, and his sixth expedition, the king is said to have been in the land of the *Rotnno* or *Ludennu*, the same people who appear in the last line of the painting at Thebes already described, and to have taken hostages of them and their children. Now in the painting of the Theban tomb, we have seen men and women of the *Rotnno* nation, led with their children into the presence of the Egyptian scribes. The men are not armed, yet they are not bound, and therefore it is probable that they came as hostages, though it would be too much to infer that these are the very hostages spoken of in the tablet. Forty-two chariots also, "decorated with gold, silver, and painting²," are among the spoil of the *Rotnno*; and in the procession in the tomb, we have already described a richly adorned chariot, followed by a yoke of horses, which may be considered as the representative of a larger number.

In the 31st year and on the 3rd day of the month Pachon³, another expedition is recorded, in which mention is made of 490 captives, who were employed, as far as the imperfect interpretation of the inscription enables us to judge, in felling and carrying timber, and seemed to have belonged to the same nation of the *Rotnno*. The results of the expedition were also the capture, or payment in tribute, of 104 cows, 172 bulls, 4622 goats, and masses of iron and lead⁴. These contributions suit well the countries between the Caspian and the Euxine, which abound in metallic products. The wood might be carried to some branch of the Euphrates, and thence floated to Mesopotamia or Babylonia. The north-eastern part of Asia Minor is also rich in minerals, especially iron; but wood would be conveyed thence with difficulty to any point at which it could be serviceable to the Egyptians, who, as far as we know, never launched a fleet upon the Euxine.

¹ Col. S a.

² Col. Q b, c. d.

³ See vol. i. p. 277.

⁴ Col. O.

The following lines on the tablet, owing to the mutilation of the lower part, are very obscure. The 21st (Lepsius) begins with "land of *Nenii*," followed by the mention of setting up a *stèle* in Naharaina². The form of this tablet, as represented in the inscription, exactly corresponds with those cut on the rock at Nahr-el-Kelb, bearing the image of Rameses III. The Assyrians continued the same custom, and two of their kings placed a *stèle* beside those of Rameses at Nahr-el-Kelb. Darius left a similar record of his expedition against the Scythians, on the shores of the Bosphorus³. *Nenii* is generally understood to be Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, and the mention of Naharaina, which immediately follows, favors this supposition. The further prosecution of the researches into the remains discovered at Khorsabad and Nemroud may throw light on the relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Tablets of ivory in Egyptian style have been found here⁴, one of them inscribed with the name of an Egyptian king or god not known from other sources. Such small and portable antiquities cannot be received as proofs of the occupation of a country, and as far as we can judge, they belong to a much later period of history than the 18th dynasty.

The next column⁵ relates to the land of the Tahæ, and makes

¹ Hieroglyphics of Egyptian Society, 42, Col. X b. There is no letter answering to *u*.

² The character for *stèle* is hardly recognizable in Wilkinson's copy, but is more distinct in Lepsius, taf. xii. 1. 21.

³ Her. 4, 87. Θησαύμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθῳ λευκοῦ, ἐνταρῶν γράμματα, ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦεν. These *stelæ* were not *columns*, as the commentators usually render them, but *tablets*. Hence the use which the Byzantines made of them to build an altar. I see no reason to suppose that such inscriptions marked the frontiers of an empire exclusively. They were naturally placed beside high roads that they might be conspicuous.

⁴ Layard's Nineveh, Plates, 89. Birch, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, vol. 3. The name is read *Aubnu-ra*.

⁵ V. Pl. 42.

mention of 260 mares¹, which had been brought thence with gold and silver, both unwrought and in the shape of vases. That which follows enumerates cattle, among the rest 5323 goats, and therefore, though the name of the people is not mentioned, they are probably the same who in a preceding column are said to have furnished a very large number of goats, namely the Rotnno. The next column² introduces a people not hitherto mentioned, but whose name frequently occurs in inscriptions. From the ambiguity of the first letter, which stands equally for L or R in the phonetic alphabet, it is doubtful whether it should be read *Lemamen* or *Remamen*. Those who adopt the former suppose the inhabitants of Lebanon to be meant, and derive an argument in favor of their opinion from the circumstance that they are elsewhere represented as felling trees³, supposed to be the cedars for which this mountain was celebrated. There is nothing in the form of the trees, however, which particularly refers them to the cedars of Lebanon, and in the inscription given by Rosellini, mention seems to be made of building boats on a river, which does not accord with the geography of Lebanon. Nor do we know that Lebanon was ever used as the name of a nation. Armenia, which has been suggested, would suit the name if read *Remamen*, and also the operation of felling the trees. The ample clothing of the *Remamen* also indicates a more northern climate than that of Syria. The following column⁴ makes mention of the land of Sankar or Sankal, and Babel or Baber⁵; the former of which is supposed to mean Singara, and Bebel, Babylon. Singara, Sinjar, is a town near Edessa, inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, whom Pliny calls *Rætavi* or *Prætavi*⁶. In connexion with both these countries a tribute is

¹ Phonetically written *sesem*, with the determinative of the species. See vol. i. p. 167.

² Col. Ti.

³ Rosellini, M. R. tav. xlvi.

⁴ Col. Sf.

⁵ Mutilated in Lepsius' copy, but preserved in Wilkinson's.

H. N. 5, 21. Steph. Byz. Σίγγαρα.

spoken of, called *Chesebt*; from the determinative character subjoined to it, it appears to be a metal, but Babylonia was not a metalliferous region, and it cannot be one of the precious metals, the hieroglyphics for which are well known¹. The next column² contains the enumeration of contributions of gold and silver, in vessels and in bulk, and near the bottom, of stone and wood. The lower part of the column is mutilated, but as the next begins with the word *Naharaina*, followed by the same group of characters as in Col. X., it is thought that the stone and wood were designed for the erection of a stele in Mesopotamia. The land of the *Tahæ* is again mentioned in Col. O; in connexion with the 34th year of the king and military operations in the land of *Jukasa*, conjectured to be *Oxiana*³, a doubtful appropriation, since it does not appear that *Oxus* is an Oriental name.

The remaining columns contain in the main only a repetition of tribute similar to the preceding, with a mention of some articles which it is difficult to identify. We find also a people called *Asi*, conjectured to be those of *Is*, since they appear to bring bitumen, which the springs of that place produce⁴. In others suits of armor are mentioned, brought by the *Kharu*, who appear from other inscriptions to have inhabited Syria. When complete, the whole was comprehended at least fifty-five columns.

There can be little doubt that this is the identical tablet which the priests showed and expounded to Germanicus, when he visited Thebes⁵. Having mentioned the record of the victorious expedi-

¹ The character which Mr. Birch reads *uten* and Dr. Hincks *mn* (*iana*) appears to me to represent a coil of metallic rod or wire. The word *chesebt* occurs thrice in this line, twice accompanied by this character, once, before *Beber* or *Bebel*, without it. This seems to indicate two different forms under which it was contributed.

² Hierogl. of Egypt. Soc. pl. 42, Col. R. Lepsius, 1. 26. In R. Wilkinson's copy has 400, Lepsius 301.

³ Birch, *u. s.* p. 359.

⁴ Herod. 1, 179.

The expression "*structis molibus*" shows that obelisks were not meant

tions of Rameses, Tacitus proceeds: "There were also read the tributes levied on the nations, the weight of gold and silver, the number of arms and horses, ivory and perfumes as gifts to the temples, and the stores of corn and other useful products which each nation paid; not less magnificent than are now enjoined by Parthian violence or Roman power¹." The name of Thothmes is not mentioned by Tacitus, and Rameses has been spoken of immediately before; but his words do not necessarily imply that the tablet of tribute and the record of victories related to the same sovereign.

The Tablet of Karnak is strictly an historical and statistical document. It does not deal in vague ascriptions of a world-wide dominion; its dates are precise, including the month and the day as well as the year of the king; and though we may be unable to identify the countries named, the exactness with which they are enumerated, with the weights and numbers of the objects which they bring, proves that we have before us an authentic record, at least of the tribute *enjoined* upon the nations.

Another remarkable monument of the age of Thothmes III. is the chamber, on the walls of which he is represented making offerings to sixty of his predecessors. It has been already described among the documents of Egyptian history, and it is certainly one of the most important of them, though it has by no means received a satisfactory explanation in all its parts. His name appears to have been held in high veneration by posterity, and is found on a great number of scarabæi and amulets, many of which were probably engraved in subsequent times². Rosellini and others call him Mœris, and suppose him to have been the author of the Lake of Fyoun and the other works connected with it. The epithet

Strabo (p. 816) says these records were inscribed on obelisks, and moreover places these obelisks among the royal sepulchres.

¹ Annal. 2, 60.

² Wilkinson, M. and C. 1, 56, note.

Maire, beloved of Re, is found connected with his name; but we have seen reason to doubt whether the name of Mœris belongs historically to any king of Egypt, and the works in the Fyoun must be placed in the Old Monarchy.

Besides erecting monuments of stone, Thothmes III. appears to have been the author of extensive constructions of bricks. Egypt affords abundant material for this manufacture, and a few days' exposure to the sun hardens them sufficiently, unless they are to be subject to the action of water. Bricks bearing his titular shield, the scarabæus, the crenellated parallelogram and the disk of the sun are more common than those of any other sovereign¹. There is a tomb at Thebes, the inscriptions of which show, that its occupant, *Roschere*, was "superintendent of the great buildings" in the reign of Thothmes III.: on its walls the operation of brick-making is represented². Men are employed, some in working up the clay with an instrument resembling the Egyptian hoe, others in carrying loads of it on their shoulders, moulding it into bricks, and transporting them, by means of a yoke laid across the shoulders, to the place where they are to be laid out for drying in the sun. The physiognomy and color of most of those who are thus engaged show them to be foreigners, and their aquiline nose and yellow complexion suggest the idea that they are Jews. Their labor is evidently compulsory; Egyptian taskmasters stand by with sticks in their hands; and though one or two native Egyptians appear among them, we may easily suppose that they have been condemned to hard labor for their crimes. As the foreigners do not resemble any of the nations with whom Thothmes carried on war, and who are well known from the paintings and reliefs of subsequent monarchs, it is not probable that they are captives taken in war. They can therefore hardly be any other than

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2, 98.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* tav. xlix.

the Israelites, whom we know from their own history to have been employed in this drudgery. Their oppression began with the accession of the 18th dynasty, and the expulsion of their kindred Hyksos. It was a natural fear, that when any war fell out they should join themselves to the enemies of Egypt and fight against her. The kings of Egypt, therefore, while they endeavored by a cruel expedient to prevent their increase, and by hard labor to break their spirit, employed that labor to strengthen the frontier on the side of Arabia and Palestine, whence their danger came. The valley of Goshen, which was their place of settlement, was the direct road from Palestine to Memphis¹. By employing them to build the two fortresses², Raameses at the eastern³, and Pithom at the western extremity of this valley⁴, the Pharaohs provided at once a barrier against future invasions and the means of keeping the children of Israel in subjection. Both these objects were important to a sovereign like Thothmes, who, during his Mesopotamian expeditions, must have left his country exposed to his neighbors, and whose long absences might tempt revolt. If Roschere were the general superintendent of the great architectural

¹ Gen. xlv. 28. During the French occupation of Egypt this same valley, Saba-byar, was assigned to three Arab tribes, driven from Syria. (Bois-Aymé, Mémoires, 8, 111.)

² Πολεις ὀχυράς, Sept. Exod. i. 11. The Egyptian king would hardly have placed "treasure cities" in such a locality, whether we understand money or corn to have been treasured up; but they were excellently adapted for military magazines and garrisons (1 Kings, ix. 19; 2 Chron. viii. 4, Sept.).

³ See Lepsius, Einleitung, 1, p. 349, on the site of Raameses (Aboo-Kescheib). He attaches, I think, too much importance to the name, as a proof that it was built by Raameses II. A stone with his name has been found there, but the district had the name before the city was built. See Gen. xlvii. 11.

⁴ Without the article this would be *Thom*, which in Coptic signifies to close up. (Peyron, Lex. p. 51.) It was not far from Bubastia, and is the *Thoum* of the Itinerary of Antoninus.

undertakings of Thothmes, and the first who employed the Israelites upon them, it is very natural that we should find a record of it in his tomb, although they may not have labored in the brick-fields of Thebes.

Thirteen expeditions of Thothmes are referred to in the monument before described, and the thirty-fourth year of his reign; the thirty-fifth has been found by Lepsius. He was succeeded by his son AMENOPHIS II. The memorials of his reign are few, and afford little materials for history. The obelisk at Alnwick Castle, brought by Lord Prudhoe from the Thebaid, is inscribed with his name, but it simply records the fact of his having erected two obelisks in honor of the god Kneph¹. He continued the buildings at Amada, which Thothmes III. had begun, and appears to have bestowed his labors chiefly on these and other works in Nubia. In a *speos* or excavated chapel at Ibrim, he appears seated with two princes or great officers. One of them, named Osorsate, presents to him the animal productions of the southern regions, lions, jackals and hares, an inscription above specifying their numbers². He also added to the erections of his predecessors at Thebes; but most of his works here have perished. There remains a representation of him, in the usual attitude of a conqueror, about to immolate a band of captives whom he holds by the hair; their name however has not been satisfactorily explained. We have no evidence in the monuments of the extent of his Asiatic dominion, but his inscriptions are found at Surabit-el-Kadim, in the Peninsula of Sinai³.

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, 1, p. 171. The surface within the sculptures is nearly flat, not in relief, which is uncommon in works of this age.

² Champollion, *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 140.

³ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 312. I find those of Amenophis III., but not the second mentioned at this place by Sir G. Wilkinson (*Mod. Eg. and Thebes*, 2, 406).

His son THOTHMES IV. continued the works of his family at Amada, and added a hypostyle hall, which stands in front of them¹. The hieroglyphical inscriptions, which are very beautifully executed, record his victories over the people of Cush (Ethiopia), but give no other information respecting the events of his reign. This appears, however, not to have been his only war. A stele engraven on a rock of granite, on the right bank of the Nile, opposite to Philæ, records a victory gained by him over the Libyans in the 7th year of his reign, and on the 8th day of the month Phamenoth². At Qoornch, in a tomb of an officer of his court, the king himself appears seated on a throne, on the base of which are nine foreigners, bound by their necks and arms, in the manner in which captive nations are usually represented on Egyptian monuments. Four only of the nine names are legible; they have not occurred before in the records of Egyptian victories, but some of them are found on later monuments; and they appear all to belong to Asia. From another of these tombs it has been inferred that he built a palace at Thebes, and that it contained an edifice dedicated to Amun-re; but no traces of such a building are now to be found³.

AMUNOPH, or AMENOPHIS III., the son of Thothmes IV. and his queen Mauthemva, is one of the most celebrated monarchs of the 18th dynasty. We have hitherto found no traces of the permanent occupation of Nubia by the Egyptian kings, higher up the Nile than Semneh, but the temple of Soleb, which stands a degree further south, contains evidence that under Amunoph III. the boundary of the empire extended at least thus far. The remains of this edifice have been already described⁴; thirty-eight,

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 205.

² Champollion-Figeac, p. 313.

³ Rosellini, p. 212. The person who was buried here had the charge of the sacred *bari* of Amun. See vol. i. p. 385.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 16.

or according to other accounts forty-three, conquered nations are represented there; they have not been exactly copied, but Mr. Hoskins informs us that on one of them he found the name of Mesopotamia¹. Probably they are chiefly the names of Ethiopian tribes whom he had vanquished in the extension of his frontiers to the South. His name is found on a tablet at Toumbos near the Third Cataract. The lion which now couches at the entrance of the Egyptian Gallery in the British Museum is inscribed with the name of Amunoph III.,² but it does not appear on any of the buildings there, and the lion may have been brought from Egypt by Tirhakah, by whom the temple seems to have been erected. A scarabæus inscribed with the name of Amenophis III. and his wife Taia speaks of the land of *Karœi* or *Kalœi* as the southern boundary of his dominion³. If this be Coloe, as has been supposed⁴, his conquests must have been carried far to the East as well as the South; for Coloe was within five days' journey of Axum on the Red Sea⁵. The way would thus be prepared for the expedition of Rameses-Sesostris, who is said to have subdued the nations along the Erythrean Sea and crossed the Straits into Arabia⁶. A more full record of the conquests of Amenophis in Ethiopia is found in a fragment of a monolithical granite statue which is now in the Louvre⁷. The prisoners are negroes, and the lotus, which terminates the cord by which they are bound, being the emblem of Upper Egypt, characterizes on monuments all Southern races, as the head of the papyrus, the growth of Lower Egypt, does all nations living to the North of Egypt. There have been originally

¹ Travels, p. 250. Birch (Gall. B. M. p. 84) gives also Sinjar in Mesopotamia.

² Vol. i. p. 14.

³ Rosellini, M. Stor. iii. 1, 261.

⁴ Birch, Gall. B. M. p. 83.

⁵ Cellarius, Geogr. Antiq. iv. 8, 27.

⁶ Herod. 2, 102. Strabo, 17, p. 769.

⁷ Birch in Archæologia. 31. 489-491.

twenty-six names, of which six are no longer legible and no resemblance has been found between those which have been preserved and any modern or ancient names of this region, except Kesh, the scriptural Cush. Amenophis may have inherited, as well as conquered dominion over Ethiopia. Those who have compared many of the representations of him affirm, that his own features have something of an Ethiopian cast¹. On the granite rock of the little island of Beghe, near the Cataract, a figure carrying in his hand what Rosellini calls the ensign of victory, and Champollion a fly-fan, appears doing homage to the titular or prenominal shield of Amenophis III. : over his head is the inscription "Royal Son of the land of Kush, Memes²." It seems to have been the custom to grant a virtual or titular governorship of towns and districts to members of the royal family ; for we find in the tombs at Suan (Eilithya), mention is made of "royal sons" of this place, during the reigns of the five first kings of the 18th dynasty³. The same scarabæus which has been already quoted gives Naharaina as the other limit of the dominions of Amenophis III., agreeing in this respect with the inscription at Semneh.

The quarries of Silsilis, which have supplied the principal materials for the edifices of Egypt, were extensively wrought in the reign of Amenophis III. Two monuments still remain there, which from some cause had not been removed to their destination ; they are monolithal shrines, dedicated to Sebek, the crocodile-deity of Ombi : one of them bears the date of the 27th year of the king's reign. He did not continue the works of architecture at Thebes begun by his predecessors of the 18th dynasty, but erected two vast palaces, one on the eastern, the other on the western bank of the Nile. By referring to the description of the remains of Thebes

¹ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, 317. He says that from the monuments, Mauthemva, his mother, appears to have been an Ethiopian.

² See p. 180 of this vol.

³ Champollion, *Lettres*, p. 198.

given in the former volume¹, it will be seen that he began the buildings at Luxor and erected the greater part of them. The chambers which yet remain bear his legends, with the title "Pacifier of Egypt" and "Vanquisher of the Mennahom," an unknown people. In the same place is found a singular representation of his birth, and subsequent education². In the first picture of the series his mother represented with the attributes of the goddess Athor, but identified by her name *Mauthemva*, stands in the presence of the god Thoth, who holds a roll of papyrus in his hand, and raises the other towards the queen with the action of one who is addressing her. The purport of his address cannot be ascertained, but from the connexion of this with the following scenes, it is probable, that as the Egyptian Hermes he brings a message to the queen from the god of Thebes, announcing her own future maternity. In the second scene this event is near at hand³, and the queen is led by the god Kneph and the goddess Athor, who stretches the key of life towards her, to the puerperal bed. The chamber in which this is prepared is called *Ma-n-misi*, a name given to the apartment of a temple, in which the mystical birth of the young god, the offspring of the principal deities, is represented⁴. The queen, in the manner of Egyptian women, is resting on the knees and toes, and the goddess Isis behind her holds up her hands, in the attitude of one who is comforting and supporting her. Two goddesses, seated opposite to the queen, are suckling two male children; their finger pointed towards their mouth indicates their childish age⁵; the lock of hair falling on the

¹ Vol. i. p. 132, 145.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, p. 223, tav. xxxviii.-xl.

³ "Il profilo del ventre fu evidentemente incurvato oltre il consueto, per dimostrare la gravidanza. Il disegnatore non indicò forse tanto bene questa circostanza nella minor proporzione, come si vede chiara nell' originale." (Rosellini, p. 225.)

⁴ Vol. i. p. 214.

⁵ Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 4, 405. Compare vol. 1, p. 554 of Harpocrates.

right side of the head their assimilation to Horus and other youthful deities who are thus characterized¹. The two-fold number does not indicate that Amenophis had a twin brother, but is common where the birth of deities is represented². Beneath the couch are two spotted cows, sacred to Athor³, who turn complacently round towards the children who are sucking at their udders. In the next scene, Amunre is seen standing and holding in his hand the youthful Amenophis, whom a hawk-headed god has presented to him; he is addressing the child, and declares that he bestows upon him life, stability, purity and happiness, magnanimity and dominion on the throne of Horus⁴. Two figures appear behind carrying the children; they represent the Nile, in the dry season and at the commencement of the inundation, the former being distinguished by the blue color, the latter by the red-brown⁵. Their introduction here may be only symbolical of the important relation in which the Nile stood to the prosperity of Egypt, or it may be considered as preparing the way for a subsequent representation, in which two deities, Mandoo and Atmoo, appear pouring the water of the Nile over the king. In the intervening scene we see the goddess *Saf*, the wife of Thoth, and like him presiding over writing, painting and language, to whom the children are presented. Before her kneels a figure with a pot of paint, while the goddess holds a brush or pen; what she is preparing to write does not appear, per-

¹ We see from the Rosetta Stone that the assimilation of a youthful sovereign to Horus was a common flattery. Ptolemy is there called "a god, the son of a god and of a goddess, as Horus the son of Isis and Osiris." (Ros. Inscr. line 10.)

² The reader who consults Rosellini's Plates must remember what has been said (vol. i. p. 226) of Egyptian drawing. The four legs of the couch are all seen, and its horizontal seat is represented perpendicularly, so that the queen and goddesses appear to be seated on its turned-up edge.

³ Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 4, 489, Plates, 36.

⁴ Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 228.

⁵ Here, as elsewhere, the figures of the Nile are *androgynous*.

haps the name and royal title of the child¹, or as Rosellini supposes, the number of years and panegyries that he was to live.

The ceremony of the purification of the young king is preliminary to that of his inauguration; hitherto he has appeared with no emblem of royalty, but now he wears the uræus round his head; hitherto he has been naked, but now he has a short garment fastened round this waist. With this head-dress and the crook and scourge in his hands, he is next seen borne on a seat into the presence of Amunre. Having descended from his seat and exchanged the cap bound with the uræus for the royal helmet, he stands holding a bird² in his hand before the god, who has placed a collar round his neck. In front of the god are two figures, one of whom bears the red diadem which forms the outer part of the *pschent*, and represents Lower Egypt; the other the white conical cap which represents Upper Egypt. Invested with these he enters into the full prerogatives of sovereignty. They are, however, laid aside, and the king appears with his helmet only, when he comes in a subsequent scene, conducted by Phre, to kneel before Amunre and receive his benediction³. His inauguration endowed him with a sacred character, and he engages immediately after in the performance of solemn religious acts. Crowned with the lower part of the *pschent* he appears running into the presence of Amunkhem⁴ with a vessel of libation in either hand, and leads before the same divi-

¹ In a subsequent scene Saf says, according to the interpretation of Rosellini, "I establish thy twofold sculpture," i. e. thy twofold title, symbolical and phonetic. (P. 238.)

² A phoenix, according to Rosellini (p. 238), the emblem of a pure life. If it be a phoenix, length of days, or immortality, would seem a more natural signification.

³ Tav. xli. 1.

⁴ See also Wilkinson, pl. 79, 1. This action of running into the presence of a god is explained by Rosellini as emblematic of the completion of a temple (M. Stor. iii. 1, 171, 244), but this is not probable, since the objects brought are very various in different representations.

nity four living steers, one black, one white, one red and one pied, his head being ornamented, not with a helmet or the pschent, but with the insignia of Osiris-Sokari. The adjoining chambers of the palace of Luxor contain other representations of Amenophis engaged in performing sacred functions, but they do not appear to belong so immediately to his inauguration into the royal and sacerdotal office as those which have been just described.

Besides the palace of Luxor, the long *dromos* of crio-sphinxes which joins it to Karnak¹ was the work of Amenophis III., whose name can yet be traced upon their mouldering remains. But the western bank of the Nile appears to have been adorned with even more stupendous erections than those which we have already described. Of the Amenophion², as it has been called, the greater part is a heap of ruins, but these are sufficient to prove its former extent; and if the two colossal statues³, which now appear in such striking insulation in the plain of Thebes, once stood at the entrance of a *dromos* leading to the Amenophion, it is difficult to conceive a more impressive combination.

The northernmost of these statues has connected the name of Amenophis with the Memnon slain by Achilles at the siege of Troy. There is no reason to believe that the mythe of Memnon is of Egyptian origin. In the *Odyssey*, where he is briefly mentioned⁴, for he does not appear in the *Iliad*, he is introduced only as a hero remarkable for his beauty; his eastern origin may be alluded to in his being made the son of Aurora. He must early have been considered as an Ethiopian, though not so called by Homer; the author of the *Theogony* (985) makes him king of that country; and Arctinus, one of the first of the *Cyclic poets*⁵, in his *Albiowis* related his arrival at Troy, his death by the hand of Achil-

¹ See vol. i. p. 145.

² See vol. i. p. 132.

³ See vol. i. p. 132.

⁴ *Od.* *δ*, 188. *λ*, 521.

Müller, de *Cyclo Græcorum Epico*, p. 44, quoting Proclus, *Chrestomathia*.

les, and the immortality granted to him on the petition of Aurora. As yet, however, Ethiopia appears to have been conceived of as an eastern, not a southern region. Herodotus places the Memnonium at Susa¹; Æschylus made the mother of Memnon a Cissian or Susian: even in Strabo's time the royal palace there bore this name². But after the Greeks established themselves in Egypt, Ethiopia became to them a definite geographical name, denoting the valley of the Nile above Egypt to the island of Meroe, and eastward to the Erythræan Sea. It was therefore natural that they should seek among the kings of that country, either as ruling in their proper territory or as sovereigns of Egypt, for the original of their Memnon. He had not come alone to Troy; he had led a powerful army (so at least the Greeks believed³); no sovereign of Egypt therefore would have fulfilled the conditions of their hypothesis, who had not made conquests in Asia. Now although we have not, probably from accidental causes, the same monumental evidence of campaigns carried on in Asia by Amenophis III. as the tablet of Karnak furnishes respecting his father, we know that at least as far as Mesopotamia the boundaries of his dominion extended; and from the analogy of other reigns we may conclude that this dominion was not maintained without military expeditions. In the passage in which Herodotus describes the tablet erected by Sesostris at Nahr-el-Kelb, and those in Asia Minor on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and from Sardis to Smyrna, he says that some persons supposed that these figures represented Memnon, but that they were in error. Whatever Herodotus himself might mean by *Memnon*, those whose opinion he refutes probably meant Amenophis-Memnon; for the monument of Nahr-el-Kelb is so completely Egyptian, that there could be no mistake on that point; but among those who could not read the Egyptian character a

¹ 5, 53, 54: 7, 151.

² Geogr. 15, p. 728.

³ See Quintus Calaber, lib. 2.

question might easily arise, whether Amenophis or Sesostris, both Egyptian conquerors of Asia, were the special object of commemoration on this monument. As some gave the monument of Nahr-el-Kelb to Memnon, others gave the statue at Thebes to Sesostris, a natural confusion between two illustrious names, in an age which had not the means of critical judgement¹.

The word *Memnon* appears to have been a name or epithet of the Ethiopians. Stephanus of Byzantium says, "The Memnones are an Ethiopian nation, a word which, according to Polyhistor, is interpreted fierce or warlike and stern²." Agathemerus³, enumerating the nations, who live along the Nile above Egypt, says "After the Great Cataract westward of the Nile live the Euonymitæ, the Sebridæ, the Catoipi (Cadupi or Catadupi⁴, the people of the region of the Cataracts?), and the Memnones who lived close to the island of Meroe, after whom come the Elephant-eating Ethiopians." We conclude, therefore, that Memnones is a real and geographical name; and probably a name of Greek etymology, since it enters into composition with other pure Greek words⁵, denoting "the valiant or warlike," a name equally appropriate to the nation and to their chief. *Memnon* is therefore equivalent to an Ethiopian; and as Ethiopian was a name given by the Greeks to all whose complexions were darkened, whether by an eastern or a southern sun, his mythic genealogy, which made Aurora his mother, is easily accounted for. His pre-eminent beauty, strange as it may seem to us, was also a consequence of

¹ Pausanias, 1. 42, 2. Ἦκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φερόμενον εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα δὲ Καμβύσης δέικοιτο.

² Ἀγρίους τινὰς ἢ μαχίμους καὶ χαλκοῦς. Polyhistor in Steph. Byz. sub voce Μέμνονες.

³ See note to the passage of Steph. Byz. in Berkelius' edition.

⁴ Pliny, N. H. 5, 10. 6, 35.

⁵ ὡς θρασυμέμων, Ἀγαμέμων. Comp. Eust. (ad Il. ε', 639), p. 591. Δῆλον ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄπλοῦν δὲ μέμων, καθὰ καὶ ὁ μέμων, ἀνδρείους ὑποδηλοῦσι.

his Ethiopic extraction; for according to Herodotus (3, 114) the Ethiopians were not only the tallest and most long-lived, but the handsomest of the human race.

The fiction of a musical sound, issuing from the statue of Memnon at Thebes at sunrise, appears to be entirely Greek. To the Egyptians it was never anything more than the statue of their king Amenophis¹; all the inscriptions which record that the sound had been heard are of the Roman times²; the name Memnonium was given to the quarter in which it stood, under the Ptolemies, but no monument nor any passage in an author of that age alludes to a vocal Memnon. Cambyses did not need the pretext of its magic music to induce him to mutilate a statue revered by the Thebans³. As the statue has been silent for centuries, we have no means of ascertaining how the belief in its musical qualities arose; it probably originated in the poetical imagination of the Greeks, favored by some slight or accidental cause, and the eastward position of the face of the statue, and was humored by the art of the Egyptian priests.

The identification of Memnon the Ethiopian with the Theban statue naturally gave rise to historical hypotheses as well as poetical fable. According to Agatharchides⁴, the Ethiopians invaded Egypt and garrisoned many of their towns, and by them the so-called Memnonia were completed. Here a false hypothesis is grounded on an historical fact; for though the Ethiopians occupied

¹ In Syncellus we have after the name of Amenophis Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μῆμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος, καὶ φθγγόμενος λίθος. "Lemma diversi esse scriptoris a Manethone probat silentium Josephi, ideoque ad Africanum adscribendum." Routh ad Afric. Rel. Sac. 2, 396. The addition is found in the Armenian Version of Eusebius.

See the full collection of them, with the commentary of Letronne, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Series i. vol. 1, part 2.

² Syncellus. Pausanias mentions the fact, but not the motive. See the passage from Polyænus, vol. i. p. 135, note.

⁴ Apud Photium Bibl. p. 1342, ed. Hoesch.

Egypt, perhaps more than once, it does not appear that they had any share in erecting the buildings called Memnonia. This name was given in the age of Strabo to the remains of a palace at Abydos, and by some also to the Labyrinth¹. The splendor of the real palace of Amenophis seems to have rendered it a general appellation for a royal building of great extent and magnificence. We know that the palace of Abydos was chiefly the work of Rameses III., the Labyrinth of Ammenemes. The story of an Ethiopian migration or invasion takes a still more definite form, in the statement given in the Chronicon of Eusebius, that the Ethiopians, removing from the river Indus, dwelt on the borders of Egypt². This event being placed under the reign of Amenophis, is evidently intended to be considered as connecting the story of Memnon with his reign, and the date of 1615 years before Christ is assigned to it.

Like his ancestor Amenophis I., Amenophis-Memnon received divine honors, and a special priesthood, called "the *pastophori* of Amenophis in the Memnoneia," still existed in the Ptolemaic times³.

The mother of Amenophis, *Maitemva*⁴, is represented on the right side of the throne of his statue; his wife, who is seen on the left, was called *Taia*. Her name is joined with his, on the engraved scarabæi of a large size which are frequent in the collections of Egyptian antiquities. One of these, according to the interpretation of Rosellini, commemorates the marriage of the king in the

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 813. All the buildings which passed by this name were on the western side of the river.

² "Æthiopes, ab Indo flumine consurgentes, juxta Egyptum consederunt," Chron. Hieronym. p. 72, ed. Scaliger.

³ See Papyr. v. vi. vii. in Peyron's Collection.

⁴ A monument in the British Museum (Birch, pl. 34) represents her seated on a throne which is placed in an Egyptian boat or *bati*. Her name *Maitemva* is expressed phonetically by a vulture, *Maut*.

eleventh year of his reign ; it has been already quoted, as defining the limits of his kingdom. The other, whose signification is obscure, appears to refer to the performance of some public work¹. The conjunction of the name of the queen with that of the king on these memorials, indicates a greater participation in the royal power on her part than was common in the Egyptian monarchy. Amenophis appears to have had other children besides Horus who succeeded him on the throne. A stele in the Museum of Florence which bears his title mentions " a royal scribe of the house of the royal daughter *Amenset*²," the comptroller, it should seem, of the princess's household.

The tomb of Amenoph III. is the oldest royal sepulchre preserved in the Bab-el-Melook, but is not that which in the Roman times was called the tomb of Memnon. It is of great length, extending, though not in one line of direction, 352 feet, with several lateral chambers³. Although now in a state of great decay, the remains of painting on its walls indicate a good style of art. The largest apartment represents a common funeral scene, the passage of the Sun through the inferior hemisphere, the legends being traced in linear hieroglyphics, which approach very nearly to the hieratic character. The tomb of Amenoph III. in its perfect state has been one of the most complete, and Amenophis-Memnon reigned according to Manetho thirty-one years ; the thirty-sixth⁴ has been found on his monuments, illustrating the remark of Champollion⁵, that the most elaborate tombs are those of the sovereigns who had the longest reigns.

He was succeeded by his son, whose name in the lists is HORUS,

¹ Rosellini (Mon. Stor. iii. 1, 266) thinks the construction of a cistern, but acknowledges the uncertainty of his own interpretation.

² Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 319.

³ Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, 2, 215. Champollion, *Lettres*, 226

⁴ Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, B. 3, p. 78, Germ.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 141.

phonetically expressed by the hawk, the emblem of the god, with the addition of the character which denotes the panegyrics or solemn festivals¹. His monuments commemorate victories obtained over the African tribes. In a grotto near the Second Cataract², he is represented in the form of the youthful Horus, suckled by the goddess Anouke³. The ram-headed god of Thebes, Kneph or Noum⁴, stands by; he, like Anouke, was an object of special veneration between the First and Second Cataract.

The principal historical monuments of the reign of Horus, however, are in the quarries of Silsilis, which seem to have been extensively wrought for the public works then carried on. A large space on the wall of one of the galleries has been occupied by a scene representing his triumph: much of it has perished, but enough remains to show its purport⁵. He is seated on a throne carried on the shoulders of twelve military chiefs, while two others shade him with fans attached to long spears, and an attendant, keeping his face towards the king as he walks, scatters grains of incense on a censer which he holds out towards him. It is evidently the celebration of a military triumph for a victory over the Africans. Captives, whose features are strongly marked with the negro peculiarities, are led bound by the wrists and neck; and the inscriptions record that the great ones of the land of Cush had been trampled under foot. Both Luxor and Karnak received additions from him. One of the rows of criosphinxes at the last-mentioned place bears his legend, with an inscription declaring that he had made great constructions in the residences of Thebes⁶. The propylæum from which this row leads was also built by Horus, and beside the gate of entrance are seen traces of a gigantic

¹ The whole is read *Hor-mbhai*.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 272. *M. R. tav.* xliv. 5.

³ See vol. i. p. 323.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 312.

⁵ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, p. 278. *M. R. tav.* xlv.

⁶ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 288.

figure of him, engaged in smiting his enemies. The name of *Berber* alone is legible, denoting probably some African race, though it would be hasty to identify it with the *Barbaria* of Ptolemy, on the eastern coast of Africa, or the modern names of *Barabra* and *Berber*¹.

The works of sculpture of this age show the high perfection which art had already attained. The Egyptian Museum of Turin contains two admirable statues of Horus, one in a white and crystalline calcareous stone, the other in black granite. On the first the king appears standing beside the god Amonre, who is represented as of colossal size; the hieroglyphics of the latter contain a decree, very analogous in its forms to that of the Rosetta stone, in which the benefits rendered by him to Egypt are enumerated, statues ordered to be erected in the principal temples, and panegyrics to be celebrated in his honor, conjointly with the god Phre. His daughter, whose name has been read *Tmauhmot*, sits with Horus on his throne, and the decree ordains that her statue should be placed in the temple along with his². A sphinx with female attributes is carved on the side of the throne, in allusion to her sharing with him the attributes of royalty³.

The genealogical succession of the kings after Horus is very embarrassing, from the want of harmony between the monuments and the lists. On the tablet of Abydos and the lists in the

¹ According to Herodotus, the Egyptians called all *βαρβαροις* who did not speak their own language (2, 158). This may only mean that they designated them by a name implying like *βάρβαρος* (Strabo, 14, 663) harshness of speech; or they may have used the same *onomatopœia* as the Greeks. *Berber* in Coptic denotes the confused murmur of boiling water, no inapt simile for a foreign speech, which always seems inarticulate to those to whom it is unintelligible. *Βράζω* or *βράσσω*, which signifies to *seethe*, also denotes an inarticulate sound. See Hesych. *βράζειν, βαβράζειν*.

² Champollion-Figeac, 321. Compare Rosetta Inscr. translated in Birch. Gall. B. Mus.

³ See vol. i. p. 115.

Rameseion and at Medinet Aboo¹, the next name to Horus is RAMESSU, who is followed by the king whom Champollion and Rosellini call *Menephthah*, Lepsius and Bunsen, *Seti Merienp'uh*; but in the lists we find that Horus was succeeded by Acherres (or as Josephus has it, his daughter Acenchres). These are followed by Rathos (Rathotis), Chebres, Acherres (in Josephus two Acenchres), Arinesses (Armais), Ramesses, Amenophath, the first whose name bears any analogy to Menephthah. It would be to little purpose to relate the expedients resorted to for the removal of these difficulties. That a period of civil war or divided reign occurred about this time is evident from the circumstance that the shields of two kings, Amuntoonh or Amuntuanch and a fourth Amenoph, are found mutilated². The explanation which Lepsius has devised of the various facts observed on the monuments is, that besides Horus who succeeded him, Amenoph III. left two sons, Amenoph IV., Amuntuanch, and a daughter, Athotis. The two sons both reigned during the life of Horus, in what relations with him we know not. The shield of Amenophis IV. has not been found further to the north than Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt³, and where found it is always defaced⁴. In like manner the shields of Amuntuanch, which are found chiefly in Ethiopia, are defaced. We may hence conclude that their relations to Horus were hostile. It is evident that he either put down or survived Amenoph IV. and Amuntuanch, as stones marked with their shield are found in buildings at Karnak which Horus erected, and for the name of Amuntuanch has been substituted that of Horus⁵. The buildings of Horus contain also stones marked with a royal name, which was read by Wilkinson *Atinre Bakhan*, and by Lepsius *Bech-naten Ra*, in inverted order; and the sculpture

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* i. p. 204. iii. 1, 305

² Wilkinson, *M. & C.* 1, 57.

³ See vol. i. p. 89.

⁴ Bunsen, *B.* 3, p. 88, Germ. Wilkinson, *M. & C.* 1, 57.

⁵ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 255.

of these stones is so fresh, as to show that the buildings of which they are a part were destroyed soon after their erection¹. This Bech-natenra (sometimes written Bakhan only), hitherto supposed to be an intrusive king, a worshipper of the Sun, Lepsius takes for a queen, the wife and widow of Amunoph IV., and from her name he explains the Acencheres or Kencheres of the lists. The daughter of Amenophis III., whose name is written on a monument *Teti* or *Tuti*, and who is called "royal daughter, sister, mother, wife,"² is according to him Athothis, the reading of one MS. for Rathotis; her husband, the personage whose tomb Champollion discovered in the western valley of Thebes, and whose name he read *Skhai*³. They were, according to Lepsius, the parents of Ramessu, the founder of that long line of princes who fill the 19th and 20th dynasty⁴. Here we find the monuments again coinciding with the lists, and as we follow the former authority only, we shall leave the attempts to reconcile them to be confirmed or overthrown by subsequent research.

Ramessu, the immediate successor of Horus on the tablet of Abydos, appears to be both the Armesses and the Ramesses, the 14th and 15th of Manetho's 18th dynasty, the consonants in both words being the same. The Armais of Josephus appears also to be the same person with a variation of spelling. Of Ramessu's reign little is known. The second year of his reign is found on a stele dug out by the French and Tuscan expedition⁵ from the ruins

¹ Perring (Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd Ser. 1, 140) supposes that the figures found at El-Tel, representing the worship of the Sun, are those of the Hyksos kings. All that relates to these Sun-worshippers, to whom Bech-naten Ra belonged, is very obscure. Layard (Nineveh, 2, 211) thinks they may be Assyrians, as the Sun's disk was worshipped at Nineveh.

² Bunsen, Neues Reich, pl. viii.

³ Lettres, 247.

⁴ *Ramessu* (born of Ra) is probably the original participle form of the name. (See Bunsen, vol. i. p. 297, Eng. Trans.)

⁵ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 1, p. 298.

of a temple near Wadi Halfa, erected by Amenophis II. Ramessu had bestowed gifts upon the priests. The stele, which is dated the 20th of Mechir, in that year, but erected and terminated by his son, speaks of the people of the "Land of the Nine Bows" as being subjected beneath his feet, and commemorates, besides various offerings made by him, "pure men and women of the captives." This description occurs elsewhere on Egyptian monuments. The prisoners are divided into three classes, the first of whom appear to be the ordinary prisoners of war, who were reduced into slavery or employed on public works. The second, called *pure*, which is expressed by the same hieroglyphic character as *priest*, were probably distributed to the different temples, to perform as *hieroduli* the inferior offices of ministration. The third class seem to have been hostages¹.

That the reign of Ramessu was short has been inferred not only from the paucity of his monuments, but from the state of his tomb². It was nearly buried under rubbish, which was cleared away by Champollion, and the tomb itself was found to consist of two corridors, without sculpture, terminating in an apartment decorated with paintings. The granite sarcophagus which once contained the body of the king had no sculpture, but was painted. From the attributes given to Ramessu in the paintings, it appears that some were executed during his lifetime, others after his death³. Another presumption that his reign was short arises from the circumstance that Armais or Armesses and Ramesses, whom we believe to be Ramessu, are represented as having reigned together only six years, or according to Josephus, five years and five months.

The name of the successor of Ramessu on the tablet of Abydos

¹ Birch in Trans. of Royal Society of Literature, 2nd Series, 2, 345.

² No. 16 in Wilkinson's enumeration of the tombs in the Bab-el-Melook. Mod. Eg. & Thebes, 2, 214.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 1, 309.

has been variously read, and exhibits a diversity which is not common¹. Champollion at first believed the various forms in which the name is written to represent different kings. One class, in which the figure of Osiris is found united with the syllable EI, he read Osirei. Another, in which a different deity, whom he supposed to be Mandoo, takes the place of Osiris, he read Manduei, and considered him as a successor of Osirei, and both as representing the two Acencheres of Manetho. By local study of the Egyptian monuments he ascertained that the figure of the god Mandoo is very different, but it long remained uncertain how this name was to be pronounced. The divinity represented, a sitting figure with long ears and a head similar to that of a tapir, often occurs on monuments, especially in Nubia. The phonetic name was discovered to be Set or Seth. It was observed that the character by which this god is denoted had been chiselled out wherever it occurred in the name of a king². This appearance of hostility, which Champollion first remarked in the Museum at Turin, and found universal in Egypt, led him to conclude that it could be no other than Typhon, the principle of Evil, one of whose Egyptian names was Seth, and thus the name of the king was read *Sethci*, and the effaced figure was supposed to be an ass, which was an emblem of Typhon. The other part of the group was read Phthahmen or Menephthah. It was observed, however, that in the same inscription, and where there could be no doubt of identity, the name of the god Amun was sometimes substituted for that of Pthah³, which led to the conclusion that neither of these names, nor that of Osiris noticed before, formed a part of the phonetic name, which was pronounced simply *Sethci*. The name of Menephthah, however, has become so current that we shall retain it.

¹ The varieties are given by Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* i. 1, tav. ix. 110 a, b, c, d.

² See vol. i. p. 350.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 329.

To account for the introduction of such a divinity as Typhon into a royal title, Rosellini supposed that it was adopted by the king to express that he was the destroyer of his enemies; but this leaves unexplained the subsequent obliteration of his figure, which seems to imply that he had become odious after the erection of the monuments on which it is found. Lepsius on the other hand maintains that the figure is not an ass but a giraffe (an animal which is not uncommon in hieroglyphics), and that Seth whose emblem it is, was originally a beneficent deity, held in high honor by the Egyptians, but that by some revolution in theological opinions he subsequently was identified with the principle of Evil, and his image defaced wherever it was found. The evidence of this hypothesis has not yet been produced. The name *Seth* does not disappear from the Egyptian dynasties, even after the time when the change supposed to be indicated by the obliteration occurred; the priest of Vulcan, who led the Egyptians against Sennacherib, was called Sethos.

SETEI MENEPHTHAH has left a memorial of himself in the temple of Amada in Nubia, built by Thothmes and repaired by him; and at Silsilis, where he excavated one of the small grotto temples in the western rock. But his principal monuments are at Thebes. He began the palace of Qoorneh on the western side of the river, which has been already described under the name of Menephtheion¹, but as it remained scarcely finished at his death, it was completed and decorated by his successors, Rameses II. and III., who give the honor of their own labors to Menephtah. The chief apartment of the palace, forty-eight feet long and thirty-three wide, appears to have been designed as a place of public assembly for civil and judicial purposes. The remains at Karnak are much more important². The north-western wall of the hypostyle hall is divided into compartments which occupy the whole of its vast surface, and covered with figures and hieroglyphics in that peculiar

¹ Vol. i. p. 128.

² Vol. i. p. 147, 148.

relief which the Egyptian artists practised. Each of them represents some great military undertaking, in which Menephthah triumphs over five different nations of Asia; and each concludes with a procession in honor of Amun, to whom spoil and captives are presented, in gratitude for his having given the victory to his worshippers. The magnitude of the scale on which these pictures are projected, the spirit of the drawing and the high finish of the execution, show that painting and sculpture, both as mechanical and intellectual arts, had attained to great perfection.

Menephthah had scarcely ascended the throne when he undertook a military expedition against the same nations, over whom the Thothmes and Amenophis had established their dominion. We have no information from monuments of any wars of Horus with Asiatic nations, and the state of division into which Egypt appears to have fallen, both in his reign and that of Ramessu, must have weakened its power over distant countries. One of the compartments of sculpture at Karnak¹ represents him, with a youthful figure, in the first year of his reign, engaged in warfare with a people who are called *Shos* or *Shosu*, and their land *Kanana*. Their features are wholly different from the Egyptians; they have caps on their heads and cuirasses round the body, and have been armed with spears and battle-axes. They are in hasty and disorderly flight before the king, who is pursuing them in his *biga*, and has already pierced many with his arrows. On a hill near stands a fortress, surrounded with a fosse, towards which the fugitives are making their way;—"fortress of the land of Kanana" is inscribed on the front. Another compartment represents the continuation of this campaign². The king again appears in his chariot, transfixing his enemies with his arrows; three fortresses are seen in the background, the nearest of which is already

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 337; *Mon. Reali*, tav. xlvi. 2.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, tav. xlix. 2.

taken, and has the name of the king inscribed over the gate ; the fugitives are making their way towards a mountain covered with wood.

In the same year he carried on war with another people, whose geographical position cannot have been very remote, and whose names may be variously read Remanen or Lemanen, Rotno or Ludnu, owing to the ambiguity of the letters which stand for L or R, T or D in the phonetic alphabet. They have gone forth in chariots to meet the king, but have been utterly routed. Their physiognomy, dress and armor are very different from those of the Shos ; they have less pointed features ; their heads are covered with a cap, which descends to protect the back of the neck, and is fastened by a band ; they wear long garments, with a girdle at the waist and a deep cape over the shoulders. A fortress is near, on the battlements of which the defenders are standing and holding out their hands apparently in supplication to Menephthah. In the next compartment the king has descended from his chariot and holds the reins behind him, while he turns to address the chiefs of the defeated people, who supplicate him on their knees. Others of the same nation are felling the trees of a wood, perhaps those which surrounded their fortress and added to its strength ; for a fortress is seen in the distance, with its gate-posts and architrave falling, as if to indicate that it had been captured and dismantled. The whole concludes with a triumphal procession, in honor of the two campaigns. The king is seen mounting his chariot, lifting two of the conquered nations, who are powerfully grasped in his right arm, while two files, with their hands tied, and bound round the neck by a rope which the conqueror holds, are following him. In a similar way the captive Shos are led in triumph, and three of their heads are fixed on the back of the royal chariot. Egyptians, men and women, come forth to meet him ; some kneel, others are standing and lifting up their hands in sign of reverence and welcome ; and a company of priests, distinguished by their shorn

heads, offer large nosegays of the lotus, the characteristic production of the land¹. The whole scene is bordered by the Nile, sufficiently marked by the crocodiles with which it is filled; and a palace stands on the bank². The date of the first year of the reign of Menephthah is repeated in the hieroglyphics at this place; a presumption that the scene of the events cannot have been very remote from the frontiers of Egypt. The whole finishes with the presentation of the prisoners of the land of Luden to the Theban triad of gods, Amunre, Maut and Chons, and an offering of vases. The inscription declares them to be fabricated out of their spoils in gold, silver, copper, and the unknown substance *chesebt*³, and precious stones. Their devices are emblematic of the event which they record; one of them is supported by figures of captives; on another the head of a prisoner appears as bent down by grief, and in the hieroglyphics above them they are called "images of the chiefs of the strange lands⁴."

No date is found with the scene next represented, in which the king is attacking a fortress, the name of which has been read *Oisch* or *Atet*, situated in the land of Amar or Omar⁵. The people who have been defending it, resemble in their features the Shos, in costume the Remanen. They fight in chariots, and inhabit a mountainous and woody country, through which herds of cattle

¹ Rosellini, M. R. tav. xlvi-1.

² A bridge over the stream is here represented, a thing which occurs nowhere else among the Egyptian monuments. It is probably laid over one of the smaller streams of Lower Egypt, where the kings would naturally fix their residence when they were carrying on campaigns in Asia.

³ See p. 192 of this volume.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 1, p. 333.

⁵ Birch in Roy. Soc. Lit., 2nd Series, vol. 2, p. 335. It is conjectured by him to be Haditha on the Euphrates, by Dr. E. Hincks to be Edessa, by Mr. Osburn, Hadashah (Josh. xv. 37), and Amar to be the land of the Amorites. Rosellini compares Omar with Omira, the name which the Euphrates bore previous to its passage through Mount Taurus (Pliny, N. H. 5, 24).

are flying in consternation at the fray. The king is armed with bow and arrows, and also with a short spear, which serves either to hurl from a little distance, or to stab in close fight. The rest of the events of this campaign are lost by the destruction of the wall; but it appears to have concluded with the usual offering of vases and prisoners to Amunre.

It is probable that the war, which is the subject of the next representation, occurred at a considerably later period of the reign of Menephthah, since his son Rameses appears serving in the campaign¹. *Taken* or *Tohn* is the name of the people against whom it is waged, the Tahai who are mentioned in the account of the statistical tablet of Karnak², and who are declared to belong to the Rotno or Ludnu. They wear helmets, from which a strap or strip of metal depends, for the protection of the cheek, and the chiefs are distinguished by two feathers in the helmet. The general of the enemy, who is represented as of an intermediate size between his own troops and the gigantic figure of Menephthah, has been pierced in the breast by one of the king's short spears, and then caught round the neck by his bow; and with the uplifted scimitar in his hand he is preparing to put him to death. In another compartment he appears dismounted from his chariot and about to stab with a short spear a chief who has been also pierced in the breast with an arrow. The captives are as usual led in files to be presented to the god. Among the offerings, besides the customary vases, are bags tied up, probably containing gold dust or precious stones.

The people who are called *Sheto* or *Shetin* are the subject of another of the great historical pictures of the wars of Menephthah. Unlike all those who have been described before, they use cavalry³

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 1, 378. M. R. tav. liv.-lvi.

² See p. 187, 188 of this volume.

³ It is remarkable that the horses have neither saddle nor bridle, in this respect resembling the Numidian cavalry. "Nihil primo adpectu contem

as well as chariots in the field. They are clothed in long tunics, girt round the middle and with sleeves, but these do not descend below the elbow. They have no beard; their heads are covered with a scull-cap which reaches to the shoulders and protects the back of the neck; the top is ornamented with a tassel, and the side of the neck defended by a strip which extends to the breast. They have square shields with bows. The arrows of the king disperse them, and the war ends with a procession, in which captives and chariots are led before Amunre, who on this occasion is attended by Pasht, Chons and Thmei. With this scene ends the representation of the wars and triumphs of Setei-Menephthah on the wall of the palace of Karnak. They are summed up, as it were, in a vast emblematic picture, in which the king appears of gigantic size, grasping by the hair captives of nine different nations, who are fastened to a stake, and preparing to strike them with a ponderous mace, loaded with a ball of metal at the end, while Amunre stretches out towards him the scimitar or *shopsh*, the emblem of destruction and power¹. Among these nine nations we recognize distinctly the negro of the interior of Africa; the others, though not so strongly characterized, correspond generally in features and head-dress with the nations already represented as conquered by Menephthah. Naharaina or Mesopotamia is mentioned in an inscription, partly mutilated, above the figure of the king. Elsewhere we have seen the conqueror leading the vanquished nations to the god; but here Amunre himself holds the cords to which their symbolical representations are attached. He is accompanied by a goddess, supposed to be the land of Egypt², who also holds three cords. The different tribes or towns (for probably

tius; equi hominesque paulluli et graciles; discinetus et inermis eques præterquam quod jacula secum portat; equi sine frenis." (Liv. 35, 11.)

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Reali, tav. lvii.-lxi.

² The same apparently who is given with slight variation in Sir G. Wilkinson's Plates, 58, 3, and called *Kahi*, i. e. "the land."

they are no more) are designated by an embattled oval, within which the name is written, and over which is placed a head and shoulders, the cord being fastened round the neck, and the arms bound. Of these ovals fifty-six are still legible, and several others obliterated. Among those who belong to the race of Cush, a few names seem to bear some analogy to those known to geography, as the *Barobro*, the *Takrurir*, the *Erk*, supposed to answer respectively to the *Barabra* and *Berber*, the *Dakruri* of Upper Nubia, and *Erchoas* on the Nile¹, but in most of them no resemblance can be traced. Some of the characters do not belong to the general phonetic alphabet, and their sound is unknown. The features of the negro in the group grasped by the king indicate that he came from a country far to the South, unless we are to suppose that tribes of this physiognomy extended further northward in ancient times. The third file led by the god, with the exception of the first oval, is of northern nations². Of those whom the goddess leads, the first oval contains a group of characters which Champollion reads *Nemone*, and supposes to signify shepherds (from the Coptic *Moone*, to feed), and to denote generally foreigners of the North. The next are the *Shetin*, *Naharaina*, the *Rotnu* or *Ludnu*, Upper and Lower, and *Sinjar*. Of the rest, though many of them are distinctly written, little can be made. Names of places in Palestine have been found in them³, and nothing is in itself more probable than that conquests in this country should be recorded on the monu-

¹ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 1, 421. Birch, *Gall. Br. Mus.* 2, 89.

² This assumes the papyrus-plant, which the second and third ovals contain, to denote the North, as it often does. Rosellini (p. 425) thinks, from its similarity with the character answering to *Ἑλληνικοῖς* on the Rosetta Stone, that it should be read *Aoninin*, and understood of the Ionians of Asia. I doubt if in this age the Ionians were found on the coast of Asia, and were this reading phonetically correct, should rather connect it with *Ἰόνη*, the ancient name of Gaza (Dion. Perieget. 1, 92, with the note of Eustathius).

³ Osburn, *Onomasticon, Ancient Egypt*, p. 156

ments of Egyptian kings; but their identification with biblical names is not sufficiently supported to warrant our proposing them as facts.

There is much probability in the opinion of Rosellini, that we should read the name of the Rotnu, *Ludin*, and that the Lydians are meant; not using this word in the limited sense to which the Greek writers have accustomed us, but as a general name for Asia Minor and its prolongation to the country at the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. Two wholly different nations are evidently described in Scripture under the name of *Lud*. One of these (Gen. x. 13) is called a son of Mizraim, and is mentioned by Jeremiah with Ethiopia and Libya (xlv. 9) as an ally of Egypt. The other (Gen. x. 22) is called a son of Shem, and mentioned in connexion with Arphaxad (Arrapachitis in Northern Assyria), and Aram or Syria. This is the position in which a name might be expected to occur which represents the Semitic population of Asia Minor. These Ludim, not the African nation of the same name, appear to be meant in Ezek. xxvii. 10, where they are joined with Persia and Libya as furnishing mercenaries to Tyre. To this Semitic population was probably owing the manifest connexion between the mythology of Lydia and that of Assyria¹, and the early civilization of Lydia, which through the Greek colonies settled on its shores became a source of refinement and culture to all Europe.

We have already described among the sepulchres of Thebes, the tomb and sarcophagus of Setei-Menephthah, discovered by Belzoni in the Bab-el-Melook². It is the most splendid that has hitherto been explored, and the plates to Belzoni's work will give a good

¹ Comp. Herod. 1, 7, where Agron, the first of the Heracleid kings of Lydia, is made the son of Ninus the son of Belus. The predecessors of Agron were descended from Lydus the son of Atys, who represents a Phrygian population earlier than the connexion with Assyria.

² Vol. i. p. 141.

idea of the variety and richness of its decorations. It contains a representation which we find repeated with some variation in the tombs of other kings of this and the succeeding dynasty, and which seems designed to express the universality of Egyptian dominion. The god Horus, the symbol of royalty, is preceded by four companies of men, of different color, physiognomy, and costume. The first are plainly Egyptians; the third are blacks; the second white with bushy black hair, blue eyes, aquiline noses, and reddish beards; they wear short parti-colored tunics, with several tassels at the lower extremities. The fourth resemble the people called Rebo in the campaigns of Rameses IV., wearing feathers in their heads, and large cloaks, and having their bodies tattooed. The Egyptians have the name *Rot*, supposed to signify *race*, as if they identified themselves with mankind; the blacks that of *Nahsu*; the third group are called *Namu*, and the fourth *Tamhu*. The Nahsu are represented with variety of dress and physiognomy in the other tombs, but always black; the Namu are elsewhere drawn with an entirely different costume; and the Tamhu are made yellow instead of fair, and have ample garments worked in elaborate patterns, instead of the cloaks which half cover their tattooed bodies'. The two names therefore appear to be generic, and to comprehend races ethnographically distinct. The people called in the sculptures of the wars of Menephthah, Remenen, or Lemenen, and the inhabitants of the land of Omar, belonged to the Namu; the Tohen to the Tamhu. In the same way Nahsu is the generic name of the black nations, and Cush the specific name of the Ethiopians. Taken together they appear to have conventionally represented the principal nations known to the Egyptians, and as their wars did not extend to Europe, we must seek the originals in Asia, the Namu in the Semitic nations, the Tamhu in those who dwelt eastward of the Tigris.

The monuments do not afford us data for fixing the length of

¹ Rosellini, M. S. 4, 228, M. R. tav. clv. &c.

Setei-Menephthah's reign. The Sethos of the lists is said to have reigned fifty-one or fifty-five years, and the magnitude and elaborate decoration of the tomb of Setei-Menephthah, as well as his recorded conquests, show that his reign cannot have been a short one. The name of one of his queens appears to have been *Twea*, the mother of Rameses II. and III.; of another, *Tsire*¹.

The shields of all the sovereigns hitherto mentioned on the tablet of Abydos contain titles only, and their phonetic names have been ascertained from other monuments. That of the successor of Setei-Menephthah, however, is followed by a shield which contains a phonetic name, and closes the last line but one; this name is Rameses Mei-Amun, and it is repeated along with the titular shield through the whole length of the lowest line. But the titular shield of the lowest line is not exactly the same as the last titular shield of the upper line; it differs from it by the addition of a group of characters which is usually interpreted, "Approved by Re²." The lateral column of the tablet, again, exhibits only the shield without the addition. Hence arises the question, do these two titular shields represent two sovereigns, Rameses Meiamun II. and Rameses Meiamun III., or is the addition in the second shield merely a difference, assumed by the same sovereign at a subsequent period of his reign? Such variations, perplexing as they are, appear to have been practised. The obelisk of the Atmeidan, already mentioned, exhibits four several additions to the characters which form the titular shield of Thothmes III.³, and one of them is this same group, "approved by Re." Again, the same tomb in the Bab-el-Melook was found to contain two shields, one which has, the other

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, 251, 270.

² Compare the shields, 11, 12, & 13, in the Hieroglyphic Plates, II. vol. i. No. 12 is the phonetic name belonging to both; no. 13 has the group of characters at the bottom which is read *Sotp-n-ra*, "approved by Ra," which is wanting in no. 11.

³ See *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 2, 228, 2nd Series.

which has not the addition "approved by Re;" and hence Major Felix and Sir Gardner Wilkinson were led to the conclusion, that they indicated only one sovereign, Rameses II. The colossal statue which lies reversed at Mitrahenny has on the girdle both shields, one with, one without "approved by Re." At Beitoualli the shield is four times repeated, once with the addition "approved by Re." The processions of the kings at the Rameseion and Medinet Aboo exhibit *only* the shield with the addition¹. These are strong reasons for believing that only one king is designated by both shields. Yet a great difficulty attends this supposition: the names of their wives and their children are different, and it would be too arbitrary a mode of proceeding to assume a second marriage and the death of the children of the first. Rosellini adds², that the physiognomy of the two kings is so different, that even at a distance they can be distinguished by one, who is familiar with them. This argument can be appreciated only by those who have seen the monuments of Egypt on the spot; yet the evidence of one who spent so many months among them must be admitted to be of great weight. It is also alleged³, that in more than one instance the title "approved by Re" has been inserted in a shield in which it had not been originally found, by a cancelling of the previous inscription—an act not likely to have been performed by a sovereign on his own shield, though we find a son using this liberty with the shield of his father. Rosellini assures us also that he has found dates of the reign of Rameses from the second year to the sixty-second, all containing the addition "approved by Re," and it is difficult to conceive that he should before the first of these dates have performed those exploits and executed those works, to which the shield without the addition is attached. Where obelisks have been begun by one monarch and finished by another, the central line marks the work of the first. Now the central inscription on

¹ Rosellini, M. Stor. 1, p. 205

² Rosellini, M. Stor. 1, 256, 261.

³ Rosellini *u. s.* Birch, Gall. B. Mus. P. 2, p. 91, note 11.

three of the faces of the obelisk transported from Luxor to Paris bears the shield without the addition ; so does that which remains at Luxor on one of its faces ; the others bear the shield with the addition. Without concealing the difficulties which press on either hypothesis, I assume, as most probable according to the present state of the question, that the two shields represent two kings, and I shall proceed to give an account of the monuments which bear their respective names.

To RAMESES II. belong the historical pictures and sculptures of Beitoualli near Kalabshe in Nubia, casts of which, colored according to the original, may be seen in the British Museum¹. The sanctuary represents the youthful monarch suckled by Isis and Anouke. The walls of the vestibule exhibit on the left his triumphs over the Ethiopian nations. Mounted in his chariot armed with his bow, and accompanied by two of his sons who are also in chariots, he slaughters and tramples down the negroes who fly in confusion towards a village indicated by its palms. A wounded man, supported by two others, is feebly making his way to a cottage within which the mother is cooking. A child and another female stand beside the door with expressions of sympathy and terror. Conquerors have been fond in all ages of recording the carnage of their battle-fields, but this is a solitary instance of their completing the picture by an exhibition of the misery which war brings to the cottage-hearth. The fruits of the victory are exhibited in a procession, in which the same productions of Africa, which have been already described in speaking of the reign of Thothmes III., are brought before the king, who is seated under a rich canopy. Immediately before him stands his son, who is introducing into his presence "the royal son of the land of Cush, Anemophth." Rosellini thought that he was brought as a prisoner, but it seems more probable that the two attendants are

¹ Rosellini, M. R. tav. lxii.-lxxv. Birch, Gall. Brit. Mus. pl. 38, p. 2.

arraying him in garments of state, previous to his appearance before the king; and that the vase which Rosellini supposed to contain a restorative potion, holds water or perfume. In another part of the procession the same Anemophth brings on his shoulders skins of panthers, rings of gold and exotic plants, and the connection of the different parts of the picture is probably to be conceived of in this way, that having deposited his offerings before the king, he is rewarded by receiving the investiture described above. From his features and dress he is evidently of Egyptian race, and therefore probably of a family which had enjoyed the viceroyalty of Ethiopia since the commencement of Egyptian conquests in that country.

The left side of the vestibule contains representations of the Asiatic victories of Rameses II. The people with whom he is engaged are those whom we have already become acquainted with, in the historical monuments of Seti-Menephthah's reign. In one compartment the king appears mounted in his chariot and pursuing a host of men of yellow complexion, short and peaked beards and a sharp physiognomy, variously armed with scimitars, javelins and throwsticks¹. In the inscriptions which are legible their name does not occur, but they closely resemble those who on the walls of Karnak are called the *Shos*, and whom we have concluded to be a tribe of Palestine. Next he is seen attacking a fortress, in the upper story of which is a chief whom he grasps by his helmet and is preparing to behead with his scimitar. On the lower story are several figures, in attitudes expressive of distress and consternation. One man holds out a censer towards the conqueror, as if in propitiation of a god; two females are imploring his clemency; a third, with similar purpose, is holding her child from the battlements, from which a man is also precipitating himself. A prince armed with an axe approaches the gate of the fortress to break it open.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. *lxvii*.

No name occurs in any part of this scene ; but the costume is that of the people whose name is read by Rosellini *Shomui*, by Champollion *Shari* or *Kharu*¹, and supposed to be Syrians. Men of the same nation appear in the next compartment to be brought before the king to receive their doom. He stands on a board beneath which two of them are lying prostrate, and thus literally made *his footstool* ; he grasps three by the head, and the prince leads a file of others to him bound. A similar scene is represented in another compartment, where the king holds his scimitar over the head of a kneeling prisoner of Asiatic race. Finally he is seen, seated on his throne, with a lion having his fore-paws bound couched at his feet. Egyptians, evidently of military rank bearing emblems of victory, stand in order before him, and one of the princes of the blood brings three Asiatic prisoners bound. The inscription appears to be a general summary of the triumphs recorded on both walls, mention being made of victories over the Cushites as well as the Shari².

This is the principal historical monument of Rameses II.'s reign ; for the obelisks of Luxor contain nothing beyond the customary pompous and mystical phrases. It has been already mentioned, that the tomb in the Bab-el-Melook appears to have been begun, but not carried on far by him. From this and other circumstances it has been concluded that his reign was not long.

He was succeeded by RAMESSES III. That he was the brother of his predecessor appears from the Menephtheion³ already mentioned, in which both of them stand before the figure of Menephthah, and the inscription declares that they have come to render homage to their father⁴. We have seen however that Rameses II. had sons, and therefore we must suppose that they were dead, or what is more probable, that their uncle set them aside and

¹ See p. 192 of this vol. Vol. i. pp. 262, 263.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, p. 18.

³ See p. 215 of this vol.

⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, p. 263.

mounted the throne—a proceeding not unsuitable to his energetic character. He may even have dated his accession from his father's death. That Rameses III. is the Sesostris of Herodotus is no longer doubtful. Herodotus says that he had himself seen in "Palestine of Syria" the tablet which Sesostris set up in commemoration of his conquest. At the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, the ancient Lycus, not far from Beirout, three such tablets are found, exhibiting an Egyptian king in the customary posture of smiting his enemies. His name is not preserved, but the titular shield is that of Rameses III. with the characters "approved of Re." Further, Herodotus relates that Sesostris on his return to Egypt set up a colossal statue of himself, thirty cubits (forty-five feet) in height, before the temple of Ptah at Memphis. At Mitrahenny we have seen that a colossal statue still exists², forty-eight feet in height, bearing not only the titular shield, but the phonetic name of Rameses III. This proof is not so cogent as the preceding, because we are not sure that this is *the* statue of which Herodotus speaks, but even alone it would have furnished a strong argument for the identity of the Sesostris of Herodotus with this king. It does not prove that he was called Sesostris in the Egyptian annals; but it shows that one remarkable circumstance which Herodotus relates of Sesostris is historically true of Rameses III., and justifies our application of the written history, in which no Rameses appears, to the monumental, in which the name of Sesostris is not found. That we should be able to frame from their union a narrative in which every part of both shall find a place, is not to be expected. Diodorus complains that the Greeks did not

¹ Trans. of Royal Soc. Lit. vol. 3, p. 105, Pl. 1, 2, 1st Series. Possibly this may explain the tablets ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ γῆ κερύβαν from which, according to Syncellus (p. 40, 73, ed. Dind.), the Pseudo-Manetho in the Sothis professed to have derived his history. The inscriptions in the Wadi Mokuttub are hardly of sufficient antiquity to be referred to.

² Vol. I. p. 97.

agree with one another in what they related of Sesostris (his Sesosis), nor the priests with those who panegyricized him in song¹. He himself begins his narrative with a circumstance which betrays its own origin in popular and poetical fiction. It is a characteristic of such fictions to represent the birth and earliest years of those who are afterwards to play a distinguished part, as corresponding with their subsequent celebrity. The father of Sesostris collected together all the male children who were born in Egypt on the same day with him, and caused them all to be educated together, that early familiarity might prepare them for friendly co-operation². Their training was such as the future conquerors of the world from India to Thrace might well need; none was allowed to take food in the morning till he had run 180 stadia, at least eighteen miles. While yet a youth he was sent with his companions by his father to undergo a still further hardening in the deserts of Arabia, and subdued its inhabitants, on whom the yoke had never been imposed before. Next he was dispatched to the west, where he subdued also the greater part of Libya. That some reason might appear why his father anticipated such celebrity for his son and educated him accordingly, it was said that Hephaistos appeared to him in his sleep and foretold that the child who was about to be born should be the conqueror of the world. On his father's death, either relying on this oracle, or persuaded by his daughter Athyrtis, who was endowed with superior sagacity to all other women, or had acquired her knowledge by divination, he determined to undertake an expedition.

¹ Diod. 1, 53.

² Jomard, *Description d'Égypte, Mémoires*, 9, 151, calculates, that if, when Sesostris was twenty years of age, more than 1700 males, as Diodorus says (1, 54), were living, born on the same day with him, 6800 children must have been born every day of the year, and the whole population of Egypt must have been 72,722,600. The scythe of statistics mows down unmercifully the exuberances of mythology and rhetoric.

We recognize here plainly enough the exaggerations natural to the story of an heroic conqueror, whose memory has been fondly cherished by the people and celebrated in popular poetry. Herodotus relates no prodigies or incredible facts respecting the childhood of his Sesostris, but he makes his first expedition to be for the subjugation of the people who dwelt on the shores of the Erythræan Sea, that is the Indian Ocean. If he built his fleet of ships of war in some of the harbors on the western side of the Red Sea, and with them passed the Straits of Babelmandeb to subdue the Ethiopians, it is difficult to understand how his further progress could be stopped, as Herodotus says, by shallows. If, however, as Diodorus represents¹, he made a land expedition into Ethiopia, and as he and Strabo say, from that coast entered the Arabian Gulf, he might naturally enough be stopped by shallows, for the sandbanks and coral-reefs make navigation along its shores towards the northern end dangerous in the extreme to all who are not familiar with them. These difficulties were experienced by Ælius Gallus when he undertook his expedition from the head of the Gulf, against the Arabs, in the reign of Augustus; and the tides of the Red Sea, which embarrassed his navigation, must have been still more formidable to Egyptian sailors in the reign of Sesostris². A fleet for the navigation of this sea would be more easily constructed on the coast of Ethiopia, which abounded with wood, than at Suez, Myos Hormos or Berenice, where no timber whatever is to be found. The subsequent exaggerations of Diodorus, who makes Sesostris conquer the whole sea-coast to India, and even pass the Ganges and reach the Eastern Ocean, do not belong to the poetical fictions of the ancient Egyptians; they indicate the corruption of history from a more recent source—the desire of the

¹ Diod. i, 55. Strabo, 16, p. 769.

² Syllæus, who undertook to be his pilot, exposed his fleet to danger *βαχίαις ἀλιμένοις παραβαλίων, ἢ χειρῶν ἐφίλων μεσσιῶν ἢ τεναγώδεσι * πλείστον δὲ αἱ τλημυρίδες ἐλθόντων καὶ αἱ ἀρπύγαις.* (Strabo, 16, p. 780.)

priests to exalt the conquests of Sesostris above those of the Macedonians, under whose dominion the land of the Pharaohs had fallen. Diodorus, who assigns him 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry and 27,000 chariots, includes the Cyclades in his conquests; Dicæarchus¹, "the greater part of Europe."

The Greek historians represent Sesostris as of unusually lofty stature; Herodotus, according to the probable meaning of his words, six feet nine inches²; and this may perhaps be a cause why he seems to have drawn to himself the fame of the Thothmes and Menephthah, whose names are passed over by them. In the Egyptian battle-pieces the sovereign is always of gigantic size, and to those who could not read their names, they might all pass for one and the same Sesostris³.

The historical and other monuments of the reign of Rameses III. far exceed those of any preceding or subsequent sovereign, and correspond with the long reign of upwards of sixty years which the lists and the sculptures agree in attributing to him. The earliest of these records is of the fifth year of his reign. His campaign of this year is partially delineated on the walls of the propylæa of Luxor, but much more fully on those of the temple of Aboosimbel. So numerous are the pictures that they alone occupy twenty-five plates in the great work of Rosellini⁴. The cost and labor involved in first excavating this temple in the rock, and then covering it with painted sculptures of nearly the size of life, are incalculable; yet they could never be seen, except when explored with artificial light. At the time when this temple was excavated, the valley of the Nile between the two Cataracts was no doubt much better peopled than it has ever since been. But on this site there is no appearance that any town has ever stood; the Nile is close to the

¹ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 272.

² See note on μέγας πύμπερς σπιθαμῆς, Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, 2, 106.

³ See p. 138 of this vol.

⁴ Mon. Reali, tav. lxxix. ciii.

front and the desert is behind, whence the sand has poured down in streams, choked up the entrance to the temple, and buried the colossal figure of the king. We can only conjecture therefore that some unrecorded circumstance in the life of Rameses led him to fix on this spot for a record of his gratitude¹.

The pronaos of the temple, into which the traveller first enters when he has worked his way through the sand, is supported by a double row of eight pilasters, on the front of which stands, like a Caryatid, the figure of Rameses with the attributes of Osiris, thirty feet in height. The walls on the left or south side are divided into several compartments, each of which represents some action of the king; the right is occupied with a single subject, itself comprehending a great variety of actions². The two first on the left side exhibit the victories of the king, accompanied by his three sons³, one of whom is named Rameses, over the Asiatic nations whose names are already known to us from the sculptures of Seti Menephthah, African victories being also incidentally mentioned in the inscriptions. The artist has apparently had this monument of Menephthah's reign in view, and imitated its composition and arrangement. In the next compartment are seen two files of African prisoners led by the king to be presented to three divinities⁴. These according to the usual theology should be Amunre, Phre, and Maut; but Rosellini has observed a singular piece of flattery in the composition of the group⁵. The figure which should represent Phre has the disk of the sun placed over it, but the features are those of Rameses III. himself, the head-dress is that of a king, and the legend above is, "Discourse of Amun-mai-

¹ Rosellini supposes that here he may have met his queen, by whom the smaller temple was dedicated to Athor, on his return from his expedition. (Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 167.)

² Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 89-119.

³ Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 101.

⁴ Rosellini, M. R. tav. lxxxiv. v. vi.

Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 117.

Ramses, "We grant thee life and perfect purity." The African prisoners are colored alternately brown and black, but it may be doubted whether this is meant to indicate the difference of color between Nubians and negroes; elsewhere we find the Egyptian artists using a contrast of color for the sake of relief. The features of both the brown and the black men are equally negro, and their costume is the same. In their rude and awkward movements, and the ludicrous expression of constraint and pain in their countenances, the painter has exactly copied the workings of nature as they may be seen at this day in the same people under similar circumstances.

The wall on the right-hand side represents, without divisions, a series of actions in a campaign against the *Sheto* which may be considered as the first military undertaking of Rameses III., as it bears date the ninth of Epiphi, in the fifth year of his reign. The whole composition contains more than eight hundred figures, and the centre is occupied by the camp of the king, the various events of the campaign being exhibited around the four sides¹. The series begins with an attack made by him on a fortified city standing on a river, branches of which flow around its walls, and serve the purpose of a trench. The enemy, who wear long-sleeved tunics, have generally the head shaven, with the exception of a lock which falls over the back of the neck, and wear moustachios. They fight from chariots, but of much ruder construction than those of the Egyptians, and each chariot carries three persons, a spearman, a charioteer and a shield-bearer. Their shields are of different forms, some square, and apparently made of basket-work, others of wood with incurved sides. The enemy are driven headlong to the fortress, and some of them have been precipitated with their horses and chariots into the river. Mixed with the chariots appear here and there men mounted on horseback; but as they are without armor, and the horses without saddle or bridle, they seem as if they were

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 119, tav. lxxxviii.-ciii.

making their escape from the field on horses which in the conflict had been detached from their harness, or else are acting as messengers¹. The battle-scene is followed by another, in which the king, seated in his chariot, and surrounded by his guards and officers, sees the amputated hands of his enemies thrown down before him, and their number recorded by scribes. Other scenes of war occupy the borders; they generally resemble those which we have already described. One of them, however, deserves a special notice; two men of the hostile nation are undergoing the bastinado, and from the inscription above them it appears that they are detected spies.

The importance which the Egyptians attached to the events of this campaign is evident from its repetitions at Thebes. The scene represented on the propylæa of the great court of Luxor is the same as that which we have just described². We find again the city round which the river flows assaulted by the Egyptians, and some of the combatants with their chariots and horses precipitated into it. The bastinading of the spies is also repeated, and the centre is occupied, as at Aboosimbel, by a representation of the camp. All doubt of their identity is removed by the date, which is the fifth of Epiphi in the fifth year of the king, Rameses III., the date of that of Aboosimbel being four days later. The Rameseion, on the western bank of the Nile³, which was his work, repeats, with some variations, the same subject⁴. The city on the river again appears, but it has a double fosse, and a bridge over them connecting it with the main land. The river is full of drowning men and horses; a chieftain has been dragged out on the bank, and his soldiers are endeavoring to restore him to life by holding him with his head downwards. These men have evidently made a sally from the city over the drawbridge, for the purpose of assisting and

¹ The camp which has been already described (vol. i. p. 194) occupies the centre; a lion bound couches in the middle.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 222, tav. civ.-cvii.

³ Vol. i. p. 129.

⁴ Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 232, tav. cix. ex.

rescuing their friends whom the Egyptians have driven into the river. In another part of the Rameseion is represented the capture of a second fortress. A scaling-ladder is applied to the walls, two sons of Rameses are ascending upon it, and four others at the base are leading as many bodies of men, who are sheltered by a large wooden coverlet from the stones, lances, and arrows of the besieged. Four other royal princes appear in different parts of the field.

Diodorus Siculus¹, having described, on the authority of the Egyptian priests and the Greek writers who had visited Thebes under Ptolemy Lagi, the fore-courts of the monument of Osymandyas and the colossal statues of the king, his wife and his mother, proceeds:—"Next to the pylon," they say, "is a peristyle hall, more wonderful than the preceding, in which are all sorts of carvings, representing the war which he waged with the revolted Bactrians. Against them he made an expedition with 400,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, the whole army being divided into four parts, all of which sons of the king commanded. On the first wall the king is represented besieging a fortress surrounded by a river, and encountering some of his enemies, accompanied by a lion who fights fiercely in aid of him. Some of those who expounded the antiquities said that the king had really tamed a lion, which fought for him and put his enemies to flight; others, that being haughtily vain of his valor, he expressed his own character by the figure of a lion. On the second wall captives are represented with their hands cut off, and otherwise mutilated, indicating that their minds were effeminate, and that in their difficulties they had made no vigorous use of their hands. The third wall had carvings of all kinds, and brilliant pictures representing a sacrifice by the king, and a triumph on his return from the war."

There are circumstances in this description which identify the so-called monument of Osymandyas² with the Rameseion, and the

¹ Hist. 1, 47.

No name like *Osymandyas* appears in the lists of Egyptian kings; but

sculptures of which Diodorus speaks with those which Rosellini has drawn. Such are the river flowing round the fortress, and the four sons of the king. It is true that he also mentions circumstances which are not found here, as the fighting lion, and the mutilation of the captives. But only a part of the original sculptures of the Rameseion remains; and as we have already seen that those of Aboosimbel and Luxor are free copies of the same general subject, we may restore and supply the one from the other; and in one or other all these circumstances are found. If then it be ascertained that all these relate to the same event, we know from Diodorus what that event was; it was reputed to be, according to the Egyptian priests, the campaign of Rameses against the revolted Bactrians. Amidst all the uncertainty which attends the interpretation of the hieroglyphical inscriptions, so much seems to be ascertained, both from the words themselves, and from the comparison of the nations who now appear in the field with those who are seen in the battle-pieces of Setei Menephthah, that this was a second conquest, and that consequently there had been a rebellion. There is no name indeed which bears any resemblance to that of Bactrians; nor is it necessary to suppose that the country bore the same name in the Ptolemaic times as in that of Rameses III. Yet the name is remarkable, as it recurs in Tacitus. The priest who acted as guide to Germanicus, related from the monuments of Thebes that Rameses had possessed Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactriana, and Scythia, with the territories which the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbors the Cappadocians inhabit, extending his dominion to the Bithynian sea on the one side, and the Lycian on the other¹. Now we know from the monuments that the claim of dominion over Libya, Ethiopia, and Syria, was well founded; in *Simandu*, "son of the god Mandu" (see vol. i. p. 331), is the name of one of the sons of Rameses III., and may have been a title of his father. (See Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* i. 277.)

¹ Tac. Ann. 2, 60.

the time of Herodotus its memorials existed in Asia Minor, and may yet perhaps be found there; the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates was familiar ground to the military sovereigns of the 18th and 19th dynasties. Confirmed in so many points, why should not the accounts of the Egyptian priests be believed, when they tell us that Media, Persia, and Bactriana were also the scene of the conquests of Rameses? Such were the first conclusions of Champollion respecting the country of the Sheto and the other nations who are represented as warring with Menephthah and his successors; and upon the whole they appear to be the most probable. The expression of Herodotus, that he went through "the whole continent," subduing all whom he met, may be explained by two other passages, in which he uses the same expression, and from which it is evident that it included all Asia, from the shores of the *Ægean* to the eastern limits of Media and Persia¹.

One of the strong evidences of the wide range which the expeditions of Rameses and other Egyptian sovereigns took in Asia, was the resemblance which the Colchians bore to the Egyptians. Herodotus does not speak from hearsay on this point; he had been among the Colchians, and had made inquiries both from them and the Egyptians. He acknowledges that the resemblance of their dark complexions and crisp hair was not decisive; other nations had these peculiarities; but he lays more stress upon their linen manufacture, their whole mode of life, their language, and their practice of circumcision. It was an ancient usage only among the Colchians, Egyptians and Ethiopians; for the Syrians in Palestine (by whom, though ignorant of their distinct nation-

¹ 1, 96 Ἐόντων αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρόν, ὥδε αὖτις, ἐς τυραννίδας περιήλθον. From the comparison of this passage with the beginning of c. 95, it is evident that "all on the continent" means all who were subsequently included in the dominion of Persia (4, 91). Darius calls himself on the *stèle*, which he set up near the Hebrus, Ἡερσίων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπειρόν βασιλεύς.

ality, he must have meant the Jews,) and the Phœnicians acknowledged to have learnt it from the Egyptians, and the Cappadocians from the Colchians¹. Pindar calls the Colchians dark-complexioned, speaking probably according to the received opinion of his contemporaries. The later geographers and Ammianus Marcellinus² may have only repeated Herodotus. As we know nothing of the Colchian language, we cannot bring to the test the declaration of Herodotus that they were similar; nor is much stress to be laid upon it, as his knowledge of the Egyptian language was very limited; but the correspondence of their mode of life was a matter in which he could not be mistaken. The Colchians were certainly a civilized and instructed people³, living among tribes remarkable for their rudeness, and no other source of this superiority appears so natural as a settlement of the soldiers of Sesostri⁴. He remarks that when he inquired of both nations, he found that the Colchians preserved more memory of the Egyptians than the Egyptians of the Colchians. This was natural under any circumstances; but if Pliny's account be correct, that Sesostri was defeated by Salauces, son of Æetes and king of Colchis, the silence of the Egyptians would be very intelligible⁵. The wealth of Colchis in gold, of which Pliny speaks, and which gave rise to the fable of the fleece, accounts for the Egyptian king's including this remote country in the range of his expedition.

¹ Vol. i. p. 376. Her. 2, 103.

² 22, 8. Colchos, Ægyptiorum antiquam sobolem.

³ Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4, c. 31.

⁴ Ritter, the celebrated geographer, in his "Vorhalle Europäischer Völkergeschichte," denies the Egyptian origin of the Colchians, and derives them from India. One of his proofs will excite a smile at the present day: "the Egyptians," he says, "in early times, according to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, kept themselves to their native country" (p. 40).

⁵ Plin. N. H. 33, 15. Salauces, Æetæ soboles (Cod. Bamb. vulg. Æsubopes), victo Sesostri, Ægypti regi tam superbo, ut prodatur annis quibusque sorte reges singulos e subjectis jungere ad currum solitus, atque ita triumphare.

Herodotus does not mention how long the absence of Sesostris lasted. Diodorus makes it nine years, nor is this improbable. Both historians relate that he had made his brother viceroy in his absence, and that on his return his life was exposed to danger at Daphne near Pelusium from his treachery. He invited the conqueror to a banquet in his tent, and when he had fallen asleep under the influence of wine, set fire to a quantity of combustibles which he had piled on the outside. Sesostris awaking and finding his imminent danger, prayed to the gods for the deliverance of himself and his children: his prayer was heard, and he escaped through the flames. To show his gratitude, he offered gifts to the other gods, but especially to Hephaistos, as the principal cause of his escape. As related by Herodotus the story is still more portentous. Discovering his danger, he consults with his wife, who advises him to take two of their six children, and make a bridge of them across the flames. He did so, the children were burnt, but Sesostris and his wife escaped. In gratitude for their preservation he erected statues of himself and his wife thirty cubits high, and of his sons, twenty cubits high, before the temple of Hephaistos at Memphis¹. This tale betrays its origin in an age when Egyptian tradition had begun to be corrupted by a desire to conform to Greek ideas. To the Greeks the Memphian Ptah was the god of fire; and what cause more natural for the erection of the family group in costly statues, than their deliverance from burning? It does not often happen that Dio-

¹ Rameses III. appears to have had twenty-three sons, but four are seen conspicuously on several of the monuments (Rosellini, *M. Stor.* iii. 2, 240, 265), and this might give rise to the popular opinion that all but four had perished. (Birch, *Gall. Brit. Mus.* 204.)

Besides Nofre-Atari, who dedicated the smaller temple at Aboosimbel to Athor, he had another wife, Isinofre, who appears along with him in the inscriptions at Silsilis, accompanied by two sons and a daughter. (Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 1, 272.)

dorus is more moderate and rational than Herodotus ; but it is so here. Neither author gives the entire story ; Diodorus does not mention the burning of the children, nor Herodotus say that the statues were erected in memory of the escape, but both circumstances are necessary to complete the narrative.

Herodotus and Diodorus describe Sesostris on his return from his long expedition as devoting himself to public works and to legislation. The captives whom he brought back were employed in dragging stones to the temple which he built to Hephaistos, and others which according to Diodorus¹ he erected in the chief city of every nome to its tutelary deity, placing on all of them an inscription purporting that they had been raised by the labor of captives and not of Egyptians. Some of these captives, who had been brought from Babylon, unable to endure the severity of their labor, rose and seized upon a strong post near the Nile and not far from Memphis, to which they gave the name of Babylon, whence they laid waste the neighboring country. If it were true that they defied the power of the king and at last established themselves here in security, as Diodorus says, this would give us no high idea of the power of the Egyptian monarchy. Tradition, however, varied in regard to the origin of the name ; Ctesias derived it from an invasion of Egypt by Semiramis ; Josephus with most probability refers it to the invasion of Cambyses². Sesostris raised mounds of earth, to which he removed the inhabitants of those towns which were in danger of being flooded in the inundation of the Nile ; cut canals through the whole of Lower Egypt³,

¹ 1, 56.

² Antiq. Jud. 2, 15.

³ Diodorus represents this as being done partly to render Egypt inaccessible to cavalry and chariots ; Herodotus to supply fresh water to parts remote from the river. The country having been rendered unfit for wheeled carriages by the cutting of canals, it was a natural fiction to attribute to him the introduction of mounted cavalry. *Πρῶτον φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐξημερῆσαι ἵππους ἡ θρωσκον ἐπιβαίνειν.* (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 272.)

and built a wall, 1500 stadia in length, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, to defend the frontier of Egypt from the invasion of the Syrians and Arabs. According to Herodotus he distributed all the lands of Egypt, assigning to each man his "rood of ground," and laid a land-tax upon them. Even the institution of the law of hereditary occupations was attributed to Sesostris (Sesonchosis) by Dicaearchus and Aristotle¹. That a reign so long and vigorous would witness many improvements in legislation, many works of public utility, we cannot doubt; we know that Rameses III. covered Nubia² and Egypt with memorials of his devotion to the gods and his magnificence in building; but when the raising of the sites of all the cities, the cutting of all the canals, the division of the whole land of the kingdom, the distribution of the people into castes, are attributed to him, we see the tendency of popular history to crowd into one reign the progressive improvements of many. Egypt had been a civilized kingdom long before Rameses III., and those undertakings which are essential to its prosperity and order had probably been the gradual work of several sovereigns.

The hieratic manuscript known by the name of the Papyrus of Sallier, is said to contain an account of a war carried on by Rameses III.³ with the Sheto in the ninth year of his reign; but the import of this document is hitherto so little known, that we must content ourselves with indicating the fact, that four years later than the events which have been just described, he was still involved in hostilities with them.

The south wall of the palace of Karnak contains an inscription dated in the twenty-first year of the reign of Rameses and the

¹ Pol. 7, 10. 'Ο δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολλὸν γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἢ Σεσωστρίου.

² They are found at Ibrim, Derri, Amada, and Wadi Esseboua.

³ "Several hieratic papyri, which we still possess, are dated from the Rameseion, and I have found in Thebes the sepulchres of two librarians, father and son, under Rameses Meiamun." (Lepsius, Einleitung, 1, 39.)

twenty-first day of Tybi, in which it is recorded that four chiefs of the Sheto came to the tent of his majesty to supplicate for peace, who granted it to them on condition of their paying tribute in silver, gems, and balsam or spicery¹. We learn little from this document respecting the events of this war or revolt. A phrase in the inscription (1, 8 at the end) seems to imply that a battle had been fought in the land of Egypt; but the connexion is not sufficiently clear to warrant the supposition that the Sheto had actually invaded Egypt. It is remarkable that in this document three of the gods of Egypt, and Sut or Sutch, the god of the Sheto, who resembles the figure called Typhon or Seth in the Egyptian monuments, are represented as taking a share in the events of the war and the conclusion of the peace, on behalf of their respective worshippers².

This is the latest memorial that has been found of the wars of Rameses III. The temple of Aboosimbel, however, contains a large *stèle* evidently later in its erection than the edifice itself, dated the 13th of the month Tybi and the 35th of his reign³. Its purport is rather religious than historical. He appears upon it, preparing to smite three foreigners in honor of the god Ptah-Sokari. A long inscription contains the discourse of this divinity to the king, in which he declares that he and the other gods have granted to him that his edifices should be stable as the pillars of heaven, and promise that he shall celebrate many panegyries, that he shall conquer his enemies, and that the rest of the world shall be obedient to him, like the Sheto represented on the walls of this temple. The king in reply boasts of having enlarged and adorned the temple of the god in the habitation of Ptah, that is Memphis, his peculiar dwelling-place. We know from Herodotus and Dio-

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, p. 268, tav. cxvi.

² Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 280, note. This may possibly throw light on the obliteration of the figure of Seth. See vol. i. p. 350.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, p. 163.

dorus what he did for the enlargement and decoration of this temple; the prostrate colossal statue of Mitrahenny bears the image of Ptah and the contemplar goddess Pasht, in the tablet on the breast and the shield on the belt¹. The quarries of Silsilis contain several *stelæ* in which mention is made of panegyries celebrated by Ramezes III. in his 30th, 34th, 37th, 40th and 44th years. The last appears to have been celebrated on a larger scale than usual, the cities of Upper and Lower Egypt being specially mentioned as taking part in them².

The smaller temple at Aboosimbel was dedicated by Nofreari³, queen of Rameses, to the goddess Athyr, and contains chiefly religious inscriptions, but also some in honor of Rameses III., whose victories over the nations of Africa, over the north and the south, are commemorated, but without any precise dates. The face of the rock from which these temples were excavated, also exhibits sculptures of various kinds, and among them some of historical import. One records an act of homage to Rameses III., in the 38th year of his reign, on the part of an Ethiopian prince, Sotekauto⁴, holding the office of basilicogrammat. Neither here, nor in the other numerous examples of such homage, do the persons rendering it exhibit any trace of Ethiopian features or appear in Ethiopian costume. They invoke the gods of Egypt, offer prayers for the Pharaohs⁵, and are in every respect Egyptian. Either therefore

¹ Bonomi, in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd Series, 2, 300.

² Rosellini, Mon. del Culto, p. 230.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 173; Mon. Reali, tav. exi.

⁴ Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 187. He is called "the living eyes of the king" and "ears of the chamberlains of the royal house." Compare Jul. Poll. ii. 84. Ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ τινες αὐτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλείως αἱ τὰ λεγόμενα· μαγγέλλοντες καὶ τὰ δρώμενα.

⁵ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, p. 189. Rameses III. added two lateral columns to the inscriptions on the obelisks of Luxor, erected by Rameses II., but they contain no historical information. The colossal statues of granite which (vol. i. p. 144) are attributed to Rameses II, should belong to

Nubia between the Cataracts were governed in this age by Egyptian princes, or, as seems more probable from the multitude of temples of that religion, its population was Egyptian. One of these inscriptions on the rocks of Aboosimbel is important, as declaring that Rameses had employed the captives of his Asiatic wars in building the temples of the gods¹.

Aristotle and Strabo inform us that Sesostris undertook, Pliny that he meditated², the construction of a canal to join the Nile with the Red Sea. Herodotus, when he relates the similar undertaking of Neco³, makes no mention of Sesostris, and it is probable that the undertaking has been attributed to him from the celebrity of his name⁴.

The tablet which Rameses III. caused to be erected at Abydos, containing the shields of his predecessors, has been already described. Setei Menephthah appears to have been the builder of the temple or palace, the greater part of which is now buried in the sand, and to have begun the temple of Osiris, which his son Rameses III. completed.

Eusebius gives sixty-eight years to Rameses, and his sixty-second is found on a tablet in the British Museum. This collection also contains one of the finest specimens of Egyptian sculpture, in his colossal bust of red granite, the remains of a statue once placed in the Rameseion of western Thebes and removed thence by Belzoni⁵.

Mention has been already made of the tomb in the valley of Rameses III., according to the criterion laid down in p. 225 of this volume.

¹ Diod. Sic. 1, 56. *Πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδένα παρίλαβε, δι' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἅπαντα κατεσκεύασε. Διόπερ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπέγραψεν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐγγώριος εἰς αὐτὰ μεμόχθηκε.* The *πᾶσι* is an exaggeration.

² Meteor. 1, 14. Strabo, lib. 1, p. 38. Plin. N. H. 6, 29.

³ 2, 158.

⁴ Lepsius (Einl. 1, 349) thinks that Sesostris carried his canal only to the eastern extremity of the valley of Goshen.

⁵ Birch, Gall. of Brit. Mus. p. 104. Vol. i. p. 130.

Bab-el-Melook in which the shields of both the second and the third Rameses occur. Rosellini, who entered it with difficulty, found it nearly filled with rubbish, either washed down by torrents or purposely brought in when it was abandoned¹. It has not been explored to its furthest extremity, but there is no appearance that it was ever elaborately executed, as we might expect in the tomb of so powerful a monarch, and one who reigned so long. Was the great Sesostris content with having covered Egypt with monuments of his magnificence and indifferent to the splendor of his sepulchre, or are we to believe that the Rameseion was his burial-place as well as his palace? Such a combination would be very repugnant to Egyptian usages, and yet the authors whom Diodorus² followed distinctly asserted that the tomb of the sovereign who built the Rameseion lay apart from those of the rest of the kings, and was approached by a flight of steps from the palace. It may therefore remain to be discovered.

With Rameses III. we lose the guidance of the Tablet of Abydos, but the procession at Medinet Aboo gives us a royal titular shield, to which it appears from other monuments that the name of MENEPTHIAH II. belongs³. Herodotus represents Sesostris as being succeeded by his son Pheron, whose name historians are agreed in considering as a misunderstood *Pharaoh*. Diodorus gives him as successor Sesoosis II., confounding him probably with the next but one in order, Setei Menephthah II. The Rameseion contains the portraits and names and offices of the twenty-three sons of Rameses III.; the thirteenth, Menephthah, bears the addition of *king*, which has evidently been made by a later hand, and subsequently to his accession to the throne. Six princesses, elegantly clothed and with a sistrum in their hands, are figured in the same place⁴. No pro-

¹ Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 284.

² 1, 49.

³ Instead of the phonetic characters for Ptah, the last syllable is expressed by the figure of the god. (Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 1, 204. Lin. iv. 12.)

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. i. 275, 6, 7. iii. 2, 297.

perly historical monuments of his reign exist; he appears at Silsilis in acts of adoration to various divinities¹, among the rest the Nile, who was worshipped with especial honor at this place, where he seems to issue again as from a second source. Nor does any great building appear to have been erected by this king; when his name is found, it is on trifling additions made to the works of preceding monarchs. The fourth year is the highest date that has yet been found on his monuments. His tomb in the Bab-el-Melook is 167 feet in length, and has been ornamented with great care in the portions near the entrance, and one piece of sculpture still remains of which the colors are as brilliant as when they were first laid on². Menephthah, crowned with a splendid head-dress, and clad in a long transparent robe fringed at the bottom, stands before the hawk-headed god Phre, who promises him length of days upon the throne³. This is a sufficient proof of the custom of excavating the tomb during the lifetime of the king. The name of the successor of the Rameses, who, according to Eusebius, reigns sixty-eight years, according to Josephus sixty-six, and who must therefore be Rameses-Sesostris, is in Africanus, Amenophath, who reigns nineteen years. Removing the A, which may have been prefixed as in Armesses, Menophath approaches closely to Menephthah. With him the 18th dynasty of Manetho concludes.

To the reign of this Menephthah it appears probable that we are to refer the commencement of a Sothiac cycle. It has been already stated that the 1461 years of which it was composed, having run out in 139 A. D., must have begun in 1322 B. C.⁴ If therefore we could ascertain in what year of what king of Egypt it began, we should have a fixed point for our chronological reckon-

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 298.

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 211. Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 306.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, tav. cxviii. A cast of this sculpture was taken by Mr. Hay, and is in the British Museum. (*Birch, Gall. pl.* 41.)

⁴ Vol. i. p. 280.

ings. Now a passage in the writings of the Alexandrian astronomer and mathematician Theon, published by Larcher in his Notes to Herodotus, implies that this cycle had one of its beginnings, if not its institution, in the reign of a certain king Menophres¹. As there is no king in the lists whose name exactly answers to this, Champollion-Figeac conjectured that the king intended was the *Ammenephthes* or *Amenophis* who stands third in the list of the 19th dynasty, and the year of the commencement of the cycle the thirty-second of his reign². Bunsen has given reasons, as convincing as the nature of the evidence allows, for considering Menephthah II. as the king intended³. We have thus a fixed point from which we can reckon downward to the reign of Sheshonk, and thence to the Dodecarchy and the close of the monarchy of the Pharaohs, with tolerable certainty, and upwards at least to the commencement of the 18th dynasty. The astronomical ceiling at the

¹ Λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἀπὸ Μενοφρέως ἕως τῆς λήξεως Αὐγούστου. Ὅμοῦ τὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα ἔτη αἰχί, οἷς ἐπιπροστιθεόμεν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ ἔτη ρ'· γίνονται ἑκοτὶ ἔτη σψξ. "The sum of the years from" (the æra of) "Menophres to the end of" (the æra of) "Augustus is 1605, to which adding the 100 years from the beginning of (the æra of) Diocletian, we have altogether 1705 years." The æra of Diocletian began the 29th of August, A. D. 284. (Ideler, Handb. der Chron. 1, 163; Champollion-Figeac, Première Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas, p. 100.) Deducting the 283 years of the Christian æra which preceded it, from 1605, the joint duration of the two preceding æras, we have 1322 B. C. for the commencement of that of Menophres. This is the year in which we know from Censorinus (vol. i. p. 280, 281, note) that a Sothic cycle began.

² Syncellus (p. 103, 193, ed Dind.) says, Τῷ 5 (5th) ἔτει τοῦ κς (25th) βασιλεύσαντος Κογχάρεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐπὶ 15' δυναστείας τοῦ Κυρικοῦ λεγομένου κύκλου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως καὶ οἰκιστοῦ Μεστράτμ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πληροῦνται ἔτη ψ' (700) βασιλέων κς. Champollion-Figeac joined the words πληροῦνται ἔτη ψ' with τοῦ Κυρικοῦ λεγομένου κύκλου, instead of with βασιλέων κς, and hence concluded, that the fifth year of Concharis, the last king before the Hyksos, fell in the 700th year of a Sothic cycle. See Bunsen's Egypt, 1, 221, Eng.

³ Bunsen, Ægyptens Stelle, B. 3, p. 123.

Rameseion¹, if erected near the close of the reign of Rameses-Sesostris, would exhibit the state of the heavens as they appeared in the beginning of that of his successor. The reign of Sesostris was one of the times assigned for the appearance of the Phoenix².

After the death of Menephthah we have again difficulties from the want of conformity between the monuments and the lists, and discrepancies among the monuments themselves. In the procession of Medinet Aboo, the next shield to that of Menephthah is SETEI-MENEPHTHAH II., *i. e.* SETHOS, whom the lists make the first of the 19th dynasty. But we find on monuments the shields of two other personages with titles of royalty, whose names read Mai-n-Phre Siphthah³ and Amun-meses. Siphthah appears at Silsilis making an offering to Amunre, accompanied by an officer of his court, who puts up a prayer for the king; and in another sculpture Siphthah supplicates Amunre that his son, Numei, may sit on the throne after him, a prayer nowhere else found on Egyptian monuments, and from which it has been argued that he felt doubtful of the stability of his own power⁴. At Qoorneh, he is represented on a stele inserted into the wall, receiving from the same god the scimitar, the emblem of military dominion, Setei-Menephthah I., Rameses III., and Aahmes the queen of Amenoph I., standing by⁵. The presence of these persons seems to indicate some genealogical connexion with the 18th dynasty on the part of Siphthah, although we are unable to say what it may have been. His tomb in the Bab-el-Melook⁶ is of great length, and ornamented with a variety of sculpture. His wife Taoser, Taosiri, or Taseser, appears frequently making offerings to the gods, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with her husband. As the epithet *Osirian*

¹ Vol. i. p. 281. The expression "Rameses II. or III." indicates the doubt whether these sovereigns were the same or different.

² Tacit. Ann. 6, 28.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 324.

⁴ Rosellini, *u. s.* 329.

⁵ Rosellini, *u. s.* 380.

⁶ No. 14 on Sir G. Wilkinson's Plan. Rosellini, *u. s.* 381

(μαχαίρης) is subjoined to her name, it is evident that she was deceased when these sculptures were executed. There is no date on any of the monuments of Siphthah, but everything tends to show that he was not admitted as a legitimate monarch of Egypt, though he assumed the title, and had for a time possession of Upper Egypt, so as to prepare himself a sepulchre at Thebes¹. Of Amun-meses we know still less than of Siphthah, but he seems also to have been an intrusive king, and the circumstance that a change of dynasty took place about this time may account for their appearance in monuments and their exclusion from the lists.

Assuming the end of the reign of Rameses III., or the commencement of that of Menephthah II., to fall in the year B.C. 1322, and that Rameses III. reigned 66 years, we are brought to 1388 B.C. for the date of his accession. There is no certainty in the numbers assigned by the lists to his predecessors; but we know from the monuments that Amenophis III. reigned at least 36 years, Thothmes III. at least 35, and Amosis 22; while Rameses I. reigned probably only one or two years. If we allot to the twelve predecessors of Rameses III. twenty years each, we shall be brought to 1628 B.C. as an approximate date for the establishment of the New Monarchy. If, however, the kings whom we have distinguished as Rameses II. and III. were one and the same, only eleven reigns intervened between Rameses III. and Amosis.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Seven Diospolitan kings.

(Eus. Five.)

	Years.	
1. SETHOS, reigned	51	Eus. 55.
2. RAPSACES (Rampses, Eus.)	61	Eus. 66.
3. AMMENEPHTHES	20	Eus. 40.
4. RAMESES	60	Omitted Eus.
5. AMMENEMNES	5	Eus. 26.

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 2, p. 319.

	Years
6. THUORIS, called in Homer Polybus, the husband of Alcandra ¹ , in whose time Troy was taken . . .	7
	204

"In this same second volume of Manetho are 96
kings, 2121 years."

It could not escape the observation of critics, that the commencement of this dynasty bore a very suspicious resemblance to the termination of the last². We have Rampses reigning 66 years, followed by Ammenephthes, who reigns 40 in the 19th, and Rameses reigning 68, followed by an Amenophis reigning 40, (Euseb.) in the 18th. The names Ramesses, Armesses, Armais, Armaios, Ermaios, if we strike out the vowels, which were not originally expressed, reduce themselves to the same three letters, R, M, S, and therefore probably denote the same name, if not the same person; nor are Rampses and Rapsaces so remote from Rameses as to preclude the possibility of their also being the same. Amenophis, Amenophath, and Ammenephthes so nearly resemble each other, as to excite a similar suspicion, especially as the Amenophath of the 18th dynasty reigns 19 years, Amenophis of the 19th, 19 years and 6 months³, and Ammenephthes, 20. Again, the Sethos-Rameses of Manetho, quoted by Josephus, is so exactly a counterpart of Sesostis-Rameses, that we cannot hesitate to pronounce their histories to be the same in origin⁴. "Sethos, who is also Rameses," says he,

¹ In the Armenian Eusebius Thuoris is said to be "*vir strenuus ac fortissimus*," as if the translator had read *ἀλλανήρος ἀνὴρ*, which is the reading of two MSS. of Syncellus, p. 169 D. 320 ed. Dind.

² "Hi ipsi reges, ultimi Dynastie 18 et primi Dyn. 19, valde mihi sunt suspecti tanquam iidem, his positi et male in diversos distincti, quum utique eadem sint nomina regum, idem ordo, idem denique spatium regni." (Perizon. *Ægypt. Orig. Investig.* c. xii. p. 194.)

³ The authors of the lists have suppressed the odd months everywhere, as we find by comparing them with the quotation from Manetho in Josephus.

⁴ Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 15.

“had a large force of ships and cavalry. He established his brother Armais as administrator of Egypt, and invested him with all other royal authority, only enjoining upon him not to wear the diadem, nor to injure the queen, the mother of his children, and to abstain from the royal harem. He himself having made an expedition to Cyprus and Phœnice, and again to the Assyrians and the Medes, brought them all under subjection, some by force of arms, others without fighting, through terror of his great power; and being rendered proud by his success, he went on yet more boldly, subduing cities and lands that lay towards the East. After the lapse of a considerable time, Armais, who had been left behind in Egypt, began to do boldly just the reverse of what his brother had exhorted him to do. He took the queen-mother to himself by force, and did not abstain from the harem¹; and at the persuasion of his friends he began to wear the diadem, and set himself up against his brother. Sethos was informed of these things by the chief priest, and immediately returned to Pelusium and took possession of his kingdom. And the country was called Aiguptos from his name; for he says that Sethosis was called Aiguptos, and Armais, his brother, Danaus.” Here we have evidently the same narrative as in Diodorus and Herodotus respecting Sesostris; the great force of ships and cavalry, the conquest of Hither Asia, the invasion and subjugation of countries lying still further East (the Bactrians of Diodorus), the distinction between the nations who timidly submitted and those who resisted by force of arms, the usurpation of power by his brother, and the resumption of it by Sesostris at Pelusium. The recital of Manetho, it is important to observe, since his authority has been often so lightly treated, is simple and historical; it is in Herodotus and Diodorus that we have it embellished and exaggerated from popular tradition.

The monuments strengthen the suspicion which the lists excite.

¹ Comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 20.

We have seen that the 62nd year of Rameses III. has been found ; but there is no trace of any other king of these dynasties reigning so long. We are therefore led to conclude that the Rameses of the 19th dynasty, who reigns sixty years, and the Rampses, who reigns 66, are one and the same historical personage, Rameses III. of the 18th. The identity of Amenophis and Ammenephthes cannot be proved by the same argument, because the monuments, instead of 40, which the lists exhibit, have hitherto furnished us only with 4 years. But only one king has been found whose name can with any probability be read into Amenophath. The Ammenemes, who now stands fifth in the 19th dynasty, is, according to Lepsius and Bunsen, the Amenmeses of the monuments, a contemporary and rival of Menophthes, the last of the 18th.

Thus when critically examined, the whole 19th dynasty appears to collapse, and resolve itself into a repetition of the 18th, with the exceptions of Sethos the first, and Thuoris the last name. The Sethos of the extracts from Manetho's history in Josephus is only a synonym of Rameses-Sesostris ; the Sethos of the lists and the monuments is Setei Menephthah II. (p. 249). He is called Osirei-Menephthah by Rosellini¹ and Wilkinson, as the figure of Osiris occurs instead of Set in some variations of the shield, namely in the tomb, and among the ruins of Karnak, as well as on some of the sphinxes of the dromos, which were originally placed there by Horus². A sarcophagus with his shield, rudely carved, is found in his tomb in the Bab-el-Melook³, and these are all the memorials of his reign, which can hardly have extended to fifty-five years, according to the present reading of the monuments. The second is the highest that has been found. According to all appearance, it was both a short and an inactive one.

In the monuments nothing has come to light by which the name Thuoris can be explained. Polybus is not spoken of in

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 311, 313.

² Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 309.

³ Rosellini, *u. s.* p. 314.

Homer¹ as a king of Thebes, but as a rich man by whom splendid gifts were bestowed on Menelaus, while his wife Alcandra (not very consistently with the Herodotean story of Proteus) gave appropriate similar presents to Helena. That we should not find an Egyptian king to answer to every name which the Greeks interwove in their mythology is not surprising; yet as fiction is not wholly arbitrary, we might have expected some apparent reason for the selection of this name. Bunsen would read for *Thuoris*, *Phuoris*. Were this admitted, a probable derivation would be from *Ph'ouro*, which is Egyptian for 'king'². *Phuoris* would then be a name, like *Pheron*, inserted in the room of one that had been lost or was unknown. It is in this way that we find Pharaoh used in the earlier Jewish books, while in the latter and contemporary history, Shishak, Hophra, Necho are mentioned by name. No such sovereign is found in the procession of Medinet Aboo, nor can we trace any resemblance in the history of *Pheron* to that of *Thuoris*. *Pheron*, the son of *Sesostris*, loses his sight, either by hereditary disease, or as a punishment for impiously darting his javelin into the Nile when its inundation was exceeding bounds, and recovered it by a remedy prescribed by the oracle. In gratitude to the god and at the command of the oracle, he erected two lofty obelisks to the Sun at Heliopolis³. One obelisk remains there, but no doubt had once its companion; it bears the name of *Sesortasen I.* Pliny appears to refer to it as set up by a king *Mesphres*. Others at Heliopolis he attributes to *Sothis*, in whose name we have perhaps the *Sesoosis II.* of Diodorus. Elsewhere Pliny⁴ gives the name of *Nuncoreus* to the son of *Sesoosis*, and says that the obelisk which he erected on the recovery of his sight was in the Circus of the Vatican. There is, however, another name, not

¹ Od. δ', 126.

² *Ouro* is the Coptic for 'king,' whence the royal serpent, *φασιδίεσκος*, is called *Uraeus*. (Horapoll. 1, 1.)

³ Diod. 1, 59. Her. 2, 111.

⁴ N. H. 36, 14.

indeed in the lists, but in the monuments, for which a place must be found. The tomb of Siphthah already mentioned in the Babel-Melook originally exhibited on its walls his shield and that of his wife; but they have been covered with plaster and other inscriptions substituted for them. The name of the king who had thus usurped the sepulchre of another is not clearly made out, owing to the number of characters not phonetic with which the shield is filled; but it seems to be *Merir* or *Merira*. His name is also on the granite sarcophagus which remains, though broken. In the procession of Medinet Aboo, his shield follows that of Setei-Menephthah II. We cannot therefore question his royal dignity. Bunsen, on the authority of Sir G. Wilkinson, makes him the father of Rameses III. (IV.), and progenitor of the long line of princes of that name who fill up the 20th dynasty. The same author has also remodeled the two preceding dynasties. He makes the 18th to end with Horus, and the 19th to consist of Ramessu, Setei I., Rameses II., Menephthah, Setei II. Merira, whom he takes to be the same as Phuoris, he places at the head of the 20th dynasty.

The period of the 18th and 19th dynasties exhibits Egypt in a new relation to the rest of the world. Under the Old Monarchy we cannot trace its dominion beyond the peninsula of Sinai, the northern shores of the Red Sea, the Libyan tribes immediately contiguous to the Delta, and in the 12th dynasty Lower Nubia. With the expulsion of the Shepherds, however, begins a series of foreign wars, which led the armies of Egypt to the verge of the then known world.

Nations seem impelled by their geographical position and their relation to neighboring countries to seek to expand themselves in certain directions. The first necessity for the Egyptians was to

¹ Posellini calls him Uerri, or Remerri (Mon. Stor. iii. 2, 317, tav. xiv. 116), where the various shields are given. One of them, 116*, has the figure which in the shield of Menephthah is pronounced *Set*

secure the valley of the Nile beyond the Cataracts of Syene. From this quarter their independence was always threatened. Nubia was inhabited by a people nearly allied to the Egyptians in blood, and not inferior in valor or perhaps in civilization; the banks of the Nile offered them an easy road to descend on Egypt, which could, therefore, have no peace or safety unless they were kept in subjection. Possibly this may have been facilitated by matrimonial alliances formed towards the close of the Hyksos period, or by the first sovereigns of the 18th dynasty¹. However this may be, we find that Thothmes I. had possession of the valley of the Nile, as far south as the island of Argo; and the Egyptians remained masters of this country, as completely as of Egypt itself, during the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties.

There was no such motive for attempting conquests towards the West. The sandy desert which borders the Nile on that side offered no temptation to ambition, and was too thinly peopled to be formidable. The Oases were valuable as resting-places for commerce, but for this purpose military possession of them was not necessary. The sea-coast westward from the Canopic mouth is not desert, but is of no extraordinary fertility till you reach the district of Cyrene. The Adymnachidæ, the immediate neighbors of the Egyptians in the time of Cambyzes, had in great measure adopted their customs, and therefore probably lived under their laws, but still retained many barbarous usages². The Giligammæ, who extended thence to the territories of Cyrene, closely resembled them. No mention of the characteristic production of this region, the *Silphium*, has hitherto been found on the Egyptian monuments, nor does any inscribed memorial of Egyptian dominion remain in it. In the name *Nahsi*, applied to the black nations in the hieroglyphical inscriptions, a resemblance has been conjectured to the Nasamones, who dwelt on the coast between Cyrene and the

¹ See before, p. 175 of this vol.

² Herod. 4, 168.

Syrtis, feeding their flocks there, and in the season of dates gathering a harvest of them in the Oasis of Augila: but the Nasamones can scarcely have been more black than the Egyptians, living as they did on the shores of the Mediterranean, and no reliance can be placed on such verbal resemblances. Dominion over Libya is claimed for the kings of Egypt in various inscriptions of the 18th dynasty, but nothing indicates its extent, nor is any nation of Western Africa clearly characterized in the sculptures¹. Till the settlement of the Phœnician colonies, which falls at a later period, this region appears to have contained no civilized or powerful nation.

Towards Palestine, Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, Egypt stood in a very different relation. She had to fear at once the power of the nomadic tribes, which still continue to roam over the desert regions included in these limits, and the civilized communities which had been established in other parts of them. At the commencement of the 18th dynasty she was only just recovering herself from the invasion of one of the former class; the Hyksos had been driven out, but from Palestine they still threatened the frontier. The desert which divides the two countries was but a slight protection to Egypt; it has been passed by many invading armies, and would offer little obstacle to Palestinian or Arabian tribes. Besides these, Palestine contained many warlike nations, "dwelling in cities great and fenced up unto heaven," "children of Anak," whose size and strength disheartened the Israelites and made them shrink from the attempt to conquer their country². They had chariots and horses, and in the equipments and arts of war were not

¹ There is a country hieroglyphically designated by "the bows" or "9 bows," over which the Egyptian sovereigns are said to reign. A bow in Coptic is *Phit*, and hence is supposed to stand for *Phut*, which (Gen. x. 6) is the name of an African nation, probably the Mauritanians. (Joseph. Ant. 1, 8, 2.) But this character of the nine bows occurs where it cannot well be understood exclusively of the Libyans. (See Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 4, 16.)

² Deut. ix. 1, 2. Numb. xiii. 31.

inferior to the Egyptians themselves. The towns on the coast were probably already engaged in navigation and commerce: Zidon is mentioned in the dying words of Jacob. Syria and Palestine were not only formidable neighbors to Egypt, but a most enviable possession. From the variety of their soil and surface, they furnish every choice production of the vegetable world; in the level districts, grain, in the more hilly regions, the olive, the vine, the pistachio, and the odoriferous gums, for which the temple service of Egypt made a large demand; on the mountain sides inexhaustible forests for architecture, ship-building, and the manufacture of articles of luxury. Hence we find that in all ages the acquisition of Palestine has been coveted by the sovereigns of Egypt. Thothmes I. must have held it, or he could not securely have carried on wars in Mesopotamia. Sesostris has left the record of his conquest on the coast; and the last military exploits of the Rameses appear to have had Palestine for their scene. When the spirit of conquest revived in the 22nd dynasty, we find Sheshonk invading Palestine, and besides Jerusalem and "the fenced cities of Judah," occupying other places in that country¹. There is again an interval in which Egypt was in a state of weakness and anarchy; but when Psammithus had united its forces, the schemes of Asiatic conquest were renewed. The danger on this side had become more imminent. In earlier times Egypt appears as the assailant of the Mesopotamian nations; but the Assyrians under their later sovereigns had become a conquering people, and Sennacherib had advanced to the gates of Pelusium. The power of the Assyrians soon after passed into the hands of a people even more warlike, the Babylonians; Neco, who had advanced to the Euphrates, received a total defeat at Carchemish. After this, the Pharaohs renounced their attempts to make themselves masters of the country as far as the Euphrates; but Apries recovered much of the sea-coast of Palestine and

¹ 2 Chron. xii. 4.

of the interior of Syria. Under the Persian power all these countries were united in one monarchy; but no sooner had an independent power been established in Egypt than a struggle for the possession of Syria began on the part of the Ptolemies, which was met by attempts on that of the Seleucidæ to make themselves masters of Egypt. The same struggle has been renewed since the Mohammedan Conquest. The powers which have successively reigned in Egypt, Fatemites, Ayubites, Mamlukes, Turks, have all aimed at the same object, but down to the recent attempt of Mohammed Ali, no permanent union has ever been effected between the two countries.

Even the Pharaohs with all their boastful claims to victory and dominion never could incorporate them with Egypt. If one sovereign appears to have put down all resistance, we find that his successors have soon to combat the same nations. Yet this would be an insufficient ground for calling in question the reality of their expeditions and victories. We are not indeed to receive the accounts of them as literally true; Egyptian sculptures and hieroglyphics were not more veracious than modern gazettes and bulletins; Bel and Nebo may have been thanked for the same events as Amun and Phre; we know that *Te Deum* has been sung for the same battle, at Vienna and Paris. But it would be the excess of incredulity to suppose that the walls of the temples, palaces, and tombs of Egypt could be inscribed with the scenes of imaginary campaigns, and that the diversity of names, physiognomy, costume and armor which appears in them has been devised for the purpose of imposture. The evidence of the Statistical Tablet is still more decisive. Here we have the year, month, and day of the king's reign specified on which his expedition was undertaken; and its fruits in spoil or tribute registered with the most formal minuteness. If such evidence can be rejected, we must renounce all hope of establishing history in these ancient times. Few events of the middle ages are certified to us by such authority.

It may seem incredible that kings of Egypt should be able to carry on wars so far from home as the banks of the Euphrates, and still more the confines of Bactria. This feeling, however, arises from the ignorance in which we have remained till lately of the times of the Thothmes and the Rameses. We have known nothing of the wealth and power of Egypt, its population, its military discipline, the perfection of its arts, and its civil organization. The monuments confirm themselves, for they show that all these existed in the 15th and 16th centuries before the Christian era; and where they exist, the ambition of conquest is not long absent. The power of a single aggressive monarchy was then not easily resisted; extensive coalitions and alliances were impracticable. The extraordinary stability and regularity of the Egyptian government allowed the sovereigns to be absent from their dominions without danger; the people were not seduced from their allegiance, even in the nine years' expedition of Sesostris. If Cambyzes could reign from Media to the confines of Ethiopia and to the *Ægean* sea, there seems no reason why the sovereigns of the 18th and 19th dynasties of Egypt may not have traversed these countries with their armies, and made them for the time their tributaries.

To this period later writers refer the arrival of the first Egyptian colonists in Greece. Herodotus fully believed in the fact, but he did not connect it with any particular event in Egyptian history. He relates the introduction of the worship of Egyptian deities at Dodona, by a female minister stolen from the temple of Thebes; the flight of the daughters of Danaus from the sons of *Ægyptus*, and their touching at Rhodes in the way; he attributes to them the introduction of the rites of Ceres into the Peloponnesus, and traces the genealogy of the Dorian kings through Perseus and Danaus to Egypt. Divination, processions and solemn festivals, according to him, all came to Greece from the same source¹.

¹ 2, 54, 58, 171, 182. 6, 53. The inhabitants of Chemmis claimed Danaus and Lynceus as natives of their city.

Neither he nor the Greek writers who followed him appear to have doubted the fact of the extensive influence of Egypt on Greece, nor its having been produced by colonization. The circumstances of the arrival and establishment of Danaus are indeed clearly mythic—the fifty-oared ship, the equal number and marriage of his daughters and his brother Ægyptus' sons, the murder of all but Lynceus by the Danaides¹. But removing these, there remain the belief of the Greeks that the ancient royal family of Argos was of Egyptian descent—a belief which cannot have sprung up and become national, without a specific cause—and the conviction of Herodotus, who knew both Greece and Egypt well, that the Grecian rites had been derived from Egypt. Some circumstances² seem to indicate that Phœnicia was the medium through which the worship of Io was brought to Greece; yet the interval was probably short, as the Egyptian name was preserved. Josephus³ says that the Egyptians became known to the Greeks through the means of the Phœnicians, who visited Greece for purposes of commerce, and these visits began in the heroic age.

Speaking of the introduction of the Bacchic rites into Greece, Herodotus gives it as his opinion that Melampus, by whom they were taught to the Greeks, had himself derived his knowledge of them through the Phœnicians, namely from Cadmus the Tyrian, and those who came with him from Phœnicia into Bœotia⁴.

¹ The number of fifty sons and daughters arose from a mythical propriety. The vessel in which a voyage from Egypt to Greece was performed could not be inferior to a pentecontor, the largest then known. But the heroes of mythology, as the Argonauts, were their own rowers; hence the sons of Ægyptus were fifty, and the Danaides, whom each coveted for a bride, of an equal number. The sons of Ægyptus had served their purpose when one of them had furnished a sovereign to Argos; the rest were disposed of by the daggers of their wives. The Danaides remained.

² See p. 52 of this volume.

³ Φοίνικες κατ' ἐμπορίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπισπλέοντες εὐδὲς ἐγνώσθησαν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν Αἰγύπτιοι. (Jos. c. Apion. 1, 12.)

⁴ Herod. 2, 43.

Indeed there is some reason to believe that *Melampus*, the supposed founder of these Bacchic rites in Greece, and progenitor of a caste of soothsayers, is only another name for Egyptian, and that the Egyptian origin of the Bacchic rites is the fact meant to be expressed, in calling Melampus their author¹. The Attic worship of Neith, under the name of Athena, has evidently come from the Phœnicians of Bœotia.

In the age of Herodotus historical chronology was not sufficiently cultivated to induce an identification of Danaus with an individual king or prince of Egypt. The Greeks had already connected the war of Troy and the wanderings of Menelaus with Egyptian history, but they contented themselves with turning Proteus into a king of Egypt, and Thone into a guardian of the mouth of the Nile. But when learned chronologers began to synchronize the histories of different countries, it was natural to seek for such illustrious personages as Danaus and Ægyptus, joint founders, through a son and daughter, of the Argive royal family, among the characters of history. The feud of Rameses and the brother whom he made his viceroy, repeated in the story of Sethos and Armais, was one of the few personal anecdotes which the Egyptian records had preserved, and was therefore fixed upon to explain the hostility of Danaus and Ægyptus. Sethosis, says Manetho, was called Ægyptus, and Ermaios (Armais) his brother Danaus². The resemblance, indeed, ceased with this circumstance; but this identification served to make the Macedonian conqueror of Egypt through Hercules, Perseus and Danaus, a descendant of the most illustrious of the ancient Pharaohs. No regard was paid to the heroic chronology of Greece in these deductions; for Amenophis

¹ Apollod. Bibl. ii. 1, 4. Αἰγυπτός—καταστρεφάμενος τὴν Μελαμπόδων χώραν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὠνόμασεν Αἰγυπτον. There appears no sufficient reason for the conjecture of Scaliger, Μελαμβώλων, since Eustathius and the Scholiast on the Prometheus evidently read as we now do. (See Heyne *ad loc.*)

² Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 26.

III., who preceded *Rameses* the brother of *Armais-Danaus* by five reigns, was made to be *Memnon*, a contemporary of the War of *Troy*, and *Thuoris*, the successor of *Rameses* by two reigns, the *Polybus* under whom *Troy* was taken.

We must therefore regard these identifications as arbitrary, so far as they relate to persons. Yet there was a good reason for referring the commencement of Egyptian influence upon Greece to this period of history—the 18th and 19th dynasties. Such expeditions as *Thothmes*, *Amenophis* and *Sesostris* undertook, could not be without effect upon all the countries around. Their occupation of *Phœnicia* and *Asia Minor* may have caused migrations from these countries to a more western land, the traces of which remained in the Greek religion and manners, though the circumstances are disguised in mythe. *Sesostris* is said by *Herodotus* to have crossed into *Thrace*; *Diodorus* represents him as conquering the *Cyclades*; he was the first Egyptian king who built ships of war, and the pentecontor or vessel of fifty oars first appears in Greek mythology, in the story of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. It is from this time also, namely the fourteenth century before Christ, that something like consistency begins to appear in Grecian history.

Diodorus, in a fragment of his 40th Book, refers the expulsion of the Jews and the emigrations of *Danaus* and *Cadmus* to the same age and the same cause. The *Exodus*, or Departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt, falls according to the common chronology about the year 1490 B.C.; but as no king is named, in the account either of their settlement in Egypt or of their departure, we cannot connect the scriptural history with the regnal chronology of the Pharaohs. The time of their residence is distinctly fixed, both in the prophecy of the fortunes of his descendants to *Abraham* and in the narrative of the *Exodus* itself. In the former (*Gen. xv. 13*) God says to *Abraham*, “Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall

afflict them four hundred years. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again." In Exodus (xii. 40) it is said, "The sojourning of the children of Israel in the land of Egypt was four hundred and thirty years; and at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even on that very day, all the hosts of Jehovah went out from the land of Egypt." These words are so precise, that no other sense would have been affixed to them than that the sojourning in Egypt lasted 430 years, had not a difficulty arisen from the mention of the fourth generation in the prophecy to Abraham, and the genealogical notices in Exod. vi. 16-19, Numb. xxvi. 58, where Kohath is made the grandfather, and Amram the father of Moses; Kohath being the son of the Patriarch Levi (Gen. xvi. 11), and having gone down with him into Egypt. The difficulty of stretching out four generations to 400 years was early felt, where it was most natural that a chronological difficulty connected with Egypt should be felt, at Alexandria. Accordingly in the Septuagint Version, made by learned Jews at that seat of Græco-Egyptian science, Exod. xii. 40 reads thus: "The sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt *and in the land of Canaan*, was 430 years;" the Samaritan Pentateuch, which so often agrees with the Septuagint against the Hebrew¹, here also follows the Greek Version. Josephus is inconsistent; in one place he reckons the whole period of Egyptian bondage at 400 years²; in another³ he gives 215 years to the sojourning of Abraham and the patriarchs in Canaan, and 215 to the sojourning in Egypt. This reckoning appears to have

¹ This may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Samaritans appear to have been a considerable body in Egypt (Flav. Vop. Saturninus, c. 8), and may have lived there more harmoniously with the Hellenistic Jews than with the Jews of Palestine, who hated the Hellenists as much as they did the Samaritans.

² Ant. 2, 9, 1. Τετρακοσίων μὲν ἔτων χρόνον ἐπὶ ταύταις διήνυσαν παλαιστῖναις.

³ Ant. 2, 15, 2.

been adopted by the Jews, who chiefly used the Septuagint, in the age of the preaching of the Gospel, and is the foundation of St. Paul's remark (Gal. iii. 17), "that the promise to Abraham preceded by 430 years the giving of the Law." That the reading of the Septuagint is an arbitrary and uncritical alteration of the text is now generally admitted; it appears to remove one difficulty to create a greater; since the increase of the children of Israel from seventy persons to 600,000 fighting-men in 230 years is incredible. A generation is not to be understood in the prophecy to Abraham in the strict and scientific sense; it evidently means the average period of the life of man, which might fairly be estimated at a century, when 110, 120, 130, and 137 years are assigned as its actual duration. There is then no sufficient ground for impeaching the purity of the Hebrew text, nor for giving to it any other than its obvious meaning, that the children of Israel dwelt 400 years in Egypt¹. The words of the prophecy to Abraham do not necessarily imply that their oppression should last so long.

If then the Exodus falls in the 15th century before Christ, and the children of Israel went down into Egypt 400 years before, their settlement must have taken place under one of the dynasties between the 14th and the 18th. The friendly reception which they met with in Egypt, and the facility with which the fertile land of Goshen, lying towards Palestine and Arabia, was assigned to them, is most naturally explained, if we assume that the Pharaoh who raised Joseph to the rank of vizir was one of the Hyksos race. The Hyksos were Phœnician shepherds, therefore, of a Semitic race like the Israelites; and by placing them on the frontier of Asia, they secured themselves a friendly garrison in that

¹ There still remains the difficulty that Moses is made the great-grandson of Levi. But is it probable that genealogical registers would be preserved with such accuracy, as to make them historical documents, in that interval when the children of Israel had ceased to be a family and had not yet become a nation?

vulnerable part of their dominions. It is true that we find no marks of the sovereignty of a foreign race in the account of the settlement of the Israelites. Everything corresponds with the usages, ceremonials and condition of society, as we know them from monuments of the native Egyptians. The native gods are in high honor; the prime-minister receives for a wife the daughter of the chief-priest of Re at Heliopolis; the lands of the priests alone escape forfeiture to the crown in the famine. He is invested with the insignia of office with the same ceremonies which were practised at the court of Setei Menephthah¹. The king has a splendid retinue—a chief captain of the guard, a chief butler and chief baker, magicians and wise men. There is the same marked contrast between Egyptian usages and those of neighboring nations; they will not eat with a Hebrew any more than they would touch the knife of a Greek²; when Jacob dies, forty days are consumed in his embalmment, and seventy more in mourning for him. The language of Egypt was unintelligible to the Hebrews, and as far as we can judge from the disguised fragments which have been handed down to us, was the same as that of the monuments. This would be of great weight were it certain that all the details, as well as the great facts of the narrative, have been derived from contemporary authority. It might also be said, that if the Hyksos had been already established some centuries in Egypt when Joseph was transported thither, they would have adopted the language and manners of the conquered people. Joseph suggests to his brethren that they should call themselves shepherds, in order that the land of Goshen might be assigned to them, adding, “for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians;” and this has been thought to refer to the sufferings inflicted on Egypt by the Hyksos and to prove that they had recently been expelled. But the settlement of an aged man with his children

and grandchildren, amounting in all only to seventy persons, could hardly excite apprehension, however much the Egyptians had suffered from an invasion of a nomad people. We do not know indeed, from other authorities, that shepherds, like swineherds, were an abomination to the Egyptians; but they were of a low caste, and their occupation evidently ranked below that of the cultivator of the soil¹.

The language of the Book of Exodus, "a new king arose who knew not Joseph," points to a change of dynasty, and the commencement of the New Monarchy, rather than the succession of a sovereign of the same family, in whom such ignorance would be incredible; and a long interval must have occurred, of which the historian gives us some general measure by saying that "the children of Israel, after the death of Joseph and all that generation, multiplied and waxed exceedingly mighty and the land was filled with them." Their oppression extended through several reigns, for Pharaoh not being a personal name, its recurrence is no proof that one sovereign is intended throughout. After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the Israelites, who, though not the same, were closely connected with them, naturally became an object of alarm, and the kings of the 18th dynasty endeavored first to check their increase and then to break their spirit.

In endeavoring to connect the Exodus of the Israelites with the Egyptian history, we must lay out of the account entirely the narrative of the expulsion of the Hyksos by Manetho. It is only by the means of the interpolations of Josephus² that it has appeared to describe the Exodus of the Israelites. The authentic chronicles

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 2, 16. "As if to prove how much they despised every order of pastors, the artists both of Upper and Lower Egypt delighted in representing them as dirty and unshaven; and at Beni Hassan and the tombs near the pyramids of Geezah, they are caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race."

² See p. 158 of this vol

of Egypt contained, as far as we can judge, no notice of their settlement, residence or departure. Nor do the monuments supply the deficiency ; except that they appear to have been employed in brick-making in the reign of Thothmes III.¹ But the account which Manetho really gives of the departure of the Jews, though by his own confession derived from unauthentic and fabulous sources², deserves attention as exhibiting the popular belief. Josephus having represented Manetho as identifying the Jews with the Hyksos, charges him with falsehood in mentioning Amenophis³ as the king under whom the Exodus took place, when he had himself declared it to be Tethmosis ; but Manetho is liable to no such imputation, and it is Josephus who has sacrificed truth to national pride. This popular account represents the expelled nation, not as foreigners, but as an impure and diseased portion of the Egyptian people. “Amenophis, a pious king, desirous of obtaining a vision of the gods, such as Horus his predecessor had enjoyed, had been exhorted by his namesake Amenophis, an inspired man, to clear the land of all impure persons, and those who labored under any bodily defect. He accordingly collected them to the number of 80,000, and relegated them to the quarries eastward of the Nile, along with the separated portion of the other Egyptians. It happened that among the leprous persons, who in virtue of the edict were consigned to this region and condemned to labor, were some learned priests. The soothsayer who had given advice to the king to clear his land, was alarmed when he thought of the hostility which he should bring down on the part of the gods by the violence offered to their ministers, and put an end to his life, leaving behind him a written prediction, that the impure persons would obtain auxiliaries and be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. The king, moved by their sufferings, assigned

¹ See p. 194 of this vol.

² See p. 159 of this vol., note ¹.

³ Ἀμενώφιν εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον βασιλεία. (C. Ap. 1, 26.)

them as an abode the Typhonian city of Abaris, which had once been occupied by the Shepherds, but was then unpeopled. Here they chose for themselves a leader Osarsiph, one of the priests of Heliopolis. He formed them into a confederacy, whose principle was hostility to the religion of Egypt and opposition to its laws and customs. Having fortified their city they sent for aid to the Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis and then occupied Jerusalem, and invited them to invade Egypt by the promise of re-establishing them in the country from which they had been expelled. Two hundred thousand men obeyed the call, and Amenophis went to meet them with 300,000 men, but thinking that he was acting in opposition to the divine will, withdrew with his forces into Ethiopia, leaving behind him his son Sethos (called also Rameses from Rampses his father), a child of five years old, having first collected together the most honored of the sacred animals, and warned the priests to bury their images. Here he remained during the fated period of thirteen years, while the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the impure men of Egypt committed all manner of outrages, plundering the temples, mutilating the images of the gods, and compelling the priests to kill and cook the sacred animals. The priest Osarsiph changed his name to Moses when he joined this race. At the end of the thirteen years Amenophis returned with a great force, and with his son Rampses attacked the Shepherds and the impure persons, and pursued them to the borders of Syria."

We cannot recognize in this tale anything that claims even the character of an original historical tradition, disguised and perverted by length of time and national feeling. It might have originated in the age when the Jews began to settle themselves in Egypt, and by the establishment of their monotheistic worship to give offence to the religious feeling of the Egyptians¹, as well as in that of the

¹ *Ia. xix. 18.* Plutarch, *Ia. et Osir.* p. 363, makes Typhon the father of

Exodus; for the fundamental fact which it implies, the religious antagonism of the Jewish and Egyptian people, extended through all times, and found an expression in this form¹. Beyond this there is scarcely a resemblance to the Scripture narrative. Instead of immigrants, immemorially hostile to the polytheism of Egypt, the founders of the Jewish nation are impure Egyptians, and their leader a renegade priest. The bitterness of national and religious hatred and contempt is expressed by representing them as originally a company of lepers, a disease of which we do not read in Scripture before their residence in Egypt, but which seems to have been rife among them afterwards, if we may judge from the anxious precautions of the Law against this disease². The historical narrative and the tale agree in the circumstance that the departure of the Jewish people was accompanied by calamity to the Egyptians, but all the circumstances of that calamity are entirely different. The Amenophis to whom it refers, if an historical personage, must be the Menephthah of the monuments, the father of Rameses-Sesostris; we know his history from these monuments with considerable minuteness, and it is quite inconsistent with the story of Manetho. Probably, however, Amenophis has been introduced into the story, without regard to chronology, from his high reputation for piety³. What Jews and Christians regard as an act of cruelty and injustice, the Egyptians considered as the necessary means of obtaining the favor or averting the displeasure of the gods. The Hierosolymus and Judæus, and all the places connected especially with Typhon were on the eastern side of Egypt.

¹ Charemon (Jos. c. Apion. 1, 32) makes Moses, whose Egyptian name was *Tisithen*, and Joseph, whose name was *Peteseeph*, to be hierogrammats, and the leaders of the 2,500,000 impure persons. According to Lysimachus, Bocchoris was the king who endeavored to clear his country of impure persons by drowning them.

² The story of Job proves that the leprosy was considered as indicating the extremest degree of divine displeasure and consequent guilt.

³ See p. 176 of this vol.

king was to be rewarded, according to one account, by a sight of the gods, according to others, by deliverance from pestilence¹, or from the displeasure of Isis², or famine³, if he destroyed or expelled the enemies of the gods. Popular fable, such as we are dealing with, would naturally fix on an eminent name like that of Amenophis, whose connexion with Ethiopia gave probability to the account of his flight to that country.

Who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, in the silence of Egyptian monuments and the uncertainty of Jewish chronology, we may never be able to ascertain. The most important fact in reference to the providential character of that event, a crisis in the religious history of the world, is, that Israel was brought out of Egypt, not in a period of its weakness and depression, but when its monarchy was warlike and powerful; and only the strong hand and outstretched arm of Jehovah could have effected its deliverance.

We could not suppose that this event was accomplished by the aid of an auxiliary body of Palestinian Hyksos, without imputing to the author of the book of Exodus a wilful suppression of the truth. But it is possible that the expulsion of the Hyksos under the first kings of the 18th dynasty may not have been so complete, but that a considerable remnant of the population was left behind in the country eastward of the Delta, and that uniting themselves with the Israelites, they may have contributed to produce that great increase of numbers which alarmed the kings of Egypt. It was probably during the close union of Phœnicia with Egypt that the alphabetical character of the former was arranged, and learned by the Israelites. In the preceding part of the history there is no trace of its use; but from the account of the giving of the Law, it is evident that it was known at the Exodus, though probably little diffused among the nation at large⁴. Such an

¹ Diod. Fr. lib. 40.

² Chær. ap. Jos. c. Ap. 1, 32.

³ Jos. u. s. 1, 33.

⁴ The mention of a signet-ring in the history of Judah is no proof of the

adaptation of the phonetic system of the Egyptians is more likely to have been made by the Phœnicians than by the Jews, and the use of the same alphabet by both may be best explained by their dwelling together in Egypt before they became neighbors in the land of Canaan.

During their residence in Egypt, and probably in consequence of this intermixture, the common people among the Israelites appear to have lost in great measure their belief in the God of their forefathers. When Moses came with a message from him, it is evident that he was not known to them under his distinctive appellation; nor have we any account of their religious history during the whole interval from the settlement in Goshen to the Exodus. Their ancient faith was revived by the mission of Moses and the events of their deliverance, but there are evident marks of the prevalence both of Egyptian and Phœnician superstitions among them, notwithstanding the repugnance which their traditional usages created between them and the Egyptians¹. As the land of Goshen bordered on Heliopolis, and was not far removed from Memphis, the chief seats of the worship of Mnevis and Apis, it is not wonderful that in their first distrust of the power of Jehovah, they recurred to the worship of the golden calf. The prophet Amos informs us, that during their wanderings in the Desert, they neglected the sacrifices of Jehovah for those of Moloch and Chiun², Palestinian and Arabian divinities³, with whom they had probably become acquainted by their intercourse with the Palestinian and Arabian Hyksos.

use of alphabetical characters in the patriarchal times. Though worn only as an ornament, of Egyptian fabric, it would serve, like the bracelets and the staff, to identify the owner, which is all that the story requires. (Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25.)

¹ Exod. viii. 26.

² Amos v. 25.

³ Selden de Dis Syria, c. 6, 41.

THE THIRD VOLUME OF MANETHO

Twentieth Dynasty.

	Years.
TWELVE DIOSPOLITAN KINGS, who reigned	135
[Eusebius in Syncellus (p. 139, Dind.) 178 years. Armen. 172.]	

The monuments have fortunately preserved for us the names of the sovereigns of this dynasty, which appear to have been lost in Manetho, from the circumstance of their being all Rameses. According to the reckoning of those who make Rameses II. and III. to be one and the same, Rameses III. will be the first of this dynasty, son of Remerri or Merira, who himself never reigned. According to our arrangement it will begin with Rameses IV. The following is the succession which Lepsius has derived from the monuments:

RAMESES IV.	
RAMESES V.	} Brothers reigning in succession
RAMESES VI.	
RAMESES VII.	
RAMESES VIII.	
RAMESES IX.	
RAMESES X.	
RAMESES XI.	
RAMESES XII.	
RAMESES XIII.	

The monuments of the reign of Rameses IV. show that the power of the 18th and 19th dynasties had been transmitted unimpaired to the 20th. The pavilion of Medinet Aboo or Southern Rameseion, exhibits the splendid ceremony of his coronation¹. In the first compartment the king appears, seated under a canopy, the

¹ Vol. i. p. 136, 137. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, pl. 76.

cornice of which is formed by a row of the royal serpents or *uraei*. Two figures of the goddess of Truth and Justice stand behind his throne, and cover the back of it with their outstretched wings. Rameses wears his helmet and carries in his hand the emblem of Life, and the hook and scourge, the emblems of Dominion, which serve also to identify him with Osiris. The sphinx and the hawk, symbols of royalty, adorn the side of the throne, which is supported by the figure of a lion and of two captives. The poles on which this canopy is carried are supported on the shoulders of twelve princes of the blood; other attendants carry a broad umbrella and feather-fans. Three priests, distinguishable by their shaven crowns, walk beside the throne, carrying the arms and insignia of the king, and four immediately behind it. They are followed by six more princes of the blood, some with hatchets and some with feather-fans. Military attendants bearing the steps of the throne and square blocks of wood on which it might be rested, when lowered from the shoulders of the bearers, close the lower line of the procession. In the upper, immediately behind the throne, walk two men in civil costume, who from their attitude appear to be making proclamation¹; they are followed by princes of the blood, fan-bearers and guards. In front of the throne walk two priests, who turn their faces back towards the king and scatter grains of incense on a censer; a scribe reads from a roll; two more princes of the blood, mixed with the priests and military officers, make up the rest of the procession, which is headed by drummers, trumpeters, and players of the double pipe.

The second compartment begins with a libation and burning of incense made by the king, who has descended from his throne, to Amun Khem. The statue next appears carried in procession by twenty-two priests, hidden all but the feet and heads by the

¹ The hand raised towards the mouth is an indication of *rehearsing* in Egyptian pictures.

drapery of the platform on which the statue is erected. The king walks before the god, having a staff in one hand, a sceptre in the other, and the red crown of the Lower Country on his head. He is preceded by a white bull, before whom a priest burns incense, and a long train of other priests carry standards on which are fixed images of the jackal, the bull, the cynocephalus, the hawk, emblems respectively of Anubis, Apis, Thoth and Horus. The images and shields of some of the predecessors of Rameses are also borne on the shoulders of the priests, but a more complete succession is given afterwards. The king now appears wearing the *Pschent*, which on the Rosetta stone¹ he is described as having put on when he entered the temple of Memphis, to perform the ceremonies prescribed on taking the throne. The hieroglyphics in front of the king describe him as putting on the crown of the Upper and Lower countries. Four birds are at the same time let loose by the priests, and the columns of hieroglyphics above them being headed by the symbols of the four cardinal points, it has been ingeniously conjectured by Champollion², that the birds were to announce to East, West, North and South, the fact that Rameses IV. was crowned.

In the last compartment the king has laid aside his crown, and with a helmet on his head cuts with a sickle six ears of corn, which a priest binds together and offers to the sacred bull. This ceremony no doubt was emblematical of the relation between the kingly office and agriculture, the great source of the prosperity of Egypt. It was also very appropriate to the character of Amun Khem, who symbolized the productive power of nature. The queen, who was not present at the procession of the statue of Amun Khem, appears in the two last compartments, not, however, as taking a part in the ceremony, but only as a spectator.

¹ Καλουμένη βασιλεία ψυχεντ, ἣν περιθεμένος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἐν Μίμφει * * * τελεσθῇ τὰ νομίζοντες τῇ παραλήψει τῆς βασιλείας. (L. 11, 12 from the end.)

² *Lettres d'Egypte*, p. 347.

The interior court of the palace at Medinet-Aboo contains an inscription in not fewer than seventy-five columns, bearing date the fifth year of his reign, in which his victories over various nations are commemorated¹. It is not accompanied by any historical picture, and is in some parts injured by time and in others obscure in its construction; but enough remains and is intelligible to furnish us with the information that the king had already made two expeditions², and reduced into submission various nations of Asia, some of whose names have occurred in the historical inscriptions of his predecessors, others not mentioned before. Among the former are the Mennahom and the Tohen; among the latter the Mashiosha³.

The inscription is supposed by Rosellini, from its redundant and tautological style, and the more than usual quantity of flattery to the king which it contains, to be the substance of some poem composed to celebrate the expedition. An embassy from the "men of the great island" is also mentioned, to which the king is said to have "passed like a waterfowl over the waters⁴." This island can scarcely be any other than Cyprus, which, according to Manetho, as reported by Josephus, was a conquest of Sethosis Rameses⁵.

Of the next expedition of Rameses IV., undertaken in the eleventh and twelfth years of his reign, we have more ample details in a magnificent series of bas-reliefs on the north-eastern walls of the palace of Medinet-Aboo⁶. The whole progress of a campaign is recorded there. We have first an *allocution* of his army by the king; he stands on a raised platform; the com-

Rosellini, M. R. tav. cxxxix. cxl.

¹ His return from one with his prisoners is mentioned, cols. 40, 41 (Roe. Mon. Stor. 4, 88), but he appears subsequently to have undertaken another.

² Supposed by Mr. Osburn to be the inhabitants of *Dar-mesek*, Damascus (Ancient Egypt, p. 102.)

³ Cols. 51-53.

⁴ Cont. Apion 1, 15.

⁵ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 4, 14-50; Mon. Reali, tav. cxxiv.-cxxxiv

manders have received their banners and kneel with them in their hands, while others stand at a distance and lift their hands towards him in homage. In another division the arming of the troops is represented; bows, quivers, spears, battle-axes and scimitars are piled on the ground, and distributed by the officers to men who come in companies to receive them. The lowest compartment, which perhaps should be considered as the first in order, exhibits the enrolment of the soldiers, performed by a prince of the blood, attended by his officers. Next begins the march. The king in his *biga* is accompanied by his guards, and as Diodorus describes Osymandyas, by a lion; before him is another chariot on which is erected the royal standard, the head of Amun with the disk of the sun. In six lines of hieroglyphics placed above, the god promises to go before him into the land of the enemy, and make him pass victorious through it. This and the following scene represent the march through Egypt; the next exhibits the Egyptians in conflict with their enemies. Their head-dress is different from that of any foreigners whom we have yet found on the monuments; a high cap or helmet, wider at the top than at the base, divided into colored stripes with disks of metal attached to it, descending on the back of the neck, and fastened beneath the chin. It is not unlike the head-dress of figures on the Persepolitan monuments¹, but in other respects their costume is different. They carry round shields, with spears and short straight swords. The arrows of the king are making havoc among them; they fly in all directions, and some of them appear to have seized on an Egyptian chariot, of which the driver had been killed, to aid in their escape. They were probably a people of a nomadic life; for in the rear are waggons with solid wheels and bodies of wickerwork, drawn by oxen, containing their women and children. Their name, which was read *Tokari* by Sir G. Wilkinson, is read *Fekkaroo* by Champollion

¹ Wilkinson, M. and C. 1, 367.

and Rosellini¹, but no name in ancient geography has been found by which it can be explained. The Egyptians were aided in this campaign by a body of foreign auxiliaries, who must have been taken permanently into their service, as they form a part of the army when it sets out on its march, and have previously appeared among the troops of Rameses III. They have a helmet of a very peculiar shape, a horned crescent being fixed on the top, with the addition of a stem surmounted by a ball². Their name is written *Shairetaan*, with an addition which shows them to have been a maritime people, and though at times in alliance they were at other times in hostility with Egypt.

The next scene represents a lion-hunt; one of these animals lies in the agonies of death under the feet of the royal horses; another pierced with three arrows is taking refuge among the water-plants, which indicate the vicinity of a river. Remembering the allusions of the Jewish prophets to the lions which harbor on the banks of Jordan, and are driven out by the swelling of its waters³, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that Rameses was now on his progress through Palestine. If this be the case, it will be somewhere on the coast of Palestine, or a country not very distant, that we should seek for the scene of the next transaction—a naval fight between the Egyptians and the nation whom they had just before defeated by land. It is the only representation of a naval battle remaining among the Egyptian monuments⁴. The Egyptian vessels have both oars and sails, those of the enemy sails only, and they differ in their build; the prow of the Egyptian vessel is the head of a lion, of the other that of a water-fowl; the opposite

¹ Osburn makes them *Ekronites*, i. e. Philistines. (*Anc. Egypt*, p. 107, 140.)

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* iii. 2, 135; *Mon. Reali*, tav. ci. He calls them "royal guards," but they were evidently not Egyptians. Osburn considers them as Sidonians. (*Anc. Egypt*, p. 119.)

³ Jer. xlix. 19; 1, 44.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 195.

end is armed with a spike. The rowers are protected by a raised bulwark which runs along the side; the combatants assail each other with arrows from a distance, or board and fight hand to hand when the vessels are in contact. The Egyptians as usual are completely victorious; one of the enemies' ships has been upset and is sinking; another has grounded, and the crew are endeavoring to escape. But the king and a body of archers are stationed on the shore; the fugitives are slain or made prisoners, and are marched off bound under the convoy of Egyptian soldiers. It is remarkable that among the crew of the hostile vessels are many of the same nation, distinguishable by their helmet with the horns and disk, who serve in the army of Rameses. We need not, however, suppose that some change of policy had converted them from allies into enemies; Greeks were found fighting against Greeks in the armies of Persia.

In the next compartment the king appears, having laid aside his arms, in his civil costume, and again harangues his soldiers, and distributes arms and insignia to the officers as rewards of merit. The hands of the slaughtered enemies are told out before him and their numbers recorded by the scribes, and the prisoners led up, some fettered by the arms and others by the wrists. The presentation of the captives to the triad of Theban gods, Maut, Amun and Chonso, closes the series; but here, besides the Fekkaroo prisoners of another people are introduced, the *Rebo*, against whom Rameses IV. carried on wars. This people have been incidentally mentioned in the inscription which records the expedition of Rameses III. in his fifth year against the Sheto, whose neighbors they must have been. The walls of the second court of the palace of Medinet-Aboo give the details of this or some other war of Rameses IV. against them. Probably the war occurred at some later period of his reign; for in the presentation of the prisoners to Amun, the Fekkaroo and Rebo appear both as prisoners, whereas in the campaign represented in the inner court, the Fekkaroo

are acting as auxiliaries against the Rebo. From their costume we should suppose the last to be the inhabitants of a somewhat colder climate, as in addition to tunics they wear long upper vests, crossed by bands of a different color, open below and fastened on by a strap over the shoulder. This garment appears sometimes to have been of leather. The head is covered with a close-fitting cap, and adorned with feathers; but in war they wore a helmet or cap fastened by a strap beneath the chin. Their physiognomy also indicates a northern race; their eyes are blue, the nose aquiline, the beard red. Occasionally we find the limbs tattooed. The slaughter made of them was great; 3000 hands, according to the inscription, are poured out before the king¹, as he sits on his chariot after the battle to receive the returns; and an equal number in three other compartments, indicating that 6000 had been slain. Besides these, 1000 appear to have been made prisoners. As the conclusion of the whole, the king returns to Egypt and presents his captives to Amunre and Maut.

The sixteenth is the latest year of Rameses IV. that has been found on the monuments, and the lists give only the duration of the whole dynasty; but from the extent of the works executed in his reign, and the size and magnificence of his tomb, we may presume that it was of more than the average length. He appears originally to have destined for himself a tomb at the very entrance of the Bab-el-Melook, but to have abandoned his design, when the excavation had been carried but a short way, and chosen a spot further on in the valley². It had been known as the Harper's

¹ This and another kind of mutilation which the bodies of the slain had undergone are inaccurately represented by Diodorus as if performed on the living prisoners. *Ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τοίχῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγομένους εἰργάσθαι τὰ τε αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχοντας· δι' ὧν δοκεῖν δηλοῦσθαι δίδωσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνάνδροι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δέτοις ἐνεργείας ἄχειρες ἦσαν* (1, 48). This is part of his description of the tomb of Osymandyas, in which various buildings appear to be confounded.

² According to Sir G. Wilkinson, Rameses III. began the tomb, and his

Tomb, long before the discovery of the hieroglyphics assigned it to Rameses IV., Bruce having copied two remarkable figures of harpers which one of the apartments contains. Its whole extent is 405 feet; not, however, to that direct depth in the mountain, the line of direction having been diverted to avoid interfering with an adjoining tomb. The principal hall contained the sarcophagus of the king, but it had long been rifled. It is of red granite, and is covered with inscriptions which have been filled up with a green enamel. The sarcophagus itself, seven feet in depth and fourteen in length, is in the Louvre, the cover at Cambridge.

The queen of Rameses IV. is not named, though she is represented in the scene of the Coronation; but on the jambs of a door in the Valley of the Queens, the shield of Rameses VI. appears on one side, and on the other that of "the royal mother, ruler of the world, *Ise*." She must therefore have been the queen of Rameses IV.¹ It is probable that his three brothers, one of whom ascended the throne before and two after him, were also her sons; some at least of the numerous other princes of the blood who appear in the procession at his coronation must have been children by his concubines. That he maintained a harem we know from the representations in some of the smaller apartments of his pavilion at Medinet-Abou, where he is seen among them, playing at a game of draughts or chess². Ten princes appear with their names in one of the courts of the palace; the inscriptions of the four first of these have received additions, as they successively came to the throne; the rest are qualified simply as princes.

We found a temporary agreement between the authentic and monumental history of Egypt, and the legendary history as it was received by Herodotus, in the reign of Rameses III., his Sesostris. Legend can still be traced near the entrance beneath that of Rameses IV (Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 2, 207.)

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 4, 119.

² Rosellini, Mon. Civ. 3, 116; Mon. Reali, tav. cxxii. 2, 2.

It disappears again in that of his successor, whom he calls Pheron, and of whom he expressly says that he undertook no expedition. The interpolation of Proteus after Pheron among the kings of Egypt, in order to connect its history with that of the Iliad and Odyssey, shows how little regard was paid to truth in framing this legendary tale. It is therefore useless to seek among the successors of Rameses III. for the Rampsinitus of Herodotus who surpassed in riches all his successors, and built himself a treasure-house, from which the sons of the architect ingeniously contrived to abstract a portion of his wealth by means of a moveable stone. The name appears to contain that of Rameses, which is spelt among other varieties *Rampses* in Manetho; but the story of his descent into Hades, and his playing at dice there with Ceres, so clearly discloses the unhistorical character of the accounts which Herodotus received, as to deter us from any attempt to place him in relation with really historical personages¹. Diodorus having related the blindness of Sesoosis II., who corresponds with the Pheron of Herodotus, passes over a long line of his successors with the remark that they did nothing worthy of being recorded.

This appears to be true of the successor of Rameses IV. All record of foreign expeditions ceases with his reign. The principal memorials of Rameses V. are the lateral inscriptions of the obelisk which Thothmes I. erected at Karnak. They contain, however, no historical fact. His tomb in the Bab-el-Melook is small; the sarcophagus remains in it, but has been broken². Rameses VI. has in several places effaced the name of his brother, as if some hostility between them had preceded his elevation to the throne;³ but we have no memorials of his reign, and can only conjecture that it was long, from the unusual amount of labor bestowed on the preparation of his tomb. It is 342 feet in length, descending by a

¹ Herod. 2, 121, 122.

² Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 212.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 118.

gradual slope to the depth of 25 feet below the ground, and divided into a number of chambers¹. The whole surface of the walls and ceilings is covered with a profusion of colored sculptures of minute size, chiefly astronomical and mythical. One of them is the Judgment-scene before Osiris already described², and the supposed return of a wicked soul to the world. Of Rameses VII. there is absolutely no memorial except his tomb, which is of much less finished execution than that of his predecessor. The sarcophagus is excavated in the rock of the floor to the depth of four feet, and covered with a slab of granite. Rameses VIII. is known only by the occurrence of his shield among those of the other sons of Rameses IV. (III. according to another reckoning) at Medinet-Abou, and on two tablets in the Museum of Berlin. The titular shield contains the figure of the same deity as the phonetic shield of Setei, and it has here also been effaced. From this time it never occurs in the monuments³. The shields of the sovereigns of this dynasty are much more crowded with characters than those of the 18th. As these kings were all brothers, it was natural that the reigns of the last should be short. His third year has been found on a monument⁴. Rameses IX. (VIII.) was according to Lepsius the son of Rameses VII. (VI.) He began a temple to Chons on the right bank of the Nile near Karnak, but left it imperfect except the sanctuary⁵; his tomb is small, and appears to have remained unfinished at his death, as the walls of some of the apartments have figures and inscriptions traced upon them, but not sculptured. The tombs of Rameses X., XI., and XII. have also been ascertained. That of Rameses X. is executed with care, and adorned with astrological paintings. The seventeenth year of Rameses XI.'s reign has been found on a papyrus, and the second of Rameses

¹ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 210.

² Vol. i. p. 402, 403.

³ Bunsen, *B.* 3, p. 118. Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 124.

⁴ Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, *B.* 3, p. 119.

⁵ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 125.

XII¹.; of Rameses XIII. and XIV. nothing beyond the names is known, which is the more indicative of the inactivity which characterized the last years of this dynasty, because Rameses XIV. reigned at least thirty-three years². Rosellini reckons a fifteenth, by whom a hypostyle hall was added to the temple of Chons at Karnak, founded by Rameses IX.³

The dominion of Egypt had long been on the decline, but Amunre addresses the last Rameses in the same magnificent language as his predecessors, and gives him "to put all foreign lands under his feet." The diminution of power in the Egyptian monarchy since Rameses IV. was probably caused or accompanied by an increase in that of its neighbors. Ethiopia seems to have regained its independence. The Phœnician cities must have been rapidly rising by means of commerce to the prosperity in which we find them in the age of Solomon. The recent discoveries of the antiquities of Assyria excited the hope that by their means light would be thrown on the relations of that country with Egypt, whose sovereigns, from Thothmes I. to Rameses IV., repeatedly invaded Mesopotamia and Assyria. We cannot, however, trace any conformity between their respective histories, as disclosed by their monuments. Those of Khorsabad, Koyunjik and Nemroud are much later than the 18th and 19th dynasties of Egypt. No Egyptian appears among the nations with whom the Assyrians are at war⁴. Yet it is probable that when the invasions of the

¹ Amenmeses, whom Rosellini, from the position of his tomb, would interpose between Rameses XII. and XIII., has been already placed last but one in the 19th dynasty. See p. 253 of this vol.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, p. 49.

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, 50. 4, 137. *M. R. tav. cxlvi.*

⁴ We do not find any close resemblance between the Asiatic nations represented in the Egyptian monuments and those who appear in the Assyrian sculptures. A people armed with shields, like those described, p. 234, are seen on the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad, and among the spoil is a chariot, resembling that brought by the Retno to Thothmes III., p. 187. The

Pharaohs ceased, perhaps by means of successful resistance to them, the Assyrian monarchy rose in power. The Greek traditions begin with mythe in Semiramis, and end with it in Sardana-palus; but the monarchy which these mythes represent was real, and must have begun in the thirteenth century B. C.¹, that is about the time when the power of Egypt declined.

The battle-pieces of the reign of Rameses IV. are not inferior in design to the works of his predecessors, but those who have studied minutely and on the spot the remains of Egyptian art discover an inferiority in the execution. The inscriptions which Rameses V. added to the obelisk erected by Thothmes I. betray even in an engraving their inferiority in execution. In design there could be little difference, art in its application to sacred subjects being so completely submitted to established rules; but we perceive that the style becomes more loaded and elaborate, an indication of the decline of taste.

Twenty-first Dynasty. Seven Tanite kings.

	Years.	
SMENDES, reigned	26	
PSOUBENNES	46	41 Euseb.
NEPHERCHERES	4	
AMENOPHTHIS	9	
OSOCHOR	6	
PSINACHES	9	
PSOUBENNES	14	35 Euseb.
In all 130 years.	114	130

Shairetana, p. 278, have many peculiarities in common with the Assyrians of Nemroud; the Tokkari or Fekkaroo, p. 277, in their arms and dress and the shape of their carts drawn by oxen, bear some resemblance to a nation represented in the Assyrian sculptures. (Layard's *Nineveh*, 2, 493, foll.)

¹ Herodotus (1, 95) says that the Medes revolted from the Assyrians, who had ruled Upper Asia 520 years. This revolt is commonly placed 711 B. C. (Clinton. *sub anno*.)

Tanis or Zoan, although its name now appears for the first time in Egyptian history, had long been the most important city on the coast of Egypt¹. The branch of the Nile on which it stood was the most easterly and the nearest to Palestine and Arabia, with the exception of the Pelusiac. It is spoken of in Scripture as being founded seven years later than Hebron²; the precise date of the foundation of Hebron we do not know, but it was one of the oldest towns in Palestine, and is mentioned in the history of Abraham. It is probable that Tanis rose into importance during the wars of the early kings of the New Monarchy with the Hyksos, and their expeditions into Western Asia. Although Thebes continued to be the place in which the splendor of the monarchy was chiefly displayed, and where the sovereigns held their court during intervals of peace, they must have needed a residence in that part of Lower Egypt which was nearest to the scene of their most important operations. That it should be at the same time not very distant from the sea was also necessary, when they established a navy and carried on maritime warfare against Phœnicia and Cyprus. And as the eastern branches of the Nile one after another became silted up, it is probable that even in this age the Pelusiac mouth may have been too shallow to admit ships of war. In the 78th Psalm (vv. 12, 43) the wonders which accompanied the Exodus are said to have been wrought in "the plain of Zoan." This Psalm is probably somewhat later than the age of David, but it proves that this was supposed to have been for the time the residence of the Pharaoh who had "refused to let Israel go." In the age of Isaiah it was still considered as the capital of the Delta; "the princes of Zoan and the princes of Noph" (Memphis) are spoken of³ as equivalent to the nobles of Egypt. The ambassadors who go down to Egypt to form an alliance which implied distrust in Jehovah⁴ are

¹ See vol. i. p. 46.

² Is. xix. 11, 13.

³ Numbers, xiii. 22.

⁴ Is. xxx. 4.

described as repairing to Zoan and Hanes, or Heracleopolis¹; the desolation of Zoan is threatened by Ezekiel, as the consequence of the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. In Strabo's time it was still a large town², the capital of a nome; in the age of Titus it had dwindled to an insignificant place³. Its ruins attest its ancient importance; its principal temple stood within an area of 1500 feet by 1250, and appears to have been built by Rameses-Sesostris, whose shield is seen in various parts of the ruins. It was adorned with an unusual number of obelisks⁴. Had its remains been explored with the same diligence as those of Middle and Upper Egypt, we should probably have learnt something of the dynasty which took its name from Tanis. But the inhabitants are rude and the air at most seasons of the year pestilential⁵, and no traveller has remained here long enough to ascertain what may be buried beneath the mounds of earth which cover the site. History has preserved no account of the manner in which the sceptre of Egypt passed from the Diospolite dynasty to the Tanite, and the monuments do not supply the deficiency. The temple which Rameses IX. erected to the god Chons exhibits a priest, whose name has been read *Hraiher* or *Pehor*⁶, distinguishable by his shaven head and panther's skin, and denominated in his shield "High-priest of Amun," who at the same time appears to have performed the functions of royalty. In one compartment of the sculptures Horus places on his head the white cap, and Nebthi the red cap, acts symbolical of his investiture with the dominion of Upper and Lower Egypt. He even appears in a military capacity with the title of

¹ Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, 1, 309. P. 130 of this volume.

² Lib. 17, p. 802.

³ Joseph. Bell. Jud. 4, 11.

⁴ See a plan with drawings of some of the inscriptions in Burton's *Excerpta Hier.* pl. 38-41.

⁵ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 1, 450

⁶ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 139.

Commander of the archers. Another priest, whose name has been read *Pischiam*, appears on the same building, qualified with the titles of royalty. These names do not correspond with any of those in Manetho¹, and we are left to conjecture, that during the time that elapsed after the expiration of the Rameside dynasty, and before the establishment of the Tanite in full authority over Upper as well as Lower Egypt, the High-priests of Thebes assumed the royal style and even military command. It would be agreeable to the practice of Manetho, not to include them in his dynastic lists, but to carry on his chronology by means of the Tanite kings, even though two or three generations elapsed before their authority was acknowledged in Thebes. His omission of the reign of Actisanes, if, as Diodorus represents², such an invasion from Ethiopia really took place, may be explained on the same principle. He did not, like Sabaco, found a dynasty.

During the long interval from the Exodus to the reign of David, there is no mention in Egypt of Jewish history. The Jews had not consolidated themselves into a nation during the prosperous times of the 18th and 19th dynasties, and if they occupied Palestine could offer no resistance to the armies of Rameses III. or IV. An incident mentioned in the first book of Kings (xi. 14) might have given us some light into Egyptian history, had its indications been more precise. When Joab, in the reign of David, slaughtered all the males in Edom, Hadad, one of the royal family, made his escape into Egypt, and being hospitably entertained by Pharaoh, received in marriage the sister of his queen Tahpenes. The name of this queen, however, has not been found on any monument, and therefore we are still at a loss respecting that of her husband. During the reign of Solomon an active commerce in horses, chariots,

¹ Bunsen (B. 3, 121) transfers to this dynasty a *Nefrukeru* (Nephercheres) and a *Menephthah* (Amenophthis). He also gives *Pianch*, answering to Psinachea.

² 2, 60.

and linen yarn was carried on between Judæa and Egypt. Solomon not only furnished his own armies with horses and chariots from this country, but sold them again to the Hittites and the kings of Syria¹. The Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married² must have been one of the latest kings of the 21st dynasty: he received as her dowry the town of Gezer in Palestine, which the king of Egypt had recently taken; but the friendship which this alliance established was soon destroyed under the 22nd.

Twenty-second Dynasty. Nine Bubastite kings.

(Euseb. *Three*.)

	Years.
SESONCHIS, reigned	21
OSORTHON	15
Three others [omitted by Eusebius]	25
TACELLOTHIS	13
Three others [omitted by Eusebius]	42
	116 Eus. 49

In regard to this dynasty we have no longer to complain of the silence of history and the monuments. The names of Sesonchis, Osorkon and Tacellothis were early recognised by Champollion³, and the researches of other Egyptologists have recovered the shields of all the nine kings of whom this dynasty was composed. Those of Sesonchis and several of his successors of this dynasty contain a character which does not occur before, the white crown of Upper Egypt, as if to indicate that it had been acquired by them. Bubastis, whence its name is derived, was one of the most ancient cities of Lower Egypt⁴; it is mentioned in Manetho in the second dynasty of the Old Monarchy, and it stood near the Pelusiæ arm of the Nile, about twenty miles below the apex of the Delta. In

¹ 1 Kings x. 28. Vol. i. p. 166.

⁴ 1 Kings ix. 16.

² Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas, P. 2, p. 119

³ Vol. i. p. 46.

its modern name, *Tel Basta*, we recognize that of the goddess *Pasht*, to whom the principal temple was dedicated—the *Artemis* of the Greeks. The Hebrews called it from the same goddess *Pi-beseth*¹, which the Septuagint renders *Boubastos*, and the Coptic *Poubast*. In its present abandoned and desolate condition it still exhibits some of the features which are so graphically described by Herodotus². “There is,” says he, “in the city of Bubastis a temple very deserving of description; larger and more costly temples exist, but none so pleasant to behold. Except the entrance it is all an island; two canals come from the Nile, not united, but distinct as far as the entrance, and one flows round it on one side, and one on the other. The propylæa are sixty feet high, and adorned with excellent sculptures six cubits in height. The temple being in the middle of the city, one who walks round looks down upon it from all sides; for the city has been raised by accumulations of earth, and the temple remaining as it originally was can be looked into. An outer wall runs round it with sculptured figures. Within is a grove of very large trees, planted round a large temple (*ναῖον*), in which the image of the goddess is. The length and breadth of the *hieron* is a stadium each way. Near the entrance is a road paved with stone of the length of three stadia, leading eastward through the agora, its breadth 400 feet. Trees reaching to the skies are planted on either side, and it leads to the *hieron* of Mercury.” The temples of *Pasht* and *Thoth* can still be traced; the mounds which surround the ancient site are of extraordinary height, rising above the area of the temple.

SESONCHIS (*Shishak*), the first of this dynasty, is not mentioned by Diodorus, nor according to our present text by Herodotus. A happy conjecture of Bunsen’s has restored his name to the commencement of the 136th section of the *Euterpe*. “After *Mycerinus* the priests said that *Sasychis* became king of Egypt, and built

¹ Ezek. xxx. 17

² 2, 138.

the eastern propylæa of the temple of Vulcan¹." With Herodotus the time of the building of the pyramids represents the long interval of decline and insignificance which intervened between the illustrious sovereigns of the 18th and 19th dynasty, and the revival of the prosperity of Egypt before the invasion of the Ethiopians.

The reign of Sesonchis is the first which we are enabled to connect, by means of a synchronism, with our ordinary reckoning of the years before Christ, as he is the first Pharaoh who is mentioned by name in the Jewish Scriptures. The jealousy of Solomon having been excited against Jeroboam², in consequence of his being prophetically pointed out by Abijah as the future sovereign of the ten tribes, Jeroboam, to save his life, had escaped into Egypt, in the last years of Solomon's reign, and had taken refuge with Sesonchis, or as the Hebrews wrote the name, Shashaq. The folly of Rehoboam had caused the erection of a separate kingdom of the ten tribes, which had its capital at Shechem. Of this Jeroboam was made king, and set up here the worship of the Egyptian divinities. The country being thus divided by a double schism, political and religious, and a powerful ally to Egypt being secured, Sesonchis made an easy conquest of Jerusalem. He came up in the fifth year after the accession of Rehoboam with an overwhelming force of chariots and horsemen³, and an auxiliary body composed of Libyans, Ethiopians, and the Troglodyte tribes who dwelt on the western shore of the Red Sea⁴ and Ethiopia. Reho-

¹ Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖα ἔλεγον οἱ ἸΠΕΕΕ ΑΣΥΧΙΝ. The loss of the Σ in such a position would easily occur. (Comp. Wessel. ad Diod. 1, 94.) The Septuagint calls Shishak, Σ υσις. From the mention of his legislation he appears to be the same as the Sasychis of Diodorus (u. s.), though his chronology is entirely confused.

² 1 Kings xi. 40.

³ Much over-estimated no doubt in 2 Chron. xii. 3 at 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen.

⁴ Such is the probable meaning of the Sukiim, mentioned 2 Chron. xii. 3. They were skilful slingers and very useful as light troops. (Heliod. Æth.

boam had not neglected preparation; he had built some strong places and fortified others in the kingdom of Judah, had put garrisons in them and victualled them against a siege¹, and had given the command in them to his own sons. Sesonchis, however, speedily reduced all the fenced cities of Judah and Benjamin. Jerusalem appears to have made no resistance, and thus escaped the sufferings of a siege and a storm²; but the treasures both of the Temple and the royal palace were carried off, including the golden shields which Solomon had made for the use of his guards on solemn occasions, and placed in the house of the forest of Lebanon. It was part of the threatening of the prophet Shemaiah that Judah should become subject to the king of Egypt, that they might "learn the difference between the service of Jehovah and the service of the kingdoms round about³." During the reign of Sesonchis they probably continued in a state of dependence, which, however, was not burdensome, as we are told that "things went well in Judah⁴" during the later years of Rehoboam.

A monument still remaining on the outer wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak confirms in a very remarkable manner this narrative from the Jewish Scriptures⁵. Sesonchis (Amunmai Sheshonk) is there represented as usual of gigantic size, preparing to inflict death on a group of prisoners, African and Asiatic, in the presence of Amunre, who holds out a scimitar towards him with one hand, and with the other leads to him a number of foreigners bound. To each of the five cords which he holds in his hand are attached

8, 16.) There was a town on this coast called Suche (Plin. N. H. 6, 34), supposed to be the modern Suakin.

¹ 2 Chron. xi. 5-12. The Book of Kings makes no mention of these preparations.

² 2 Chron. xii. 7. "My wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak."

³ 2 Chron. xii. 8.

⁴ 2 Chron. xii. 12.

⁵ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 149; *M. R.* cxlviii.

a series of shields surrounded with an embattled edge and surmounted by a head, round the neck of which the cord is passed. Each of the five rows contains thirteen shields, and about half of the sixty-five is legible. The first in the first line contains the lotus, the symbol of the South, with the character for *region*; the second the papyrus, the symbol of the North. The account given in the Book of Chronicles of the various nations composing the expedition of Sesonchis shows that he held Lybia and Ethiopia in his obedience when he invaded Palestine, and renders it probable that he might have subdued them in the previous part of his reign. The third shield is composed of the character which has been read *Penne* or *Pone*, and is understood to denote the western bank of the Nile, along with the bows which have been already explained as denoting Libya. Among those which remain legible, few have been identified with known geographical names. Champollion supposed "the land of Mahanima" (line 2, 9) to be the Mahanaim¹ of Scripture; "the land of Baithoron" (l. 2, 11) and Makto (l. 3, 1) to be Bethhoron and Megiddo, both of which Solomon fortified². Mr. Osburn has since pointed out some others which bear a resemblance to known names in Palestine³. Much uncertainty attends these identifications, because it is necessary to assume certain phonetic values for characters which do not occur elsewhere, or only in positions equally ambiguous. There is, however, no uncertainty respecting the most important figure of the whole, the third in the third line, which contains in well-known characters *JOUDHMALK*, *i. e.* Joudah-Melek, "King of Judah," which being followed by the usual character for *land*, the whole will be read "Land of the King of Judah;" these shields representing not persons but places, symbolized by a figure of their inhabitants. Another figure on the same wall represents the goddess Egypt, who holds in her hand four cords, to each of which seventeen

¹ Gen. xxxii. 2.

² 1 Kings ix. 15, 17. 2 Chron. viii. 5.

³ Ancient Egypt, p. 158.

similar shields are attached. The greater part are legible, but none of them have been identified with names known in geography. Since this is the case on a monument of the middle of the tenth century before Christ, we cannot be surprised at the little success which has attended the attempts made to ascertain the nations who are mentioned in the sculptures of sovereigns of the 18th dynasty, the Thothmes, Menephthah and the Rameses. With the exception of a few general designations of the African nations, we meet with none of those with which the earlier monuments have made us familiar—Naharaina, for example,—or those which we have supposed to describe people inhabiting the countries eastward of the Tigris and north-westward of the Euphrates. Notwithstanding the pompous list of names in the record of the triumphs of Sesonchis, it is not probable that his expedition extended much beyond Palestine. He could not have advanced towards the Euphrates without encountering the power of the Assyrians.

There are other memorials of Sesonchis¹ at Karnak and Silsilis, but being of the religious class they throw no light on the history of his reign. A stele at the latter place bears date in the twenty-first year of his reign, which must have been the last. It speaks of his excavations in these quarries for the purpose of erecting buildings at Thebes². These were carried on by his successors in the Bubastite dynasty³.

¹ A cuirass of leather, studded with brass scales, bearing the shield of Sheshonk, is figured in M. Prisse d'Avennes' *Monumens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1846, p. 735. The name, however, will not prove that it was worn by Sesonchis, as a throwstick is figured in the same work, bearing the shield of a queen.

² Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 165. Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, 359.

³ It would be premature to enter into any speculations respecting the connexion of Egypt and Assyria in this age till the Assyrian monuments are better understood. See Birch, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* vol. iii. From Layard's account, it is evident that the Egyptian remains found at Nineveh

If Sesonchis were the Sasychis of Diodorus and Herodotus, he was celebrated as a legislator as well as a conqueror. To him Herodotus attributes the law¹ which allowed a debtor to raise money by pledging the body of his father, under the condition that if he did not repay the money, neither he himself nor any of his family should be interred, either in the family sepulchre or elsewhere. He was said also to have erected a pyramid of brick, and placed an inscription upon it, in which he claimed for it a superiority over the pyramids of stone. The inscription as given by Herodotus has very little resemblance to a genuine inscription, and was probably the invention of his guides. But it is not at all improbable that Sesonchis, following the example of his predecessor of the 18th century, may have employed his Asiatic captives in brick-making. The sepulchres of the kings, after the last of the Rameses, are no longer found in the Bab-el-Melook; and there is no reason why some of the brick pyramids of Lower Egypt, which have been ascertained by the Prussian Expedition to be nearly double the number previously known, may not have been the tombs of later kings.

If some of them were built after the end of the 19th dynasty, when royal interments ceased at Thebes, we can understand how all of them were referred to that period. Sasychis, according to Herodotus, built the eastern propylæa of the temple at Memphis, and adorned it with sculptures of remarkable size and beauty. These have perished, and the imperfect remains at Karnak afford no criterion of the state of the arts in the reign of Sesonchis. It may be better judged of by the statues of the lion-headed goddess Pasht, which seem to have been multiplied in the reign of this first Bubastite king. One of these is in the Museum of Turin, another in the Louvre, and a third in the British Museum². In do not belong to the earliest age of the Assyrian monarchy, as they occur above ruined buildings. Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. 2, p. 205.

¹ See p. 48 of this vol.

² Gallery of Antiquities, pl. viii.

regard to its execution, Mr. Birch observes :—"The style is very different from those executed under Amenoph III. in the same collection ; the cheeks are more hollow, the limbs more lissom and less strongly developed ; the whole of a style of art less pure and grand than that of the 18th dynasty."

A son of Sesonchis appears joined with him in an act of worship at Karnak. His name is Ushiopt¹, or Schuopt, and like the kings mentioned, p. 287, he united with the sacerdotal office the post of captain of the archers. He did not, however, succeed his father.

OSORTHON is the next king in Manetho's list. Where this name occurs again in the 23rd dynasty in Eusebius, it is *Osorcho* in Manetho ; and although there is no various reading here, there can be no doubt that the king intended is the Osorkon of the monuments. His shield follows that of Sheshonk in the sculptures of the court at Karnak, which has been called, from having been adorned by them, the Court of the Bubastite kings². It is also found at Bubastis on a fragment of a cornice, and cut on some blocks where originally the shield of Rameses-Sesostris stood³. Among the Egyptian antiquities of the Louvre, there is a magnificent vase of alabaster, which contains on one side a dedication by Osorchon to Amunre. It was subsequently employed to receive the remains of a member of the Claudian family at Rome, and bears an inscription to this purpose on its opposite side⁴.

The Book of Kings gives no account of the relations between Egypt and the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, from the invasion

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 163.

² See vol. i. p. 148. It is marked B. 4. 8, on Sir G. Wilkinson's Map of Thebes. Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, 85.

³ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 1, 429. He has not given any facsimile of these shields, and it is possible that they may not all refer to the same Osorkon.

⁴ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 360.

of Shishak till the reign of Hoshea, who made an alliance with Seva, or So, king of Egypt (725 B.C.), in order to throw off the yoke of Salmaneser and the Assyrians¹. The Second Book of Chronicles, however, records an invasion of Judah by Zerach, the Ethiopian, in the reign of Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam. In the name of Zerach critics have recognized that of Osorchon, the successor of Sesonchis. A war between the two countries was an exceedingly probable event. Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, had gained a great victory over the kingdom of Israel. Asa had raised an army, according to the Book of Chronicles, of 580,000 men, and built several fortified places in Judah. If Egypt had retained a claim of superiority and tribute over Judah from the time of Sheshonk's invasion, these indications of a growing military power would not be overlooked by her. Zerach (941 B.C., Usher) came up with a very numerous army² as far as Mareshah in the plain of Judah, but was defeated by Asa and pursued to Gerar on the southern boundary of Palestine. The only difficulty which attends the narrative is, that Zerach is called an Ethiopian (Cushite). No king of the Bubastite dynasty could have been so designated; the works of Osorchon and his successors at Thebes show that Upper Egypt was in their possession; and therefore if we could suppose a motive for an invasion of Judæa by a sovereign of Ethiopia, it is not credible that he should have marched through Egypt for its accomplishment. On the other hand, chronology forbids the supposition that Zerach could be one of the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty of Egyptian kings, the earliest of whom lived 200 years later than Asa. The reality of the invasion and defeat cannot be called in question; the name Zerach is not very remote from Osorchon, when reduced to its consonants, and the times would very exactly correspond. Rehoboam reigned twelve years after the

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 4.

² Estimated in 2 Chron. xiv. 9, at a million of men and three hundred chariots.

invasion of Sesonchis; Abijah, his son, three years; the victory of Asa took place in the fifteenth year of his reign¹. Thus thirty years elapsed between the invasions by Sheshonk and by Zerach, and as Sesonchis reigned twenty-two years and Osorchon fifteen, there is sufficient room for both events. The name of Ethiopian given to Zerach in the Book of Chronicles, which was not written, at least in its present form, till after the Captivity, may be explained by the circumstance that his army, like that of Sheshonk, was composed chiefly of Libyan and Ethiopian troops.²

The names of the three successors of Osorkon I. are not given by Manetho; Lepsius makes his immediate successor to have been Amunmai PEHOR, who was probably his son. Another son, whose name was Sheshonk, filled the office of high-priest, and is mentioned in a funeral papyrus which appears to have accompanied the mummy of another high-priest of the name of Osorkon, the son of this Sheshonk, and consequently grandson of Osorkon I. Neither of these appear to have ascended the throne. Pehor was succeeded by OSORKON II., and he by SHESHONK II. His shield is distinguished from that of the founder of the dynasty, by the addition of the name of the goddess of Bubastis, Pasht. The name of Take-lothis was recovered by Champollion from a fragment³ of a piece of sycamore-wood, the remainder of which is in the Vatican, on which a priest clad in the leopard's skin is represented, performing an act of adoration to Phre, in behalf of Takelothis' son. It has since been found on the wall at Karnak, and with the date of the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The same inscription mentions the name of his queen Keromama, and of his son and probably successor Osorchon, who is called high-priest and captain of the archers⁴.

¹ 2 Chron. xv. 10.

² 2 Chron. xvi. 8.

³ Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 361. Champollion le Jeune, *Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas*, 2, 123.

⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 170.

Of OSORKON III., SHESHONK III., and TAKELOTHIS II.¹, with whom the dynasty became extinct, no historical fact is recorded.

The relations of Egypt and Judæa appear not to have been friendly, under this and the succeeding dynasty, even when there was not actual war between them. The prophet Joel² (iii. 19) threatens Egypt, as well as Edom, with desolation for its violence against the children of Judah, which may have consisted in the forcible seizure of the inhabitants for slaves. Eusebius in his Canon remarks, under the 23rd dynasty, that after the Phœnicians the Egyptians became masters of the seas, and they probably exercised their dominion piratically, like their predecessors.

Twenty-third Dynasty. Four Tanite kings.

	Years.	
PETUBATIS [Petubastis, Euseb.], reigned . . .	40	25 (Euseb.)
In his reign was the first Olympiad.		
OSORCHO [Osorthon, Euseb.]	8	
Whom the Egyptians call Hercules ³ .		
PSAMMUS	10	
ZET [omitted by Euseb.]	31	
	89	44

Of this whole dynasty, till lately, no name had been read on the monuments, as no fact is recorded concerning them. Lepsius has found a shield with the name of *Petsepasht*, the Egyptian word whence the Petubastis of Eusebius was derived. The occurrence

¹ Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, B. 3, p. 135.

² His age is uncertain, but from the absence of all mention of Assyria, he is thought to have lived before that power threatened the independence of Palestine.

³ This remark, from its turn of expression, is evidently not that of Manetho. It does not appear what ground there was for this identification, as Chon is said to have been the Egyptian name for Hercules. Etym. M. a. v. Xciv. Vol. i. p. 322.

of the name of the great goddess of Bubastis in that of the founder of the dynasty, leads us to conclude that this family, though called of Tanis, was genealogically connected with the preceding. This is confirmed by the name of the second king Osorchon, which was borne by so many of the 22nd dynasty. A shield at Karnak, containing the name Psemaut, has generally been attributed to Psemmuthis of the 29th dynasty, which arose during an interval of successful revolt from Persia¹, a prince who reigned only during a part of the year. Lepsius has given it to Psammus, the third of this dynasty. There remains then only Zet², whose name has not yet been found.

The fifth year of Rehoboam, in which Sheshonk invaded Judæa, is generally placed 974 B. C. Between this date and 1322 B. C. we must place the reigns of all the kings from Menephthah (p. 250) to Sheshonk. These three centuries and a half suffice for the events of the history, but their distribution into reigns would be quite hypothetical. The chronological notice, that the first Olympiad fell in the reign of Petubastis, seems to have been transferred hither by mistake. It is not found in Eusebius, and cannot have proceeded from Africanus, who elsewhere places the first Olympiad in the first year of Ahaz³. This is too late, as the other is too early.

We obtain no assistance either from Herodotus or Diodorus, in recovering the history of this dynasty. Herodotus knows the name of no king of Egypt, between Sasychis and Anysis, who was reigning at the time of the Ethiopian invasion. Diodorus passes at once from the builders of the pyramids to Bocchoris, and he makes many years to have intervened between him and Sabaco, contrary to the

¹ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 1, 207; *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 2, 256.

² Lepsius, *Einl.* 1, 256, makes him to be the Sethos of Herodotus.

³ Fynes Clinton, *Fasti*, 1, 150, who observes that the year B. C. 776, the admitted æra of the Olympiads, fell in the 38rd year of Uziah. His reign lasted 51 years; that of his son and successor Jotham, the father of Ahaz, 16.

lists, according to which Bocchoris was taken captive and burnt alive by the Ethiopian king. There are not even any private monuments which throw light on the condition of Egypt during this period. That it was one of decline and decay we may infer from the ascendancy which the Ethiopians acquired in the next dynasty, and apparently with little struggle on the part of the Egyptians.

Twenty-fourth Dynasty.

Years.

Bocchoris of Sais reigned. 6 Euseb. 44

In his reign a lamb spoke¹.

The Dynasty of Sais, founded by Bocchoris, may be said to have been in fact prolonged to the time of the Persian conquest, the Ethiopian dynasty being intrusive and the Dodecarchia only temporary. Sais stood near the Canopic branch of the Nile, to which, as the nearest and the most accessible, the traffic of the Greeks was from the first attracted. Naucratis, the only harbor in Egypt to which strangers were admitted, unless under the plea of stress of weather², was on the Canopic branch and nearer to the sea than Sais. It is not certain when the Greeks were first allowed to settle in Naucratis. Eusebius in his Canon says³, that the Milesians, in the reign of Bocchoris, became powerful at sea and built the city of Naucratis. This is not very probable, if literally

¹ Probably a portent of the approaching calamities of Bocchoris and his kingdom. So when Psammenitus was about to be dethroned, rain fell at Thebes (Her: 3, 10). According to Ælian, N. H. 12, 3, this lamb, besides speaking with a human voice, had two heads, eight feet, &c.

² This is stated by Herodotus (2, 179) as if true of all strangers. Strabo intimates that it was chiefly intended against the Greeks from their piratical habits, 17, 792. The duty of watching the coast and keeping off strangers was committed to the herdsmen, a rude and inhospitable race.

³ Under Olymp. vi.

taken, and is contradicted by Herodotus¹, who says the Ionians and Carians under Psammitichus were the first foreigners who were allowed to settle in Egypt. Considering the wide-spread colonization of the Milesians in the eighth century before Christ², there is however nothing improbable in their having established more regular commercial relations with Egypt than Greece had possessed before.

Gradually greater privileges seem to have been allowed them, and hence the variety of accounts respecting the time of their establishment, which Strabo against all probability brings down as low as the revolt of Inaros³, 462 B.C. The Portuguese at Macao at first only obtained permission to erect sheds for their goods, but by degrees were allowed to build houses, establish a government of their own and erect a fort. The story of the landing of the Ionian and Carian mercenaries in Egypt at the time of the Dodecarchia indicates that *armed* Greeks were a novel sight to the Egyptians⁴; but of course only merchant ships and men in peaceful attire would be admitted to Naucratis. The English, when they first established themselves at Formosa, agreed to deliver up all their guns and ammunition while in port⁵. We do not, however, derive much increase of our knowledge respecting Egypt from the increased resort of the Greeks before the time of Psammitichus. They have not even preserved such tales of wonder as we find in the Homeric legends. The Epic Muse was silent; the Cyclic, if she deserves the name of Muse, was occupied in combining and harmonizing the traditions of the Mythic age. Prose history, scientific geography and astronomy had their birth-place at Miletus; but in a later century.

¹ 2, 154. ² Rambach de Mileto, p. 19, 62. Clinton, F. H. 1, 115.

³ 17, p. 801. According to him they first fortified a place at the Bolbatine mouth, in the reign of Psammitichus; and afterwards removed in the time of Inaros to the Saitic nome, and fortified Naucratis.

⁴ Her. 2, 152.

⁵ Davis, The Chinese, vol. 1, p. 35.

The name of Bocchoris, which was probably in Egyptian *Pehor* does not appear on any monument which can be conclusively referred to his reign¹. His father's name, according to Diodorus, was Tnephachthus, or Gnephachthus, in which we recognise that of the goddess Pasht². Diodorus calls his father king, and relates an anecdote of him which has been mentioned under the reign of Menes. Bocchoris himself is said by Diodorus to have been mean and feeble in body, but to have surpassed his predecessors in ingenuity and wisdom. He attributes specially to him the laws which regulated commercial contracts and the prerogatives and duties of the king³. This reputation seems to imply that at his accession he found public and private law in a state of decay, and labored to renew them. He is celebrated also for the wisdom of his judicial decisions, many of which were handed down by fame even to very late times. A very different account of his character and administration is given by Ælian⁴, who says he had obtained a false reputation for the justice of his decisions. To grieve the Egyptians, he set a wild bull to attack their sacred Mnevis. As the assailant was rushing furiously on, he stumbled, and entangling his horn in the tree *persea*, Mnevis gave him a mortal wound in the flank. Plutarch⁵, while he acknowledges the just decisions of Bocchoris, calls him a man of stern character. Possibly the avarice which Diodorus attributes to him may have been only the unfavorable aspect of a rigid economy, rendered necessary by dilapidated finances. Economy, especially if accompanied by strict-

¹ The Amunse Pehor, whom the earlier Egyptologists identified with Bocchoris, has been removed by Lepsius to the 21st dynasty. See before, p. 287. Bunsen. 3, 135.

² Plut. Is. et Osir. 354 B. gives the name Technatis; Athenæus, x. p. 418, Νεόχαβις.

³ Τοῦτον οὖν διατάξαι τὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλεῖς πάντα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ἐξακριβῶσαι. (Diod. *ibid.*)

⁴ Nat. Anim. 11. 11.

⁵ Περὶ Δυσωπίας, p. 520, E.

ness in the levying of taxes, is seldom a popular virtue in rulers. The celebrity which he enjoyed is hardly reconcilable with the short reign of six years which the lists attribute to him. Eusebius makes his reign to have lasted forty-four years; but this number is suspicious, as being the same which this author attributes both to the 23rd dynasty which precedes and the 25th which follows. The cruel death inflicted by Sabaco on Bocchoris, which appears inconsistent with the humanity ascribed to the Ethiopian conqueror, may be explained, if we suppose that Bocchoris was at first left on the throne in the capacity of a tributary, but revolting, was taken prisoner by Sabaco and then put to death by burning. Herodotus calls the king who was reigning at the time of the Ethiopian invasion, Anysis, and a native of the city of the same name, probably the Hanes of the prophet Isaiah¹, to which, as well as Tanis, the ambassadors of Israel came, seeking an alliance with the king of Egypt, when they were alarmed by the prospect of an Assyrian invasion, in the reign of Sennacherib. According to Herodotus, Anysis was not put to death, but took refuge in the marshes of the Delta. He had made a spot of solid ground of a little more than a mile square, by laying down ashes amidst the muddy soil. These ashes were supplied by the friends, who, unknown to the Ethiopians, brought him provisions. On the retirement of the Ethiopians he issued from his retreat, and resumed his power, after an interval of fifty years. These differences are irreconcilable, but on the whole it appears probable that a considerably longer date is to be allowed to the reign of the immediate predecessor of Sabaco than six years.

¹ **xxx. 4.** See p. 286, 287 of this vol.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty, of three Ethiopian kings.

	Years.	
1. SABACO, reigned	8	Eusebius 12
He took Bocchoris prisoner and burnt him alive.		
2. SEBICHOS (Sevechos) his son	14	Eusebius 12
3. TARKUS (Tarakos, Eus.)	18	Eusebius 20
	—	—
	40	44

The word Ethiopian has so wide a meaning, being applied to the Arab of Yemen, to the Abessinian, the native of Sennaar, Darfur and Kordofan, as well as of Nubia and Dongola, that it is necessary to fix its sense more precisely, in order to conceive rightly of the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians in the latter part of the eighth century before Christ. The seat of the monarchy of Sabaco and his successors was Napata, whose site and remains have been already described¹. It extended as far north as to the island of Argo; the space between that and the Cataracts of Syene must be regarded as a debateable land, which was held by Egypt or Ethiopia according to their relative strength. Under the 18th dynasty we have seen that the valley of the Nile was completely possessed by Egypt, even to the south of the Second Cataract. During the feebleness of the last years of the 23rd and the 24th, it is probable that the Ethiopians had advanced their arms to the very frontiers of Egypt, or even occupied Thebes. How far to the south of Napata the Ethiopian monarchy extended at this time we do not know. It has been commonly supposed that the island of Meroe was its original seat: Herodotus calls the city of Meroe "the metropolis of the other Ethiopians," meaning probably those of the island. No monuments of equal antiquity with those of

¹ Vol. i. p. 13.

Napata have been found in any part of the island¹. Diodorus² says that the city of Meroe was founded by Cambyzes and named after his mother; but Cambyzes never reached so far. In the Persian times the valley of the Nile above the First Cataract was held by the Ethiopians, but as tributaries; the Persian frontier garrison was established in Elephantine. The Ptolemies before Euergetes left Ethiopia in possession of her independence; we find the names of Erkamen (Ergamenes) and Atharaman on the monuments of Lower Nubia³. Under the Romans, in the reign of Augustus, Ethiopia appears again as a powerful monarchy, and Petronius marched to Napata and compelled Candace to submit herself to the emperor.●

The Ethiopians of the eighth century before Christ were little inferior in civilization to the Egyptians themselves. They had a system of hieroglyphical writing identical with the Egyptian, though applied to a different language, and therefore not yet deciphered⁴. The power of the priesthood was greater than even in Egypt, and completely ascendant over the monarchy. Both the historical and the prophetic books of the Jews afford evidence of their military power. They bear a part in the invasions of Palestine; they are joined by Isaiah with the Egyptians when he endeavors to dissuade his countrymen from relying on their aid to resist Assyria. In the 87th Psalm (v. 4) Ethiopia is mentioned along with Egypt, Babylon, Tyre and Philistia, as one of the most illustrious nations⁵. Throughout the prophetic writings the Ethio-

¹ See vol. i. p. 8.

² 1, 83.

³ Vol. i. p. 22, 24.

⁴ It is said that Lepsius has ascertained the language of the Ethiopian inscriptions. Chæremón, who wrote on hieroglyphics about the Christian æra, called them *Ethiopic* letters. His explanations accord in general with modern discovery. See Birch's Remarks on the curious fragment of Chæremón, preserved by Tzetzes, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 3, 384.

⁵ The meaning of the passage evidently is, that though it was an honor to be a native of Egypt, Babylon, or Ethiopia, it was a greater honor to be a native of Zion.

pians are very generally conjoined with Egypt, so as to show that the union between them, produced sometimes by the ascendancy of one country, sometimes of the other, was so close, that their foreign policy was usually the same¹. We are not therefore to consider the subjugation of Egypt by the Ethiopians as if they had fallen under the dominion of a horde of Arabs or Scythians. The *blameless* Ethiopians² is the earliest epithet which the Greeks applied to them; Diodorus³ celebrates the moderation of Actisanes, and the account which Herodotus⁴ gives of Sabaco's retirement from Egypt proves his humanity and reverence for the gods. The dynasty was changed; the head of it either put to death or driven into the marshes of Lower Egypt; but the order of government appears to have suffered little change. No difference of religion or manners embittered the animosity of the two nations; they had been connected by royal intermarriages; Ammon and Osiris were equally honored at Thebes and Meroe⁵; and to the inhabitants of Upper Egypt, the Ethiopians would seem hardly so foreign as the people of Sais.

The Egyptian *history* of Herodotus, if we understand by that word a series of facts connected in chronological order, really begins with the invasion of Sabaco. He himself remarks, that the settlement of the Ionians and Carians in Egypt, in the time of Psammitichus, gave the Greeks an accurate knowledge of all its subsequent history, and the effect would naturally extend upwards also. Herodotus indeed considers the same king Sabaco as reigning through the whole fifty years that the Egyptians kept possession of Egypt; but the similarity of two of the names may partly account for this error, which at all events was not his, since the relation of the departure of Sabaco is evidently formed on the assumption of the identity of the invader with the sovereign who withdrew from the country.

¹ Isa. xx. 5. Nahum iii. 9. Ezek. xxx. 4.

² Il. α', 423.

³ 2, 60.

⁴ 2, 139.

⁵ Her. 2, 29.

The name of SABACO, written *Shabek*, is found at Luxor, with the usual titles of Egyptian sovereignty, on the internal wall of the propyla raised by Rameses-Sesostris¹. The sculptures having been injured, or decayed with time, Sabaco renewed them and substituted his own name for that of Rameses; they indicate that Egyptian art still existed in considerable vigor. A *statuette* of the same king, of the stone called *plume d'émeraude*, is preserved in the Villa Albani at Rome, and his name occurs also as a date on some amulets and small figures from the collection of Anastasy, now in the Louvre. The shield of Sabaco has also been found over a gate of the palace of Karnak, and on some fragments one of which bears the date of his twelfth year. This, according to Eusebius, was the last of his reign; according to the text of Manetho, with which the summation of the years of the dynasty agrees, he reigned only eight years. The name of the succeeding king, however, Sebechus or Sevechus, is evidently the same as Sabaco, which Manetho probably adopted as one already established in history; and the shield at Karnak which has been attributed to the first Ethiopic king may with equal propriety be given to the second, as their phonetic names are written in the same characters², and thus the monuments and the lists will be brought into accordance, the date of the twelfth year being allotted to Sevechus.

Diodorus bestows the highest praise on Sabaco, as surpassing in piety and clemency all his predecessors³. Herodotus agrees in

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, 107; 4, 175, 177. Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 363. The name also occurs (Rosellini, 2, 108) on monuments of private persons, who call themselves natives of Cush.

² See Bunsen, *Plates of 25th Dynasty*, Nos. 1 & 2.

³ His account of Actisanes has the air of being a confused tradition of *this* Ethiopian conquest; the only circumstance which he definitely mentions concerning his reign is, that he did not put criminals to death, but banished them to Rhinocolura on the confines of Syria (1, 60).

representing him as having abolished the punishment of death, and substituted for it compulsory labor on public works¹. They were such as in the more glorious days of the monarchy had been performed by foreign prisoners. The increase in the rise of the Nile since the reign of Sesostris, had made it necessary to add to the height of the embankments which prevented the towns of Lower Egypt from being laid under water at the time of the inundation. He also employed culprits in excavating canals. The circumstances of his retirement from Egypt, as related by both historians, indicate that the priests bore subjection to a foreign power impatiently and caballed for its overthrow. He dreamt that a figure standing over him in his sleep, counselled him to collect all the priests in Egypt together and cut them to pieces². Sabaco perceived in this a design on the part of the gods to entice him to the commission of an act of impiety which should bring on his ruin. He had been told by the oracles of Ethiopia that he should reign over Egypt fifty years, and being disturbed by the dream he determined voluntarily to withdraw into Ethiopia. As related of the Ethiopian king who had invaded Egypt this cannot be true; but the subsequent elevation of a priest of Memphis to supreme power makes it probable that the sacerdotal order of that city, controlled in their ascendancy, had placed the Ethiopian sovereigns in the dilemma of yielding to them or undertaking their extermination. No memorials of any of this dynasty except Tirhakah have been found in Lower Egypt, though it is evident from the account of the raising of the mounds that it was subject to Sabaco.

It is related in the Second Book of Kings (xvii. 4), that Hoshea,

¹ Herod. 2, 137.

² Μίτρους διαρπίζειν, Her. 2, 139. Diodorus adds, διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν διέλθῃ περὶ τῆς Θεβακίας. (1, 65), a circumstance which seems to have been added from the story of Xerxes (Her. 7, 40), who commanded the eldest son of Pythius, whom he had endeavored to beg off from military service, to be cut in two pieces, which were fixed on either side of the line of march.

king of Israel, who had become tributary to Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had entered into a secret alliance with Seva, the king of Egypt, the SEVECHUS of Manetho¹, and relying on his assistance, "had brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year;" for which the king of Assyria put him in prison. and after a three years' siege took Samaria and carried the people captive into Assyria and Media. This, according to the Jewish Chronology, took place in the year 722 B.C., the ninth of Hoshea's reign. The kings of the Ethiopian dynasty would naturally enter into the policy of the native kings of Egypt, which evidently was to uphold the power of Israel and Judah, the only barrier between themselves and the warlike and aggressive empire of the Assyrians. It is probable that the rapid movements of Shalmaneser, who had an ally in the king of Judah, anticipated the aid which Sevechus had engaged to furnish to Hoshea; but the very brief narrative of the Book of Kings gives us no details. Many of the Israelites avoided the captivity which threatened them, by taking refuge in the friendly territory of Egypt, while others even penetrated into Ethiopia, and from this time forward there seems always to have been a considerable body of Jews in the eastern side of Egypt, speaking their own language, practising their own religious rites, and exciting the bigotry of the native Egyptians². The prophet Isaiah³ anticipates the time when the remnant of the people should be recalled "from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros (the Thebaid), and from Cush," and in glowing language describes Jehovah as drying up the gulf of the Red Sea, smiting the seven channels of the Nile, and making a highway through the Desert, that they might return without danger or delay.

TIRHAKAH, the Tarcus or Taracus of Manetho, the Tearco of Strabo⁴, succeeded Sevechus. His name, written Tarhak or Tarhaka, is found on the internal face of the pylon of a building

¹ נִיִּב which without the points may be read *Seva*.

² Isaiah xix. 18, foll.

³ xi. 11.

⁴ B. 1, p. 61.

erected at Medinet Abou by Thothmes IV.¹ and at Gebel-el-Birkel, with the date of his twentieth year, which, according to Eusebius, must have been the last of his sovereignty over Egypt. Other inscriptions remain in which he is mentioned, but they give us no other knowledge concerning him than the name of his queen and of the nurse of his daughter. The Egypto-Ethiopian monarchy must have been very powerful, though Memphis had been given up to Sethos. Strabo speaks of him as rivalling Sesostris in the extent of his foreign expeditions, and as having reached the Pillars of Hercules². These are evident exaggerations, but they prove the historical fame of Tirhakah, and may have had their foundation in an expedition into Western Africa, of which the Phœnician colonies were the object and limit. The narrative of the expedition of Sennacherib against Judæa and Egypt indicates the opinion entertained of his power. The king of Assyria was dissatisfied with the conduct of Hezekiah, who, after having paid him a heavy contribution in gold and silver, was meditating defection in hope of aid from Egypt. He had taken all the strong places of Judah, and from Lachish, a town in the plain of Sephela, on the road to Egypt, which he was besieging, he sent a powerful detachment with a threatening message to Hezekiah³. The king himself and the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with alarm; but Isaiah encouraged them by a prediction, that Sennacherib "should hear a rumor and return to his own land⁴." This rumor was evidently of the march of Tirhakah to the relief of Judæa, the expectation of which had emboldened Hezekiah to withdraw the submission

¹ Rosellini, *M. Stor.* 2, 109.

² B. 1, p. 61; 15, p. 687.

³ Isaiah xxxvi. xxxvii.; 2 Kings xviii. xix.

⁴ The common Translation has, "I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumor and return to his own land," in which there appears to be a reference to the miraculous destruction of his army. But this is an error. Archbishop Secker and Bishop Lowth translate the passage, "I will infuse a spirit into him," and explain it, "a spirit of cowardice"

which he had recently made. The narrative, however, implies that there was another power in Egypt on which Hezekiah relied; for Sennacherib in his taunting message says, "On whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me? Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it; so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all who trust in him." Now we learn from Herodotus that after the retirement of "the Ethiopian" from Egypt, and the resumption of power by the king who had fled into the marshes, Sethos, a priest of Hephaistos, made himself king, probably only of part of Lower Egypt. He treated the warrior caste, not only with contempt, but with injustice, endeavoring to deprive them of the lands which preceding kings had allotted to them. The consequence was that when Sennacherib, whom Herodotus calls king of the Assyrians and Arabians, invaded Egypt, the military refused to march against him. The priest, reduced to despair, went into the sanctuary of his god, and lamented to him his condition. In the midst of his lamentations he fell asleep, and a dream came over him, in which the god appeared to stand beside him and exhort him to fear nothing from an encounter with the Arabians, for that he would send him defenders. Relying on the dream, Sethos marched to meet the enemy, attended by those of the Egyptians who chose to go. But none of the military joined him; his forces were composed of men altogether unused to warfare, tradesmen and artificers, and the loose population of a great city¹. With such troops Sennacherib might well describe him as a broken reed, and warn Hezekiah of the folly of trusting to his succor. Similar warnings not to trust in the power of Egypt are given by the prophet himself in the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters, which notwithstanding the place in which they now stand, appear to refer to this alliance, and indicate that Lower Egypt was the seat of the power with

¹ Ἐπεσθαι οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένᾳ ἀνδρῶν, κατῆλους δὲ καὶ χειρῶνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. (Her. 2, 141.)

whom it was made. Sethos encamped, however, near Pelusium, to defend the entrance of Egypt. The narrative of Scripture does not speak of Sennacherib's advancing so far as Pelusium; but both Libna and Lachish were on the way from Jerusalem to Egypt, and it was natural that if he apprehended an attack from that quarter, he should send a portion of his troops to seize Pelusium, which was equally the key of Egypt and of Palestine. He could do it the more safely as he had already reduced the Arabians, who had possession of the south-western coast of Palestine and the Desert, through which an army must pass¹. No battle, however, ensued; during the night an immense multitude of field mice covered the encampment of the Assyrians and gnawed the strings of their bows and the straps of their shields. Finding themselves thus left defenceless, in the morning they betook themselves to flight, and many were slain by the Egyptians. A statue of Sethos was set up in the temple of Hephaistos, holding a mouse in his hand, with this inscription, "Whosoever looks on me, let him be pious." We can have no doubt from whom Herodotus derived his tale—the priests of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. The mouse was an emblem of destruction², and it may be that the narrative of the defeat of Sennacherib's army owed its specific form to this circumstance. We must believe that in the time of Herodotus the temple of Memphis contained such a statue as he describes³; but that it was the statue of Sethos, or that the inscription meant what his guides told him, is not equally certain. The Jewish account is

¹ Comp. Herod. 3, 4–10.

² Ἀφανισμὸν δηλοῦντες μὲν ζωγραφοῦσιν ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐσθίων μίαινει καὶ ἀχρηστοί. (Horap. Hierog. 1, 50.) The mouse is produced in sudden and extraordinary numbers in Egypt, and causes great destruction. (Æl. Hist. Anim. 6, 41.) The ancients were not satisfied without exaggerating their destructive powers, and the story of their gnawing bowstrings is told of other places. (Strabo, 13, p. 604.)

³ Καὶ νῦν σῆτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λείοντος (2 111)

more faithful than the Egyptian, inasmuch as it notices the rumor of Tirhakah's expedition, while the Egyptian makes the cause of the Assyrians' retreat wholly supernatural. Pestilence and panic appear to have combined in bringing it about¹. The flight of Sennacherib probably put a stop to the march of Tirhakah. Whether he ended his days as sovereign of the Thebais, or retired into Ethiopia and continued to reign there, we do not know; but it is evident that the seat of his power must have been in Upper Egypt, when the rumor of his coming could produce such a sudden retreat of the Assyrians.

The two circumstances which characterize the reign of Sethos, the usurpation of supreme power by a priest, and the degradation of the military caste, indicate a decay of the ancient constitution of Egypt. That the increase of population in the great towns of Lower Egypt, the consequence of the fertility of the soil and the growth of commerce, should have made the civil element much more important than it had been in the flourishing days of the monarchy, was natural. It was not less natural that this rise of the commercial and working class should be attended with a change in the military system. Widely different as the Calasirians and Hermotybians were in many respects from the Geomori of Athens before the time of Solon, and the Hippeis and Zeugitæ of his constitution, from the original Plebs of Rome and the Feudal army of the Middle Ages—in one respect they all agreed; landed property and military service were conjoined. And all these, in process of time, yielded up their exclusive right to bear arms, and admitted into partnership with them in this function, the mixed multitude whom the progress of society engenders in flourishing towns. At Athens the change was brought about by the rise of its naval

¹ "The Assyrian shall fall by a sword, not of man;

Yea, a sword, not of mortal, shall devour him:

And he shall betake himself to flight from the face of the sword.

And the courage of his chosen men shall fail."—Is. xxxi. 8.

power, which transferred the chief strength of the state from the land to the sea. At Rome the cultivators of the soil were not sufficient to supply the demand of a military republic, and employment and pay were needed for the city population. In modern Europe the rise of the cities was everywhere accompanied with a more promiscuous constitution of the military force, and at no long interval with the establishment of mercenary troops. We know not how the elevation of Sethos took place; but it is evident that he relied on the town population as the instruments of his design of depressing the ancient military body. His power appears to have been exercised tyrannically; for Herodotus speaks of the Egyptians as being *set free* after his reign¹. He notices no anarchy as supervening upon his death, but his usurpation and his encroachments on the military order render it abundantly probable; and Diodorus informs us that it actually took place², and assigns two years as its duration. The nineteenth chapter of Isaiah, written about this time, perhaps towards the close of Sethos' usurpation, foretells a state of complete anarchy and the consequent depopulation and impoverishment of the country, to be succeeded, as anarchy usually is, by the reign of a despotic monarch. "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom. And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord, and a fierce king shall rule over them. In that day shall Egypt be like unto women; and it shall be afraid and fear, because of the shaking of the hand of the Lord of Hosts, which he hath determined against it. And the land of Judah shall be a terror unto Egypt; every one that

¹ 2, 147. Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱερεῖα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διατεῖσθαι) ἐστῆσαντο δυνάσκει βασιλέως.

² 1, 66. He places it immediately after the retirement of the Ethiopian, and does not mention Sethos.

maketh mention thereof shall be afraid in himself." We know of no period in Egyptian history to which this description is at all applicable, except that which Diodorus designates as the anarchy¹. The effects which it is described as producing on the condition of Egypt, however, seem to indicate a longer duration than two years, and Diodorus is never a safe guide in chronology.

The invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib took place 713 B. C., and this fixes a date for the reigns of Sethos at Memphis and Tirhakah in the Thebaid and Ethiopia. The chronology of the two centuries and a half between the invasion of Sheshonk and that of Sennacherib, cannot be settled in detail, from the variations in the lists and the chasms in the series of the monuments. Supposing Sheshonk to have invaded Judæa in the beginning of his reign, the 21st dynasty to have lasted 116 years, according to Manetho, the 22nd, 89 years, the 24th, 6 years, and the 25th, 40, these numbers (116 + 89 + 6 + 40) amount to 251, a coincidence sufficiently close to show that Manetho is substantially correct. Eusebius makes them (49 + 44 + 44 + 44) 181 years.

Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Nine Saite kings.

AFRICANUS.

	Years.
1. STEPHINATES, reigned	7
2. NECHEPSOS	8
3. NECHAO	8
4. PSAMMITICHUS	54
5. NECHAO II.	6
He took Jerusalem and carried Jehoash the king captive into Egypt.	
6. PSAMMUTHIS II.	6

¹ Gesenius on Is. xix. refers the delivery of the prophecy to the time of Psammitichus; but Isaiah began to prophesy in the reign of Uzziah, who died 757 B. C., and cannot have been contemporary with Psammitichus.

	Years.
7. UAPHRIS	19
To him the remnant of the Jews fled when the Assyrians took Jerusalem.	
8. AMOSIS	44
9. PSAMMECHERITES	6 months.
	150 6 m.

EUSEBIUS.

	Years.
1. AMMERIS, the Ethiopian, reigned	12 (Arm. 18)
2. STEPHINATHIS	7
3. NECHEPSOS	6
4. NECHAO	8
5. PSAMMITICHUS	45 (Arm. 44)
6. NECHAO II.	6
7. PSAMMUTHIS II. who is also Psammitichus	17
8. UAPHRIS	25
9. AMOSIS	42
	168

We find the list of Manetho beginning with three names before that of Psammitichus, whom Herodotus and Diodorus represent as raising himself to the throne when he had put down the Dodecarchia. It seems to have been his principle to admit of no interregnum; he takes cognizance neither of the anarchy of which Diodorus speaks, nor of the subsequent agreement among the chiefs of the principal cities, but makes Stephinates found the 26th dynasty immediately on the cessation of the 25th or Ethiopian. The list of Eusebius gives a fourth Ethiopian king, Ammeris, who is certainly misplaced at the head of the Saitic dynasty, but may have been transposed from the close of the Ethiopian. In this case we must regard the Ethiopian power as continuing to maintain itself at Thebes, while Sethos called himself king at Memphis, and another power, seated at Sais, claimed to be the depositary of legi-

timate authority. No such king as Ammeres has been found in the monuments of Thebes¹.

We are not informed in what relation this new dynasty of Saite kings stood to Bocchoris the Saite, whom Sabaco deposed and put to death ; but in the statement of Herodotus², that the blind king who had fled into the island of Elbo in the marshes, when the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, returned when they retired, we may probably trace the fact, that Sais still claimed the sovereignty over the district of Lower Egypt in which it stood, during the whole time of the Ethiopian dominion. Thus Egypt was truly divided, "every one against his neighbor, city against city, kingdom against kingdom," the upper country being under the dominion of the Ethiopians, Sethos ruling at Memphis, and over the country towards the frontiers of Palestine, and the Saitic nome and western mouths of the Nile, near one of which Elbo stood, being under the sway of the princes from whom Psammitichus descended. That hostile relations existed between them and the Ethiopians is evident from the account of Herodotus, that Necho the father of Psammitichus had been put to death by Sabaco³. This cannot have been literally true ; but we have seen that to Herodotus the name of Sabaco represented the whole Ethiopic dynasty, which, as enlarged by the addition of Ammeres, will occupy the space from Sabaco to Necho. The first act recorded of this dynasty was the putting of Bocchoris the Saite to death ; the last, a similar act of violence towards the Saite Necho. This is a reasonable presumption that during this whole time Sais maintained at least a claim of independence, and will explain its subsequent elevation to the supremacy over all Egypt.

The ruins of Ssa, the ancient Sais, attest its former grandeur ; the wall of crude brick which surrounded the principal buildings

¹ Bunsen, B. 2, 139. Lepsius has discovered at Thebes a queen *Amnerith*, whose name, he thinks, might give rise to that of Ammeres,

² 2, 140.

³ 2, 152.

of the city was seventy feet thick, and therefore probably not less than 100 feet in height. It encloses an area 2325 feet in length, by 1960 in breadth, and traces appear in it of the lake in which according to Herodotus the mysteries of Osiris were performed; of the temple of Minerva, and the tombs of the Saitic kings. There are also beyond this enclosure two large cemeteries, one for the interment of the privileged classes, the other of the common people¹. The site, however, has been very imperfectly explored by modern travellers, and much may remain undiscovered which will throw light on the history of the last dynasty of the independent Pharaohs. The names of Stephinates, Necepsos and Nechao I. have not yet been found on any monument.

Herodotus, when he resumes the history of Egypt after the reign of Sethos, remarks that from this time forward he shall relate that in which the Egyptians and other nations agree². Previously to this time there was no other testimony to control the accounts which the "Egyptians and the priests" gave of their own history³: no Greek had advanced beyond Naucratis, and no record was left even of the imperfect knowledge of Egypt which they might thus have gained. The effect is immediately visible, and we have henceforth a definite chronology, an authentic succession of kings conformable to the monuments, and a history composed of credible facts. He thus relates the circumstances which led to the establishment of the monarchy of Psammitichus:—"Being freed after the government of Sethos the priest of Hephaistos, the Egyptians, who never could live without a king, set up for themselves twelve kings, dividing all Egypt into twelve parts. These kings gave one another mutual rights of intermarriage⁴, and entered into an agreement to abstain from all acts of aggression and live in entire friendship. The reason of their binding themselves so strictly

¹ Wilkinson, *Mod. Eg. & Thebes*, 1, 183. Champollion, *Lettres*, 50-53.

² 2, 147.

³ 2, 142.

⁴ Probably agreeing not to marry out of the twelve families.

was, that when they entered on their several sovereignties, an oracle had declared that whichever of them should offer a libation to Hephaistos with a brazen helmet¹ would be the king of all Egypt. It was to this temple that they all repaired in a body. For a long time all observed faithfully the terms of their alliance. But it happened one day that as they were sacrificing, the chief priest brought out only eleven vessels of libation instead of twelve, and that Psammitichus, who stood last in the row, took off his brazen helmet, received the sacred wine in it, and poured it out in libation. He had no sinister design—all the other kings had helmets and were wearing them at the time. But the oracle was brought to their mind, and though upon examining Psammitichus they found that he was innocent of any evil purpose and therefore could not put him to death, they determined to strip him of the chief part of his power, and confine him to the marshes on the coast², from which he was not to go out into any other part of Egypt. In the former part of his life Psammitichus had been an exile in Syria, his father Necho having been put to death by Sabaco; and the people of the Saitic nome had brought him back and replaced him in the sovereignty. Feeling himself to have been treated with great injustice by the eleven kings, he sought the means of being avenged, and sent from his retreat to consult the oracle of Latona at Buto, which had the reputation of being the most truthful in all Egypt. He received in answer from the oracle a prediction 'that he should have retribution on his enemies by means of brazen men appearing from the sea.' That brazen men should come to his aid appeared to him a thing utterly incredible; but not long after, some Ionians and Carians who had sailed on a piratical expedition were driven by stress of weather to the coast

¹ This is only another form of the same impression on the mind of the Egyptians, produced by subsequent events, that the brazen-armed foreigners were to be the means of overthrowing the Dodecarchia.

² Diod. 1, 66. προστάξει διευτρίβειν ἐν ταῖς ἑλατὶ τοῖς παρὰ θάλατταν.

of Egypt, and landing in their complete suits of brazen armor began to plunder the country. An Egyptian who had never before seen men in a panoply of brass, hastened into the marshes to Psammitichus with the intelligence that brazen men had come from the sea. He at once recognized the fulfilment of the oracle, engaged the Ionians and Carians in his service by magnificent promises, and with the assistance of the Egyptians who favored his cause, he defeated the other dodecarchs¹." It was natural that the authority of an oracle should be pleaded for a proceeding so repugnant to Egyptian feeling as the engagement of a body of foreign mercenaries to fight against native Egyptians, but we can hardly believe that their appearance was accidental as the story represents. It is evident, from the account of Diodorus, that Psammitichus, who, by his possession of Sais and of course Naucratis, had the readiest access to the sea, had encouraged the visits of Phœnicians and Greeks², and had excited the jealousy of his colleagues not only by the wealth he thus acquired, but by the friendly relations which he had established with foreigners. In regard to mythic times, the tendency of Diodorus and the authors of his age to find historical explanations for everything makes their accounts suspicious. But on the other hand, Herodotus is disposed to attribute to dreams, oracles and prodigies what had its origin in political causes. The mention of Carians renders it probable that the Ionians here spoken of were Milesians, whose territory was surrounded by that of the Carians, pirates and rovers from the earliest times. The Milesians had visited Egypt for half a century before the Dodecarchia, and nothing could be more natural than that Psammi-

¹ There was another version of the oracle, that Tementhas, one of the dodecarchs, had been warned to beware of cocks, and that Psammitichus, understanding this of the crests of the Carian helmets (Her. 1, 171), immediately engaged them. (Polyæn. Strat. 7, 3.)

² Ἐκ τε τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Κυρίας καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας μισθοφόρους μεταπεμψάμενος (Diod. 1, 66.)

tichus, a native of Sais, should engage their services, when he had been deprived of his share of the government by the injustice of his colleagues. He had not trusted to Greek mercenaries alone; during his exile under the Ethiopian sway he had formed connexions with the Arabians who border on Egypt and Palestine, and Diodorus tells us that he had sent for them, and that they composed a part of the forces with which he overthrew the Dodecarchs. The battle was fought at Momemphis¹ near the Canopic branch of the Nile, and on the shore of the Lake Mareotis. Some of the dodecarchs were slain; the rest escaped into Libya, near the borders of which the battle took place.

According to Herodotus, the dodecarchs while they lived together in peace conceived the wish to leave a joint memorial of themselves, and in fulfilment of this design built a labyrinth² near the Lake Mœris, and not far from the town of Crocodilopolis. It is evident from other passages of his history³ that he did not possess an aptitude for measuring the proportion between causes and effects, otherwise he would not have attributed such a work to a period of divided power and no very long duration. We know that Ammenemes was the founder of the Labyrinth; its different parts had their several uses—sepulchres of the sacred crocodiles—halls of assembly for the different nomes—temples in which the tutelary gods of each might be worshipped. It is more probable that the story of its having been built by the Dodecarchs originated in the number of the principal courts being twelve, answering either to the months of the year or the chief gods of the Pan-

¹ Called *Panouf* by the Copts, and *Menouf* by the Arabs (Champollion, *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, 2, 252.)

² In the time of Herodotus it was a *common* name for a building or excavation of a great variety of passages. He does not call it The Labyrinth, but "a labyrinth," "this labyrinth."

³ For instance, his believing that the Lake Mœris had been excavated and the earth thrown into the Nile. (2, 150.)

theon, or to the original number of the nomes¹. Diodorus, who ascribes the building of the Labyrinth to Mendes or Marrus, before the Trojan war², makes the building begun by the Dodecarchs to be distinct from it, yet apparently on the same site. The Labyrinth was remarkable for the multiplicity of its rooms and passages; the mausoleum of the Dodecarchs for a large peristyle hall, and apartments adorned with pictures, representing the religious rites of the district to which the chiefs severally belonged. The work was left unfinished at the dissolution of the Dodecarchy. Perhaps antiquarian research may show that the remains are of two different ages, and thus justify Diodorus.

PSAMMITICHUS I. (670 B. C.), having established himself in power by means of his foreign allies and a portion of the Egyptian people, fulfilled the promises by which he had engaged them to assist him. He allotted them a district on the Pelusiæ branch of the Nile, a little nearer to the sea than the city of Bubastis, and allowed them to construct fortifications. His foreign mercenaries and the native Egyptians who had joined him³ were stationed on opposite sides of the river—a necessary precaution, as even their engagement in the same service could hardly have prevented hostilities between them; such was the contempt of the Greeks for Egyptian superstition, and the horror of the Egyptians for Grecian usages⁴. As the Phœnicians had borne a part in establishing him on the throne, it is probable that their settlement at Memphis, in what was called the Tyrian Camp, dates from the same time⁵. It was in great measure commercial, or if meant for warlike purposes was a naval station; but that of the Greeks and Egyptians was

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 787, 811.

² 1, 61.

³ Τοῖσι Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος· τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτίθη Στρατόπεδα. (Her. 2, 154.) Compare τοῖσι μετ' ἑωυτοῦ βουλευμένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι (2, 152).

⁴ Her. 2, 41.

⁵ Her. 2, 112.

evidently designed to form a body of troops on whom he might rely for the maintenance of his throne, to which the ancient militia of the country, the Calasirians and Hermotybians, were made to give way. The Ionians and Carians would no doubt receive accessions by fresh immigration; in the reign of Apries they amounted to 30,000 men¹. Amasis subsequently removed them to Memphis, that they might aid him more effectually against the Egyptians; but their docks, and the foundations of their houses, were still to be seen at their original settlement in the time of Herodotus².

Psammitichus also caused Egyptian children to be placed under the instruction of the Greeks, that they might become masters of the language, and they and their descendants became, after the model of Egyptian life, a *γένος* or hereditary caste of Interpreters. It is important to remark that the Greeks never appear to have acquired the Egyptian language, but to have depended entirely upon native interpreters. Their knowledge might have been much more comprehensive and accurate, had they been able to converse with the inhabitants, to check the accounts which they received from their *dragoman* by their own inquiry, to test the correctness of the popular explanations of names, and cross-question an informant who might be inclined to impose on the ignorance of a stranger. Unfortunately the Greeks in all ages disdained the acquirement of *barbarous* tongues. Herodotus, with all his zeal for knowledge, does not appear in his wide journeyings to have learned more than a chance word or two of the languages of the countries which he visited. For commercial and political purposes they used interpreters, who were commonly not Greeks, but barbarians speaking Greek³. No Greek philosopher ever condescended to study another language than his own for ethnographical or

¹ Her. 2, 163.

² 2, 154.

³ Timesitheus, the Trapezuntian, addresses the Mosynœci in their own language (Xen. Anab. 5, 4), but he was the Proxenus of their nation.

philological purposes¹. The versatile Greek intellect cannot have wanted aptitude for such attainments; but the perfection of their own language in sound and structure would make those of Asia and Egypt seem harsh and clumsy. The caste of interpreters in Egypt was probably formed from the lowest people; Herodotus places them last but one in his enumeration², immediately before the pilots, with whom Egyptians would hold no intercourse³; they possessed no knowledge of the character with which the monuments of Egypt were covered; but being compelled to satisfy the curiosity of the Greeks, they gave such superficial explanations as might correspond with their most obvious features. Before the Persian conquest, very few Greeks penetrated into Upper Egypt. Those who came for commercial purposes would be attracted to Sais; those who, like Thales, or Pythagoras, or Solon, sought scientific knowledge, would find it at Sais, Heliopolis and Memphis⁴. The old national feeling of the Egyptians, which had been weakened in Lower Egypt by commercial intercourse, subsisted in all its intensity in the Upper country, where, except the kindred Ethiopian, the face of a stranger was rarely seen.

No monument of any magnitude, bearing the name of Psammitichus, remains in Egypt, but it is evident that the whole of that country was subject to him, as his shield is found in the palace at Karnak and in a little island of granite in the Nile near Philæ. In the quarry of Tourah⁵, the design of a monolithical shrine

¹ Pythagoras is said (Diog. Laert. 8, 3) to have learnt the Egyptian language.

² 2, 164.

³ Plut. *Ia. et Osir.* p. 363. Κυβερνήτας οὐ προσαγορεύουσι, ὅτι χρώνται θαλάσσης.

⁴ The account of Pythagoras having been recommended by Amasis to the priests of Heliopolis, and by them put off with a reference to the priests of Memphis, and again by them to those of Thebes, rests on the authority of Antipho, recorded by Porphyry.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 118. Champollion-Figeac, *l'Univers*, p. 367

intended to be excavated is traced on the rock in red paint, and the cornice bears the shield of Psammitichus. Works of his reign are found in several of the European museums, but by far the most remarkable record of the state of the arts is the obelisk which stands in the Monte Citorio at Rome. It was brought by Augustus from Egypt as a memorial of its reduction under the Roman power, and set up in the Campus Martius to serve as a gnomon, the length of the shadow on the pavement which surrounded it marking the longest and shortest and all intermediate days of the year¹. It bears the phonetic and titular shields of Psammitichus I. It is about seventy feet in height; the sculpture, if compared with the work of Thothmes III. at St. John Lateran, or Menephthah and Rameses in the Piazza del Popolo, appears inferior in execution, the figures being less deeply and finely cut. Yet when we consider that nearly 700 years had elapsed between the latest of these sovereigns and Psammitichus, we shall be astonished that art had declined so little. About an equal length of time intervenes between the execution of the obelisk of Psammitichus and those of Vespasian and Titus in the Piazza Navona; but in these the inferiority of execution is obvious; the characters are rather scratched than cut upon the granite, and the design is cumbrous and incorrect. The obelisk appears to have been brought from Heliopolis, but Psammitichus' principal works were intended for the embellishment of Memphis. It is probable that an *epiphaneia* or manifestation of Apis took place about the time of his obtaining the sovereignty, and to gratify the people of Memphis he built a splendid court in which he might be shown to his worshippers. It was in front of the propylæa of the temple of Ptah², which Psammitichus also built, and was surrounded with a colonnade, in which colossal figures, twelve cubits in height, supplied the place of pil-

¹ Plin. N. H. 36, 10. Zoega, p. 612.

² Strabo, 17 807.

lars¹. The priests who had the charge of Apis brought him forth into this court, that he might be offered food by his votaries, and an omen be drawn from his favorable or unfavorable reception of it.

As Psammitichus had obtained the throne by means of foreign mercenaries, he trusted to them for its support, increased their numbers, and gave them precedence in honor above the native troops. This produced discontent and ultimately revolt on the part of the Calasirians and Hermotybians. Its immediate occasion is variously reported. One of his military enterprises was the siege of Azotus or Ashdod. This town, one of the five called in Scripture "cities of the Philistines," appears to have been a place of great size and importance², and the key of Palestine to an invading force from the side of Egypt. It included a harbor and an inland fortress³ like Gaza, which lay a little nearer to Egypt, and in the age of Psammitichus appears to have had the same place in military importance for the attack of Palestine from Egypt, or Egypt from Palestine, as Gaza in the age of Alexander the Great, who did not venture to pass on to Egypt till he had taken it⁴. Azotus belonged to the Philistines, but it was not their power which enabled it to resist so long the arms of Psammitichus. We find from the prophecies of Isaiah⁵ that it had been besieged and taken by Tartan, the general of Sargon king of Assyria. This king is not elsewhere named in history, and it is therefore difficult to say whether he preceded or followed Sennacherib; but as we know the

¹ Sir G. Wilkinson has given a drawing illustrative of it. (Manners and Customs, 1, Frontispiece.)

² Τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν. (Her. 2, 157.)

³ Ἀζωτος παράλος, Ἀζωτος. (Excerpta ex Not. Patriarchat. in Reland. Palæst. 215.)

⁴ Arrian, 2, *ad fin.* The strength of Gaza was so great that Alexander's engineers pronounced it to be impregnable.

⁵ Isaiah xx.

succession of Assyrian kings pretty accurately after Sennacherib, the probability is that he was his immediate predecessor, reigning only for a short time. Tartan was in the service of Sennacherib, and was one of the envoys sent by him to Hezekiah when he invaded Judæa and meditated the conquest of Egypt¹. Probably the Assyrians had ever since kept a garrison in Azotus, and hence the obstinate defence which it made. Herodotus says it lasted twenty-nine years², but we can only understand by this, that from the commencement of the siege to the capture twenty-nine years elapsed, and it would be suspended during the invasion of the Scythians. It was in these operations in Syria that, according to Diodorus, who however does not specifically mention the siege of Azotus, Psammitichus offended his Egyptian troops, by allotting to the mercenaries the post of honor in the right wing. Herodotus gives a different account. He says that in the reign of this king garrisons were stationed in Elephantine against the Ethiopians, in Daphne near Pelusium against the Arabians and Syrians, and in Marea against the Libyans, to the number in all of 240,000 men. For three years these garrisons were not relieved, and the soldiers having communicated with one another, all revolted from Psammitichus and marched away into Ethiopia. Diodorus calculates their numbers at 200,000. Both authors agree in representing the king as hastening after them and endeavoring to prevail on them to return. But he was unsuccessful. When he implored them not to forsake their country and the temples of their gods, their wives and their children, they all raised a shout, and clattering with their spears upon their shields, declared that while they were men and had arms in their hands, they should never want a country, nor wives and children³. According to Herodotus, on reaching Ethiopia they gave themselves up to the king, and he being in hostility

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 17.

² Ἀζωτον ἐνός δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτια προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλε. (2, 157.)

³ Diod. 2, 67

with a portion of the inhabitants, assigned their territory to the Egyptians who conquered and took possession of it. "And by their settlement," says the historian, "the Ethiopians became humanized, learning Egyptian manners'."

As the Romans garrisoned Elephantine with three cohorts only², we cannot readily believe that 240,000 or 200,000 men should have been distributed through three frontier towns of the kingdom of Psammitichus. Neither is it very credible, that, separated by 600 miles, as those at Elephantine were from their comrades at Marea and Pelusium, they should have concerted a revolt which took Psammitichus so much by surprise, that he could not come up with the deserters till they had passed the frontier of Ethiopia. Two hundred thousand men with arms in their hands, aggrieved by spoliation and indignity, would not surely have withdrawn so peaceably from their country. It is evident that Herodotus and Diodorus have taken some old traditionary numbers of the Egyptian militia as representing their force in the reign of Psammitichus. The fact of the dissatisfaction and revolt is unquestionable, but we shall probably be near the truth if we suppose that it was only the troops in garrison on the Ethiopian frontier who migrated. The unobstructed march of 60,000 or 80,000 men from Marea and Pelusium to Nubia is incredible; but if the garrison of Elephantine mutinied and deserted, owing to their being left so long without relief, it might well happen that Psammitichus could not overtake them till they had proceeded far on their way. He may not have been much displeased that the most turbulent of his ancient soldiery had withdrawn so quietly. Peter the Great and Sultan Mahmoud were not able to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of the Strelitzes and the Janissaries, except by their extermination.

¹ Τοῦτων δὲ ἰσοκισθέντων ἐς τοῦς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γενέσθαι Αἰθίοπες, ἴθις μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια. (Her. 2, 30.)

² Sharpe, Egypt under the Romans, p. 14.

The place in which the deserters (Automoli) settled is said by Herodotus to be as remote from Meroe, as Meroe from Elephantine, and along the course of the Nile¹. Now fifty-six days' navigation up the Nile from Meroe would carry us very far beyond every trace of that Egyptian civilization which Herodotus declares that the Ethiopians received from the Egyptian deserters. In fact no such traces are found further south than lat. 16°, which is within the limits of the island of Meroe itself. The king of the Ethiopians by whom they were received, and who gave them permission to conquer themselves a settlement within his dominions, was probably a successor of Sabaco and Tirhakah, having his capital, not at the Meroe of later geography, but at Napata; nor does it necessarily follow that they proceeded so far as Napata before they received his commands. Diodorus says they took possession of some of the best land in Ethiopia and divided it among them. Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pliny², all mention them, but with such variations as to their position, that it is evident they wrote from no certain knowledge. Herodotus tells us that the Automoli bore the name of *Asmach*, which signifies "those who stand on the left hand of the king;" Diodorus attributes their emigration to their displeasure at being posted on the *left* wing in an expedition into Syria³; both accounts being probably etymological conjectures, founded on the circumstance that a people called Euonymitæ (*left*), of Egyptian origin, dwelt between Ethiopia and Egypt. We cannot avoid the suspicion that the distance of the country to which they emigrated, as well as their numbers, has been greatly exaggerated, that their real settlement was near the Second Cataract⁴, and that they were

¹ Ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πλείων, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῃ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους, ἐν ὁσῷ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητροπόλιν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν.

² Strab. 17, 786. Plin. 6, 30.

³ Her. 2, 30. Diod. 1, 67.

⁴ Pliny, on the authority of Nero's *exploratores*, places the Euonymitæ on the frontier of Ethiopia towards Egypt, between the Second Cataract and the island Gagaudes, probably Argo. Agathemerus places them on the west

referred to a region far south of Meroe, not because any traces of Egyptian civilization were found there, but in deference to the authority of Herodotus. Those from whom he received his account had made no better estimate of the difficulties of a march to a country fifty-six days' sail south of Meroe, than those who represented Darius as having marched from the Danube to the Wolga; and the historian was not the man to correct such tales by applying the tests of time and space.

Psammitichus, relieved by the departure of his discontented troops, applied himself more diligently to the internal arrangements of his kingdom, the collection of taxes, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Greeks, especially the Athenians. Egypt, formerly the most inhospitable of all countries towards strangers, now opened all her harbors to them¹. The king caused his own sons to be instructed in Greek learning. The intercourse of Sais and Athens would be promoted by their worship of the same deity, and the opinion ultimately sprung up, though in a much later age, that Cecrops had led a colony from Sais to Athens². It is characteristic of a time when there was a great increase of intercourse with foreign nations, that a rivalry in antiquity should have existed, which led Psammitichus to make his experiment of educating two new-born children apart from men, and watching to what language their first vocal utterance would

or left bank of the Nile, above the Second Cataract, adding the name *Schridæ* as coming next to them. Stephanus Byzantinus says they are an Egyptian nation on the borders of Ethiopia. (Pliny, 6, 35. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Εὐωνυμίται*. Agath. Geog. Min. 2, 5. Μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καταβράκτην ἀπὸ μὲν δεσρῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου Εὐωνυμίται, Σεβρίδαι, Κάτοιποι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Μερῇ νήσῳ Μέμνονες" μετ' οὗς Ἐλεφαντοφάγοι Αἰθιοπεῖς.) The Greeks used the names *right* and *left* as we do, in reference to the course of a river. (See Herod. 1, 72. Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 251.)

¹ Diod. 1, 67.

² Müller *Hellenische Stämme* und *Völkchen*, 1, 106.

belong¹. Having been suckled by she-goats, the first sound they uttered was *becos*, and this being found to signify *bread* in the Phrygian language, the Egyptians conceded to the Phrygians the honor of priority². Such was the account given to Herodotus by the priests of Memphis of the first attempt made to apply the evidence of language to decide the antiquity of nations. We may smile at the experiment and the inference deduced from it, but till lately philological arguments have been applied to historical questions with not much more discretion. To obtain a better knowledge of Africa, he trained youths of the Ichthyophagi to explore the fountains of the Nile, and others to examine the Deserts of Libya. They were taught to endure the extremity of thirst, but few survived³.

It was towards the latter part of his reign that Egypt was threatened by an invasion of the Scythians. Cyaxares, king of the Medes, having defeated the Assyrians in a great battle, was besieging Nineveh, when his own kingdom was overrun by a horde of Scythians. They had driven the Cimmerians before them and entered Media. Cyaxares encountered them, but suffered an entire defeat, and for twenty-eight years they kept possession of western Asia. They had advanced to the south of Ascalon on the coast of Palestine, on their way to attack Egypt, when Psammitichus met them, and by entreaties and presents prevailed on them to proceed no further. Some of them on their return plundered the temple of Venus Urania at Ascalon, and were punished by the infliction of a disease⁴, which, according to Hero-

¹ Her. 2, 4. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 262. Aristoph. Nub. 397. ὦ μοῖρε σὸ καὶ Κρονίων ὄξων καὶ βεκκεσεῖληνε. The Scholiast there refers the story to Sesonchosis, meaning apparently Sesostris, the world-conqueror. (See p. 139 of this vol.)

² Her. 1, 104.

³ Athen. 8, p. 345.

⁴ The existence of a peculiar θάλασσα νόσος among the Scythians is certain, as it is described by Hippocrates de Aer. &c. p. 293. Εὐρουχίαι γίνονται, α

dotus, accompanied them to their native land, and even cleaved to their descendants in his own time. The invasion of the Scythians took place in 634 B.C.; their occupation of Palestine (according to Eusebius) in 632; their march towards Egypt somewhere about 630 B.C. They must have passed Azotus on their way, and interrupted the siege of that place. The town of Bethshan, in the north of Palestine, is said to have received the name of Scythopolis¹ from their having made it their head-quarters during their occupation of the country. The prophet Zephaniah (i. 14), who lived in the reign of Josiah (630 B.C.), appears to describe them under the appellation of "a people without fear". The desolation which they would cause throughout Palestine is set forth by the prophet in very forcible language:—

"That day is a day of wrath;

A day of distress and of anguish;

A day of desolation and of destruction;

A day of darkness and of gloom;

A day of clouds and of thick darkness;

A day of the trumpet and of shouting

Against the fenced cities and against the high towers."

The invasion of the cities of the Philistines is specifically mentioned:—

"Surely Gaza shall be forsaken and Ascalon a desolation; -

Ashdod shall be driven out at noonday and Ekron shall be rooted up.

γυναικεία ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναικες διαλέγονται τε ὁμοίως, καλεῖνται τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνδρείεις. They were nevertheless looked on with reverence, because their disease was referred to the immediate power of the divinity. It appears to have been a species of imbecility allied to cretinism.

¹ Judges i. 27, in the Septuagint. Βαιθσάν ἢ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις.

² Literally, "the people that turns not pale," אֲנָשִׁים לֹא נִכְחָדִים.

³ Ἐπὶ μὲν νῦν φησὶ καὶ εἰκοσι ἔτεα ἤρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σαύθαι καὶ τὰ πάντα σφί τινε τε ὑβριος καὶ ὑλιγωρίας ἀναστατα ἦν ἡρπάζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅτι ἔχουεν λαστοί. (Herod. 1, 106.)

The sea-coast shall be dwellings for shepherds and folds for flocks."
(v. 5, 6.)

The prophet anticipates that the flood of invasion would roll forward even to Ethiopia (v. 12), as no doubt it would have done, but for the gifts and supplications by which Psammitichus induced the Scythians to return. Yet it is intimated also that their success should be short-lived and be followed by a great reverse:—

"Gather yourselves together and assemble, O nation that feareth not;
Before the decree bring forth, that your day pass away as chaff;
Before the hot anger of Jehovah come upon you." (ii. 1.)

This also corresponds with history. The Scythians were enervated by a residence in a southern climate, and overpowered by Cyaxares and the Medes. The capture of Nineveh, foretold by the prophet (Zeph. ii. 13), speedily followed the recovery of Median ascendancy¹. A few years later the northern nomad tribes² appear to have meditated another and combined invasion of the South, in which they were to have been joined by Persia, Ethiopia and Libya³; its defeat was foretold, but from some cause which history has not explained, it never took place. The prophecy stands insulated among the oracles of Ezekiel, and may have been delivered when the great power of Nebuchadnezzar had alarmed the neighboring nations both north and south.

The lists represent Psammitichus as reigning fifty-four years, and Herodotus agrees with them: among the papyri of Turin,

¹ Herod. 1, 106.

² Ezek. xxxviii. "Gog, of the land of Magog, Rhos" (the nations dwelling on the Araxes), "Mesech and Tubal" (the Moschi and Tibareni), "Gomer" (the Cimmerians), "Togarmah" (the Armenians).

³ Ez. xxxviii. 5. xxxix. 1. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and I will turn thee back and leave but the sixth part of thee."

Lepsius has found the date of his forty-fifth year¹. He was succeeded (616 B.C.) by his son NECO or NECHAO, the Pharaoh Necho of the Second Book of Kings. His first undertakings, according to Herodotus, were peaceful. To construct a canal which should join the Nile with the Red Sea, and save the troublesome transport by land across the Desert, was a project which would naturally suggest itself to the mind of a king of Egypt, where stupendous works of the same kind existed in the Fyoun and the Delta². We have noticed the tradition that it had been begun by Sesostris³. During the French occupation of Egypt this district was carefully explored and the ancient line of the canal traced. It went off from the Nile in the neighborhood of the modern town of Belbeis, supposed to represent the Bubastis Agria of the Greeks⁴, and ran eastward through a natural valley, the Goshen of Jewish history, till it reached the Bitter Lakes, which derive their quality from the saline impregnations of the Desert. The influx of the water of the Nile rendered them sweet, and they abounded in fish and aquatic birds⁵. Issuing from these it pursued a southerly course to Suez. Towards the western end its traces are very visible, notwithstanding the deposit of the Nile, which has partly filled it up; towards the East, where the influence of the Desert is more powerful, it has nearly disappeared. At the junction of the Red Sea, remains of masonry are visible, but they are probably no older than the time of Ptolemy II. Neco is said to have sacrificed the lives of 120,000 men⁶ in the attempt to excavate this canal, which after all he left imperfect, being warned, it is said, by an oracle, that he was only

¹ Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, B. 3, p. 144.

² Diodorus (1, 68) omits the reigns of Neco and Psammis, and passes (Σετραπον τίτταρον γυναιξί) to that of Apries. He mentions Neco, however, incidentally (1, 33) as the author of the canal.

³ See page 245 of this vol.

⁴ Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, 2, 56.

⁵ Strabo, 17, p. 804.

⁶ Her. 2, 158.

laboring beforehand for the benefit of the barbarian¹. Darius resumed the work, and according to the description of Herodotus, made it of sufficient width to admit two triremes rowed abreast². His language leaves no doubt that in his time it reached the sea³, though Diodorus⁴ says that Darius left it unfinished, because he was informed that it would inundate Egypt with the water of the Red Sea. Since the French occupation of Egypt it has been taken for granted, on the authority of their engineers, that the average height of the sea at Suez exceeds by twenty-seven feet that of the Mediterranean. Subsequent levellings have thrown doubt on this fact, which contradicts the laws of hydrostatics. The fear seems to have been, that the water of the canal and the Bitter Lakes, which the Nile had freshened, should be made salt by the tides⁵. Ptolemy completed the canal and constructed a flood-gate, which excluded the sea-water, except during the time of the passage of a vessel⁶. The object of Neco in attempting to establish a communication with the Red Sea, was to facilitate his design of creating a fleet there; and this he accomplished, although his canal was never completed. His alliance with the Phœnicians, who were at this time at the height of their naval power, would furnish him with materials for ship-building, which being brought up the Nile, and along the canal, as far as it was finished, might then be transported to the sea. The docks which he constructed for the reception of his ships were still to be seen in the days of Herodotus.

¹ Herodotus (4, 42) repeats his assertion of Neco's having left the canal unfinished; a similar motive is said to have rendered Mohammed Ali averse from the re-establishment of this canal. The Caliphs had closed it for this reason.

² Pliny, describing it after its completion by Ptolemy says 100 feet wide, 40 deep (N. H. 6, 33). The whole length is about 90 miles.

³ Ἐσέχει ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν (2, 158).

⁴ 1, 33.

⁵ The rise of the tide at Suez is six or seven feet. Report on Steam Navigation to India, App. p. 23

⁶ Diocl. 1, 32.

From this point began the voyage which, at the command of Neco, the Phœnicians undertook for the circumnavigation of Africa. Herodotus gives the following account of it¹ :

“ I am astonished at those who divided and fixed the boundaries of Libya, Asia and Europe, seeing they differ in no small degree. For Europe stretches in length far beyond them both, and as to width it does not appear to deserve a comparison². For as to Libya it shows itself to be circumnavigable, except where it borders on Asia ; this was first proved, as far as I know, by Neco, king of Egypt. When he gave up excavating the canal that runs from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he sent out some Phœnicians in ships, giving them orders on their way back to sail through the Pillars of Hercules into the Northern Sea, and thus return to Egypt. Setting out then from the Red Sea, they sailed on the Southern Sea. As often as autumn returned they landed and sowed the ground in the part of Libya where they chanced to be, and awaited the harvest ; and then sailed again when they had reaped it. So two years having elapsed, in the third, doubling the Pillars of Hercules, they came back to Egypt. And they said, what to me is not credible, but may be to some one else, that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on the right hand. In this way Libya was first known. The Carthaginians are the next who affirm it [*to be circumnavigable*] ; for Sataspes, the son of Teaspis, did not circumnavigate Libya, though sent out for this very purpose, but turned back, fearing the length and the dreariness of the navigation.”

It is remarkable that Herodotus does not express the smallest doubt respecting the reality of this circumnavigation ; that the

¹ 4, 42.

² Herodotus reckoned as a prolongation of Europe what we call Northern Asia, and as it had never been circumnavigated, its breadth from south to north was unknown, but was evidently supposed by him to surpass that of Asia, as he was not aware of the great extension of the peninsula of India. See 3, 45.

Carthaginians confirmed the testimony of the Phœnicians, all whose naval and geographical knowledge they would share ; and that in the age of Xerxes, Setaspes was sent out, not to try if Africa could be circumnavigated, but to perform its circumnavigation, as an admitted possibility. Whether the Ophir of the Book of Kings were a port in India, or Sofaia on the S. E. coast of Africa, it is evident that the ships of the Phœnicians had for several centuries been accustomed to distant voyages—voyages even of three years' duration, according to the Book of Chronicles¹. Their ships were large, and so arranged internally as to give the greatest stowage in the smallest space². Major Rennell's researches have shown, that the circumnavigation might be much more easily accomplished from the eastern side of Africa than the western³, and that consequently the failure of Setaspes, who tried it from the west, and the slow progress of the Portuguese in reaching the Cape, afford no ground for calling in question the truth of Herodotus' account. The time of three years, however, must appear inadequate, when we consider that Scylax occupied two years and ten months in his voyage from Caspatyrus on the Indus to Suez⁴.

It may appear extraordinary, that if the fact that Africa was a peninsula had once been ascertained, it should have been virtually denied by Plato⁵, and expressly by Ephorus⁶, and doubted by

¹ 2 Chron. ix. 21, which may be admitted as an evidence for the age in which this book was written, if not for the age of Solomon.

² Πλείστα σκεύη ἐν μικροτάτῳ ἀγγεῖῳ διακεχωρισμένα ἐθεασάμην. Xen. Œcon. c. 8, speaking of the Phœnician vessels that resorted to the Piræus.

³ Geog. of Herod. Sect. xxiv.

⁴ Her. 4, 44.

⁵ In the age of Plato, the Atlantic was believed to be incapable of navigation, owing to the mud produced by the sunk island Atlantis. (Tim. § 6, iii. 25.) If the Atlantic was not navigable, Africa of course could not be circumnavigable.

⁶ Plin. N. H. 6, 31. Ephorus auctor est a Rubro mari navigantes in insulam Cernen non posse provehi.

Polybius¹, who had himself visited the western coast, in a fleet fitted out to explore the traces of the Carthaginian settlements. The art of navigation, however, had greatly declined among the nations bordering on the Mediterranean, between the times of Ephorus and Polybius, and that in which Phœnicia flourished : the voyages made from Egypt under the Ptolemies were directed in the profitable channel of Indian commerce. He might therefore well speak of that as doubtful, of which the evidence was four centuries and a half old, and which had not been confirmed by subsequent voyages. Strabo appears to have entertained no doubt that Africa terminated in a southern cape, though he conceived most erroneously of its form, believing the eastern coast to form a right angle with the northern, and the western to be the hypotenuse of the triangle². He did not, however, believe in the circumnavigation. In speaking of the eastern coast of Africa, he says that no one had advanced more than 5000 stadia beyond the entrance of the Red Sea³; and, having perhaps Ephorus in his mind, that those who had coasted Libya where it is washed by the ocean, whether they had set out from the Pillars or from the Red Sea, had turned back after proceeding a certain distance, whence many thought that an isthmus interposed⁴. Such an isthmus Ptolemy lays down, stretching away from the coast of Africa south of the Equator, to the eastern verge of the world. It is impossible to arrive at any decisive conclusion respecting this celebrated voyage⁵, the reality

¹ Οὐδείς ἔχει λέγειν ἀτρεκῶς, ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν, πότερον ἡπειρός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἢ θαλάττη περιέχεται. (3, 38. Plin. N. H. 5, 1.)

² 17, p. 825. ³ 16, p. 769, from Eratosthenes. ⁴ Strabo, 1, p. 32.

⁵ The Phœnicians alleged that in their voyage round Africa they had the sun on their right hand, that is in the North (Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 363), which only proves at most that they had passed the Equator. Long indeed before reaching the Equator, navigators, whose home was to the North of the tropic of Cancer, must have been struck with seeing the sun in the summer far to the north of them at noon.

of which rests on the strong conviction of Herodotus, an author, in such matters at least, not prone to credulity ; and as at all events it was not repeated, if real it had no influence, like the voyages of De Gama and Columbus, on the subsequent history of the world.

“ When Neco abandoned his plan of joining the Nile and the Red Sea by a canal, he engaged,” says Herodotus, “ in military expeditions, and encountering the Syrians with a land force, he conquered them at Magdolus, and after the battle took Cadytis, which is a large city of Syria¹.” Since the death of Sennacherib, Assyria and Babylon had existed as two independent kingdoms, of which Assyria was manifestly on the decline, while Babylon was in the ascendant. The fate of Assyria, threatened by the Medes, had been delayed by the invasion of the Scythians, who had still kept possession of their conquests in Asia, in the early part of the reign of Neco. On their expulsion (608 B.C.) Cyaxares resumed his enterprise against Nineveh; and about the same time Neco left this kingdom to march to the Euphrates². He seems to have employed his fleet on the Mediterranean to transport his army to some harbor in the north of Palestine, and was thence proceeding inland towards Carchemish. Josiah, who was king of Judah, and held also the ancient territories of Israel³, induced perhaps by the Assyrians, endeavored to stop the march of Neco, with the whole force of his kingdom. He would gladly have passed on to the Euphrates unmolested, and earnestly entreated Josiah to abstain from interrupting him ; but Josiah was not to be dissuaded, and they met in battle at Megiddo⁴ in the plain of Esdraëlon near the foot

¹ 2, 159.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 29. “ In the days of Josiah, Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates.” Josephus says (Ant. 10, 5), “ against the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the power of Assyria.”

³ 2 Kings xxiii. 19. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6.

⁴ Σύροισι ὁ Νεκὼς συμπαλῶν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε (Her. 2, 159). Ἀρτά-

of Carmel¹. Josiah had disguised himself before the battle², that the royal insignia might not make him a mark for the enemy ; but an arrow reached him ; he was brought back to Jerusalem and died there. This battle delayed the march of Neco ; he took possession of Jerusalem, the Cadytis of Herodotus³, and advanced as far as Riblah in Hamath on his way to the Euphrates. The people of Judæa, however, made Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, king. Neco sent for him to Hamath, deposed and imprisoned him after he had reigned three months, and sent him to Egypt, where he ended his days⁴. At the same time he made his younger brother Eliakim king, changed his name to Jehoiakim, and imposed a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold upon the land⁵. Whether Neco himself returned to Egypt, or remained in Palestine to secure his power there, we are not informed ; but four years later he marched to the Euphrates with an army, comprehending, according to the prophet Jeremiah⁶, Ethiopians and Libyans as well as Egyptians⁷. Carchemish, or Circesium, where the battle took place

πανός φησι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἐρμίουθ. (Euseb. Præp. Ev. 9, 18.) This is probably אַרַמִּי-יְהוּדָה *Arami Jehudeh*, Syrians of Judah.

Deut. xxvi. 5, "A Syrian ready to perish was my father." Her. 2, 104.

¹ Reland, Palæst. 893.

² 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22.

³ The name seems to mean "the Holy" city. From a comparison of the passages in Herodotus, 2, 159 ; 3, 5, it appears that no other place than Jerusalem can be meant. Herodotus would not have compared Gaza or Kadesh-Barnea with Sardis. Jerusalem had been known as the seat of a magnificent temple for several centuries, and had enjoyed a reputation for sanctity in much earlier times. See Gen. xiv. 18.

⁴ He is the same who, in Jer. xxii. 11, is called Shallum, and of whom the prophet declares that he should never return to his own land. Comp. Ezek. xix. 4.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

⁶ Jer. xlv.

⁷ Such was the tediousness of ancient sieges, that he might have been engaged in operations before Circesium during the interval, but the language of the prophet seems to indicate a recent invasion. Jer. xlv. 8 ;—

in which he was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, stood on the eastern side of the Euphrates, in the angle, or as the ancients said, the island, formed by its confluence with the Chaboras, which gathers the waters of northern Mesopotamia and discharges them into the Euphrates nearly in N. lat. 35° . It lies in the line of march of an army proceeding from the north of Palestine to northern Mesopotamia, and Neco was on his march to occupy it, when intercepted by Josiah¹. If Nineveh still held out against the forces of Cyaxares and the Babylonians, the object of Neco's march might be to relieve that city; if, as seems more probable, it had already fallen², he may have deemed it politic to anticipate the hostilities which he could not but foresee, on the part of the power which had thus become predominant in Asia. Carchemish was an important military position. The Euphrates, in this part of its course, is fordable both above and below the influx of the Chaboras³, and by the possession of Carchemish its passage might be impeded. When Diocletian was strengthening the frontier posts of the Empire in the East, against the inroads of the Parthians into Syria, he erected a strong fortress at Carchemish, which Procopius calls the most remote garrison of the Romans⁴. In the

“ Egypt riseth up like a flood,
And his waters are moved like the rivers;
And he saith, I will go up and cover the earth;
I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof.”

¹ 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

² The capture of Nineveh is usually placed, but not on very certain grounds, in 606 B.C.; the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which was that of the battle of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 1), on the authority of Ptolemy's Canon, in 604.

³ See Col. Chesney's Map in Parl. Report on Steam Navigation to India.

⁴ *Cercusium munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum: cujus mœnia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. Quod Diocletianus, exiguum antehac et suspectum muris turribusque circumdedit celsis.* (Ammian. Marc. 23, 5.)

times of Grecian and Roman power it appears to have been a place of little strength, but it would be otherwise when Egypt and Assyria contended on the Euphrates. This is implied in the boast of the king of Assyria (Is. x. 9), "Is not Calno as Carchemish—is not Samaria as Damascus?" and the name itself indicates the existence of a fortification¹.

We have no further account of the battle of Carchemish than that of the prophet, that Nebuchadnezzar "smote the army of Neco;" Herodotus makes no mention of it. It is evident, however, that its effect was to strip Neco of nearly the whole of his Asiatic possessions. "The king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt²." An immediate invasion by Nebuchadnezzar seemed impending over Egypt as the result of this defeat³. According to Berosus⁴, Neco himself, whom he calls the revolted satrap of Egypt and Syria, fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who was not at this time king of Babylon, but viceroy of his father Nabopolassar. But it would neither accord with Scriptural nor Egyptian history to suppose that Babylon had previously to this time conquered Egypt and reduced its king to the condition of a satrap. Doubtless Neco returned to his kingdom as Herodotus implies. It marks the ascendancy of Greek ideas, that on his return from Syria, either now or after the battle of Megiddo, he dedicated the dress which he had worn to Apollo of Branchidæ, a celebrated oracle in the territory of his Milesian allies⁵. Herodotus

¹ *Karaka* in Syriac is a castle. See Cleric. ad 2 Chron. 35.

² 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

³ That Jer. xlv. 13 belongs to this time, not to the period following the captivity of Zedekiah, is evident from v. 15, 16, which speaks of a recent great defeat.

⁴ Joseph. contra Apion. 1, 19.

⁵ Herod. 2, 159. Strabo, 634. A lion is still found among the ruins of

says, he reigned sixteen years ; the lists only six, a term evidently too short for the undertakings recorded of him. That the number in Herodotus is correct is proved by a remarkable monument in the Museum at Florence, published by Rosellini¹. It records that Psammitichus, a priest of Sokari, was born on the first of the month *Paoni*², in the reign of Neco—that he lived seventy-one years, four months, six days, and died on the sixth day of the month *Paopi*³, in the thirty-fifth year of Amasis. If we allow that the authors of the lists in extracting from Manetho have given us round numbers, instead of the exact sum in months and days which they found in the original, the correspondence will be complete⁴.

Neco was succeeded (600 B.C.) by his son PSAMMITICHUS II., whom Herodotus calls PSAMMIS. The record of Manetho in Africanus is evidently imperfect ; Psammuthis is called the Second, though no other of the name has been mentioned, and therefore we should read, with the aid of Eusebius, “ Psammuthis, who is also Psammitichus the Second.” His phonetic name is spelt with Palet (the ancient Miletus), which is said to be of Egyptian style, and may be the record of the connexion between Miletus and Egypt. (Chandler's Travels, p. 170. Müller's Dorier, 1, 225.)

¹ Mon. Stor. 2, 151 ; more accurately 4, 197.

² The tenth month of the Egyptian year. See vol. i. p. 277.

³ The second month.

⁴ The reckoning will stand thus, supposing Neco to have reigned sixteen years, and the priest to have been born when he had reigned 2 years 9 months and 1 day :—

Residue of his reign	13 years 3 months.
Psammis or Psammitichus II.	6 years.
Apries	19 years.
Amasis, to the death of the priest	34 years 1 month 6 days.
	72 years 4 months 6 days.

The excess of one year is accounted for by Bunsen (B. 3, p. 143) by the supposition that the fractions of years have been reckoned as full years.

precisely the same characters as those of his grandfather, but the titular shield has a difference in the middle character. No public building remains erected by him, nor is any large work of art extant of his reign. Fragments of sculpture, however, bearing his name, exist in the citadel at Cairo, and under the base of the column called Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria. The former of these appears to have made a part of some erection in honor of the god Ptah at Memphis; the latter probably belonged to some building at Sais. His titular shield is also found on the obelisk of the Piazza Minerva at Rome, which was executed under his son and successor Apries¹. The British Museum contains a portion of an intercolumnial plinth inscribed with his name and titular shield, in which he appears offering to the gods, who give him all power and victory, and put all lands under his sandals². He had a daughter, whose name was Nitocris, the same as that of the queen of Psammitichus the First, and derived from Neith, the tutelary goddess of Sais.

Herodotus mentions a single anecdote of the reign of Psammis, which is not otherwise important than as indicating the reputation which Egypt enjoyed among the Greeks for wisdom and equity. The inhabitants of Elis, to whom the administration of the Olympic games belonged, were accustomed to consult the oracle of Jupiter at Ammonium: inscriptions remained there recording the names of the delegates and the answers which they had received; and libations were offered at Elis to the Ammonian gods, Jupiter and Juno, and Mercury who presided over games³. Exercising the delicate function of judges between Greek competitors, they would naturally seek to arm themselves with the authority which this ancient and venerated oracle conferred. To ascend the Nile

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 4, 198. 2, 136.

² Birch, *Gall. of Brit. Mus.* P. 2, p. 109.

³ Pausan. *Eliaca*, 5, 15. Mercury was surnamed Παρόμμεον.

to Terenuthis on the Canopic branch below Memphis and cross the valley of the Natron Lakes, was an easier way of reaching Ammonium than from the sea-coast, provided Egypt were friendly¹. In going or returning, the delegates from Elis had an audience of Psammitichus, and boasted to him of the perfect equity with which they made their decisions. If we may believe Herodotus, they had come for the sole purpose of inquiring if the Egyptians, the wisest of men, could devise any better method of securing impartiality. The king summoned those who were reputed wisest among them, and they having heard their statement, asked if Eleans were allowed to contend in the games as well as other Greeks. The Eleans replied that they were. Then said the Egyptians, "Your method is entirely unjust; it is impossible that you should not be biassed in favor of one of your own people; and if you have really come to Egypt desirous of attaining to perfect equity, you must henceforth exclude every Elean from the contest." Diodorus with more probability refers the story to the reign of Amasis, and attributes the advice (which was not followed) to the king himself².

Towards the end of his reign, Psammitichus II. made an expedition into Ethopia, of which Herodotus³ does not mention either the purpose or the result. His shield is found at the island of Snem, near the Cataracts of Syene. The Greek inscription on the statue of Aboosimbel, which mentions a visit of Psammitichus to Elephantine, may be of this date. It is in the Doric dialect⁴,

¹ Alexander went by Parætonium and the coast, but found the difficulties so great that he returned by the Natron Lakes. Arrian, 3, 4. See also Minutoli's Travels.

² Diod. 1, 95.

³ 2, 161.

⁴ The inscription is as follows:—Βασιλεὺς ἐλθόντος εἰς Ἐλεφαντινὰν Ψαματιχοὶ ταῦτα ἐγράψαν τοῖς συν Ψαματιχοῖς τοῖς Θεοκλῶς ἐπλεον ἤλθον δὲ Κερκίος καθοπερβεν εἰς ὁ (εἰς οὐ) ποταμὸς ἀνιῇ ἀλογλῶσσος (ἀλογλῶσσος) ***** Αἰγυπτίος δὲ Ἀμασις ἐγράψε Δαμεαρίος Ἀμοιζιχὸς καὶ Πέλεφος Οὐδάμο.

which we should hardly expect to be in use among the Ionian mercenaries of the first Psammitichus ; but as Egypt had now been fully opened to the Greeks for half a century, every variety of dialect might be found among them, though Ionians formed the great body of the mercenary troops¹. If it should still be thought improbable that a Greek inscription should be found in Egypt exceeding in age any in Ionia or Greece itself, there was a third Psammitichus², who lived about 400 B.C., a descendant of the ancient kings of that name, to whose reign it may be referred.

Psammitichus II. died almost immediately after his expedition to Ethiopia, and was succeeded (594 B.C.) by UAPHRIS, as the lists write his name, the Apries of the Greeks and the Hophra of Scripture. After the great defeat which Neco suffered on the Euphrates, no attempt had been made by Egypt to recover her ascendancy in Palestine and Syria, which appear to have been entirely dependant on Babylon. Jehoiakim, whom Neco had placed on the throne of Judæa, had been compelled to submit himself to Nebuchadnezzar, and for three years remained faithful ; but at the end of that time, perhaps in hope of assistance from Egypt, he "turned and rebelled against him." The weakness to which Judæa had been reduced, exposed it to invasions from all the neighboring tribes, Molabites, Ammonites and Syrians, as well as the Chaldees³. The king of Babylon himself, it should seem, was engaged elsewhere, probably in establishing his dominion at home. Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Coniah or Jehoiakin in 598 B.C. He had either made himself king on his father's

(Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 1, 223.) As the king had only come to Elephantine, while the Greeks and the ἀλλογλώσσος had gone to the Second Cataract, it is evident that it cannot be the expedition of Psammitichus I. (Herod. 2, 151) to overtake his fugitive soldiery. Nor in his reign is it probable that the son of a Greek should have been named Psammitichus.

¹ Her. 2, 163.

² Diod. Sic. 14, 35.

³ 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2.

death, or had been placed on the throne by the people without the approbation of the king of Babylon. An army was immediately sent against him, and the siege of Jerusalem was formed by the lieutenants of Nebuchadnezzar ; but it appears to have proceeded slowly, till the king himself came, to take the command of the besieging army, when the city speedily surrendered¹; Jehoiakin was carried captive to Babylon within twelve months from his accession, and his uncle Zedekiah placed on the throne in his stead. Apries had succeeded to his father about four years previously, and the earliest undertakings of his reign were directed to the recovery of that ascendancy in Syria and Palestine which Neco had possessed. But Jerusalem being virtually in the power of Nebuchadnezzar, he did not venture at first to attempt an invasion by land. We find that the hopes of the people of Judæa were strongly excited ; the prophet Hananiah foretold, that within two years the yoke of the king of Babylon should be broken, and the captive king be restored to his throne. This was the effect of the success which attended the first undertakings of Apries, and a truer prophet warned them that they would prove fallacious. All the nations of Palestine appear to have been alarmed at the growing power of Babylon, and sent emissaries to Zedekiah, tempting him to throw off his allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar. They were also warned by Jeremiah of the fruitlessness of their attempts, by the symbolical act of sending a yoke to the sovereigns when their emissaries returned². Their more immediate danger, however, was from Egypt. Herodotus speaks only of Apries' expedition against Sidon and his sea-fight with the king of Tyre ; but, according to Diodorus, he took Sidon by storm, reduced the whole sea-coast of Phœnicia and defeated the Cyprians, who appear to have

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16.

² Jer. xxvii. In the first verse of this chapter *Zedekiah* should certainly be read for *Jehoiakim* (comp. v. 3), if indeed the whole verse, which is wanting in the Septuagint, be not an interpolation.

been allies, if not subjects,¹ of the Phœnicians. Although Gaza and the other towns of South Palestine are not expressly mentioned by either of the Greek historians, it is probably to this time that the prophecy in the 47th chapter of Jeremiah² is to be referred; and as the destruction is said to come from the north, it must have been attacked on the return of Apries from his campaign against Cyprus and Sidon. After these successes, Apries dispatched an army into Judæa. Zedekiah having violated the oath of allegiance which he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar³, and sent ambassadors into Egypt to ask for an auxiliary force of cavalry and infantry⁴, the Chaldæans had invested Jerusalem. The tidings of the march of the Egyptian army caused them to raise the siege⁵, but they returned, as Jeremiah had foretold, in greater strength, the king himself commanding them⁶; and the troops of Apries, it is probable, retired without a contest. The prophecy of Ezekiel⁷, in which the arm of Pharaoh is described as being broken, so that it could never be bound up again to hold the sword, was delivered on occasion of this retreat, when Egypt renounced for ever its attempts to occupy Palestine. Nebuchadnezzar, after a siege of eighteen months, took Jerusalem by storm, and Zedekiah being made prisoner, as he was attempting to escape in disguise by a concealed breach in the wall⁸, was deprived of his eyesight, and carried

¹ Virg. *Æn.* 1, 621:—

..... Genitor tum Belus opimam

Vastabat Cyprum et victor ditione tenebat.

Menander (*Jos. Ant.* 9, 14, 2) represents Elulæus, in the time of Shalmaneser, as reducing the revolted people of Citium into obedience.

² "The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza."

³ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

⁴ Ezek. xvii. 15. The embassy to Egypt must have taken place towards the end of the sixth year of Zedekiah, in 592 or 591 B.C.

⁵ Jer. xxxvii.

⁶ Ezek. xxiv. 2.

⁷ Ezek. xxx. 21,

⁸ Ezek. xii. 12.

in chains to Babylon. This took place in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, and the seventh of the reign of Apries (587 B.C.). In consequence of the murder of Gedaliah, to whom the government of Judæa had been entrusted by Nebuchadnezzar, many of the Jewish chiefs who had escaped the execution of Riblah¹ fled into Egypt, carrying with them the prophet Jeremiah. He probably finished his days at Daphnæ near Pelusium, foretelling in the last of his prophecies the fate of Apries².

After the occupation of Jerusalem the efforts of Nebuchadnezzar would naturally be directed to the reduction of the sea-coast of Palestine and Syria, without securing which it would have been unsafe for him to have attacked Egypt. Tyre was at this time in the height of her commercial prosperity and naval power³. Whether in subjection to Egypt in consequence of the victory of Apries, or not, she was evidently hostile to Babylon from a natural jealousy of any power, Egyptian, Jewish, or Chaldean, by whose ascendancy her commerce might suffer, and Nebuchadnezzar almost immediately undertook the siege. Even before Jerusalem was actually taken, but when that event was clearly to be anticipated, the prophet Ezekiel describes Tyre as exulting in the prospect of the increase of her own power by the sufferings of her rival⁴, and foretells her destruction. The siege must have begun soon after the capture of Jerusalem; the insular position of Tyre (for the original city on the mainland had been taken by Shalmaneser), the strength of its fortifications, and the command of the sea, enabled it to hold out for thirteen years, as we learn from the Tyrian historians quoted by Josephus⁵. It is clear that the results were not

¹ 2 Kings *ixv.* 21.

² They appear to close with the 44th chapter. The Fathers (Hieron. *adv. Jov. lib.* 2. Tertull. *Scorpiace viii.*) say that Jeremiah was stoned by the people.

³ See the description in Ezek. *xxvi.*–*xxviii.*

⁴ Ezek. *xxvi.* 2.

⁵ *Cont. Apion.* 1, 21,

such as the besieging army had expected from success. "Nebuchadnezzar and his troops had served a great service;" their heads had grown bald with the pressure of the helmet, and their shoulders had been galled by the weight of the cuirass; expressions which indicate a protracted warfare; "yet had they no wages for Tyre for the service that they had served against it¹;" and the spoil of Egypt is promised to them as a compensation for this disappointment, which probably arose from the city having surrendered on terms which saved it from being given up to plunder². That an invasion of Egypt actually took place is probable. Megasthenes asserted that Nauocodrosorus (Nebuchadnezzar) had led his army as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and conquered great part of Libya³. Unless this is a pure fiction, he must have made conquests to the westward of Egypt, which he could not do without passing through the northern border of that country.

Now the prophecy of Jeremiah⁴ implies no more than such a passage, accompanied by the usual outrages of a victorious army. It does not describe a permanent occupation. The prophet declares that "he would spread his pavilion in Tahpenes (Daphnæ), break the images of Bethshemesh (Heliopolis) and lay waste Noph (Memphis); that he should array himself with the land of Egypt as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and go forth thence in peace." He might be deterred from attempting the conquest of

¹ St. Jerome on Ezek. xxix. 18, relates that when Nebuchadnezzar had nearly completed his mole to attack the island, the Tyrians put their wealth on shipboard and carried it off: but it is difficult to know whether he is relating a certified fact or expounding the prophecy.

² The reign of Ithobalus, the king under whom the siege took place, was followed by that of Baal, which lasted ten years; then followed a period of mixed government of *suffetes*, high priest and king, for eight years, after which two princes in succession were sent for to Tyre from Babylon, to be invested with royalty, which seems to imply some kind of dependence at that time. (Jos. Ant. 9, 14, 2.)

³ Strabo, 15, 687.

⁴ Jer. xliii. 12; xli. 13-26.

Middle and Upper Egypt by the power of Apries, or dissuaded by his submission. This explanation, however, will not apply to the prophecy of Ezekiel¹, according to which man and beast were to be cut off from the land, from Migdol to Syene, and Egypt to be desolate for forty years. The remark is often forced upon one who compares prophecy with history, that the prophet, in enlarging upon his theme and carrying it out into details, indulges his own peculiar genius, and obeys in some measure the impulse of his own feeling. The genius of Ezekiel was exaggerative² and vehement, whereas the style of Jeremiah is more simple and prosaic. It would be pushing a negative argument too far to deny any invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, because it is not mentioned in Herodotus; but to relate its desolation for a long series of years as a fact, would be a violation of all principles of historical criticism. It is certain that from this time there was no hostility between Egypt and Babylon, and there is even reason to think that Nebuchadnezzar married an Egyptian princess.

There is a striking correspondence between the language in which Ezekiel describes the pride of Pharaoh and its humiliation, and the contrast which Herodotus draws between the commencement and the close of his reign. Next to Psammitichus he had been the most prosperous of Egyptian kings; but the time had arrived when he was destined to misfortune, and according to the historian's philosophy, great prosperity, especially if accompanied with any elevation of mind, was provocative of a reverse³. Both the prosperity and the pride of Apries⁴ are set forth in strong poetic

¹ Ezek. xxix.

² "Ezekiel—est atrox, vehemens, tragicus, totus in δεινώσει, frequens in repetitionibus, non decoris aut gratiæ causa, sed ex indignatione et violentia." (Lowth, de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum, Præl. xxi.)

³ 1, 34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον.

⁴ Ἀπρίου δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἡδε ἡ δῖα νοῖα, μηδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα δύνασθα παῦσαι τῇ βασιλείῃς· οὕτω ἀσφαλῶς ἑωυτῷ ἰδοῦσθαι ἔδοκε. (2, 169.)

imagery by Ezekiel : he is likened to a crocodile lying in the midst of the Nile, saying of the river, " It is mine own, I have made it for myself," troubling the waters with his feet, when he rushed forth to seize his prey¹. It was not, however, from the rival power of Babylon that he was destined to meet with destruction.

The Greek colony of Cyrene had been founded about half a century before this time. The history of its establishment is curiously illustrative of the state of geographical knowledge among the Greeks in the seventh century before Christ. The king of Thera, a small island of the Sporades, had gone to Delphi, probably to consult the oracle respecting the drought under which the island had suffered². The Pythia replied, " that they should go and found a city in Libya." The Theræans were descended partly from the Minyæ, the earliest navigators of Greece³, partly from the Phœnician companions of Cadmus, yet they knew not in what part of the world Libya was. Not daring, even in obedience to an oracle, to go forth on such a blind expedition, they continued to endure the drought, till every tree on the island, save one, had perished. They had again recourse to the oracle, but received for answer only a renewal of the command to colonize Libya, accompanied by a reproach for their neglect of the previous oracle. They knew, however, that Crete lay between it and their own island, and sent thither to inquire whether any Cretan or stranger settled there had ever been in Libya. After wandering through the island they came to the town of Itanus at its eastern extremity, and there found a manufacturer of purple of the name of Corobius. He had been driven, probably while seeking for the shell-fish from which the purple is derived⁴, to the island of Platea, now Bomba,

¹ Ezek. xxix. 1, 3; xxxii. 2.

² Her. 4, 151, represents the drought as following the first visit to Delphi.

³ Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, 258.

⁴ Zuchls, on the coast of North Africa, near the Syrtis, is mentioned by Strabo as a great seat of the manufacture of purple (17, 835).

between Parætonium and Cyrene. The promise of a reward induced him to return with them to Thera, and thence to sail, accompanied by an exploring party, to Platea. The Therans left him on the island with such a supply of provisions as they calculated would suffice, and returned to Thera to fetch their countrymen. The time fixed for their coming had expired ; and Corobius would have perished from want, had not some Samians on their voyage to Egypt been driven to the same island, who, on hearing his story, left him provisions for a year¹. A colony after some time arrived from Thera, but their first settlement was not prosperous, and when two years had elapsed, leaving one of their number on the island, they again visited Delphi, and complained to the Pythia that though they had colonized Libya, they had fared no better. The answer of the Pythia implied that they were mistaken in supposing that the island was Libya², and they accordingly removed to a place named Aziris, opposite to it on the mainland, at the opening of the valley which is now called Wadi el Temnineh. Herodotus says, that after remaining here six years they were induced by the promises of a better settlement to let themselves be conducted by the Libyans to Cyrene, and that their guides contrived to lead them by night through the finest part of the country. But it is evident from the exclamation of one of the guides when they arrived at Cyrene, “ Greeks, here it is best for you to dwell ; for here the skies are pierced³,” that they had been pining for a land watered by rain, having found that the evil of drought had followed them to their new settlement. Such a land is

¹ These Samians, when they left Platea, made for Egypt, but the violence and long continuance of the east wind drove them through the Pillars of Hercules to Tartessus, a mart till then unvisited by Greeks (Herod. 4, 152).

² Ἀ' τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἀμεινον

Τῇ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἀγαμαί σοφίην σε.—Her. 4, 157.

³ In the language of Scripture, “ the windows of heaven are opened.” (Gen. vii. 11. Mal. iii. 10.)

the Cyrenaica¹ : as the traveller ascends from the Gulf of Bomba towards the elevated plateau on which the city stands, the sandy soil changes to a rich loam ; a fine vegetation clothes the hills (the Arabs now call it the Green Mountain) ; herds of cattle are seen, which the lands on the sea-coast are unable to support ; the olive, the citron, the juniper, the cypress, the pine, grow luxuriantly², and there is an abundant supply of water. The whole district produced the Silphium³, which was so highly prized in ancient pharmacy that it sometimes sold for its weight in silver⁴. The different elevation of the coast, the mountains and the intermediate region, gave the Cyrenians three harvests in the year, one becoming ripe while the other was gathered in⁵. The site of Cyrene was well adapted for the settlement of a flourishing colony. The promontory on which it stands, between the Syrtis and the Bay of Bomba, is the nearest point to Greece of the whole line of the African coast ; and there is an excellent harbor at the distance of 80 stadia or 10 miles from the town⁶. The gardens of the Hesperides, as far as they had a prototype in nature, appear to have been hollows in the limestone hills on the western side of the promontory, where orchards of extraordinary productiveness are found.

The establishment of the colony of Cyrene was indirectly fatal to the Saitic dynasty. Under Battus I. its founder, who reigned

¹ The name was probably Phœnician, and derived from קרן *cornu*, like Cerne on the coast of Mauritania. Compare Isaiah, v. 1, where "a very fruitful hill" is literally "a horn, the son of fatness;" ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πλούτῳ. (Sept.)

² Pacho, Voyage dans la Marmorique, p. 83.

³ It is supposed to be the *Lascepitium Derias* which Pacho observed to grow plentifully in the Cyrenaica, though he nowhere met with it between Egypt and the Bay of Bomba. It was not found westward of the Syrtis (Her. 4, 169). Pliny, N. H. 22, 49, enumerates its virtues, which extended from the dispersion of a dropsy to the cure of corns.

⁴ Aristoph. Plut. 925. Plin. N. H. 19, 15.

⁵ Herod. 4, 199.

⁶ Scylax, 107, p. 234, ed. Klausen.

40 years, and his son Arcesilaus, who reigned 16, the numbers of the original settlers were not increased by any new immigration. But in the reign of Battus, surnamed the Prosperous, an invitation was sent to all the Greeks to come and aid the Cyrenians in colonizing Libya, with the promise of an allotment of land. The Pythia lent her aid, as before, by an oracle which warned against delay¹, and a great multitude soon assembled at Cyrene from Crete, Peloponnesus, and the Cyclades and Sporades². They could not be provided with the land which had been promised them, but at the expense of the native Libyans, who were not only stripped of their territories, but treated with great insolence, according to the common fate of barbarians who presume to defend their rights against the intrusion of a civilized people. They were probably the same Libyan tribe, the Giligammæ, in whose territory the first Theræan settlers had landed. Egypt was interested in preventing the further growth of a power which threatened to encroach on all its neighbors³. Adicran, the king of the Libyans, sent to implore aid from Apries, and place himself under his authority. Apries accepted the offer of the Libyans, and sent a large army to their aid; but as he could not venture to employ his Greek mercenaries against their countrymen, it was composed entirely of Egyptian troops. The Cyrenians marched out, and a battle took place at Irasa, now *Ain Ersen*⁴, between the Bay of Bomba and Cyrene. The Egyptians had never before encountered

¹ Ὅς δὲ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολὺν ἥρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ

Γὰς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἱ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν.—Her. 4, 159.

² Her. 4, 161.

³ Her. 4, 168. Scylax (106, p. 233 Klausen) extends the Egyptian territory as far as Apis (Boun Ajoubah); but his work was hardly written before the middle of the 4th century B.C.

⁴ Ἐς Ἰρᾶσα χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην. (Her. 4, 159.) *Ain* means fountain, and in these countries fountains are more permanent than towns. The name is probably also Phœnician 𐤓𐤕𐤕 *urbs*. See Gesenius, Ling Phœn. 1, 424.

Greek arms and tactics ; the disproportion in numbers must have been great, but the negligence of their adversaries enabled the Greeks to gain a complete victory, and few of the Egyptian army returned to their own country. It was the first occasion on which the valor and skill of the free Hellenes was matched in a pitched battle against the forces of the great despotic monarchies which had previously ruled the world ; the first of a series of victories, which in the course of two centuries and a half made them masters of the ancient territories of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt.

The news of this defeat and the almost entire extermination of the army produced a revolt in Egypt. Apries, who had probably imagined that he should easily conquer a handful of Greeks, was accused of having sent his troops on an enterprise in which he knew that they must perish, in the hope of governing his kingdom more securely by means of the foreigners. Those who returned, being joined by the relatives of those who had perished, immediately revolted. Apries, on the receipt of this intelligence, sent to them Amasis, one of his officers, who had gained the favor of the king, and been advanced to high office, though of humble origin, by the beauty of a chaplet which he presented to him on his birth-day. While he was haranguing them in order to bring them back to their allegiance, a soldier came behind him, and placed a crown upon his head. He accepted it without reluctance, and prepared to march against Apries. On hearing this, Apries dispatched Patarbemis¹, an officer of high rank, with orders to bring Amasis alive into his presence. Amasis bade him return with a contemptuous refusal, and when he appeared before Apries, the king ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. The Egyptians who had hitherto adhered to the royal cause, seeing the outrage offered to a man who was highly esteemed among them, imme-

¹ Hellanicus (Athen. 15, p. 680) called the king himself Partamis, apparently from confusion with Patarbemis.

diately joined Amasis and the revolters. Apries was thus left alone with his Carian and Ionian auxiliaries, whose numbers amounted to 30,000. He marched from Sais, where his royal residence was, to meet Amasis, who was advancing from Libya, and the armies encountered at Momemphis, near the borders of the Lake Marcotis. The digression which Herodotus makes at this moment of his narrative¹, to give an account of the castes of Egypt, and especially of the numbers and privileges of the military caste, proves that in his mind this revolt was closely connected with the attempt which the Saitic princes had carried on for three-quarters of a century, to raise up a body of Greek troops, by whose means they might make themselves independent of the ancient soldiery. Their dissatisfaction first manifested itself in the emigration of the Automoli, and most effectually in the revolt under Amasis. That they were still so powerful is a proof that the numbers of the Automoli must have been greatly exaggerated. The auxiliaries were defeated, owing to the superiority in numbers of the Egyptians, and Apries being taken prisoner, was carried back to Sais to the palace, now become the property of Amasis. For a time he was treated with kindness by his conqueror; but the Egyptians murmured at the indulgence shown to one who had made himself so odious to them. Amasis therefore delivered him into the hands of the people, by whom he was strangled², but allowed to be buried with his ancestors in the splendid temple of Minerva at Sais. To the modes of interment in pyramids practised under the Old Monarchy and in grotto sepulchres by the Theban dynasties, another had been added by the Pharaohs of Sais. The level and alluvial Delta afforded neither hills on which pyramids could be set up, as objects conspicuous from afar, nor rocks

¹ 2, 164.

² Jer. xlv. 30. "Thus saith the Lord, Behold I will give Pharaoh Hophra into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life."

in which sepulchres could be hewn. They therefore constructed for their remains vaults within the precincts of the temples, surrounded with pilasters and columns, and opening with folding-doors. The interments of the common people of Sais were made in a large necropolis, of which the remains may still be traced¹. Apries had reigned, according to Herodotus and Manetho as reported by Eusebius, twenty-five years, and died 569 B.C.

AMASIS or Amosis, was a native of Siouph, a small town in the Saitic nome, and of plebeian birth². Thus another great principle of the ancient constitution of Egypt was infringed, according to which the king must be chosen from the priests or the soldiery. Being a man of the people, he was no doubt supported by them, and at first despised by the higher castes for the meanness of his birth. He admonished them, by a truly oriental mode, a symbolical action, of the folly of valuing men according to their origin, instead of their actual place and use in society. He had a golden foot-bath, in which he and his guests were accustomed to wash their feet before the banquet. This he broke up, and out of the material fashioned a statue of a god, which was erected in a public place, and received the homage of the citizens. Sending for the Egyptians, he pointed out to them to what honor this vessel had been raised, which had formerly served for humble and even dishonorable uses³. "My lot," said he, "has been the same: I was once a plebeian; I am now your king; and you must honor and respect me accordingly;" and in this way he gently reconciled them to his yoke. In another respect he innovated upon

¹ Champollion, *Lettres*, p. 50, 52.

² Δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος. (Her. 2, 172.)

³ The lively description of Herodotus gives no high idea of the refinement of Egyptian manners. Φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τῷγαλμα γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμεῖν τε καὶ ἐνουρῆειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι. (2, 172.) In a picture at Thebes (Wilkinson, M. and C., 167) is a representation of the effects of wine on ladies at a feast.

ancient customs. The court ceremonial of Egypt, arranged by the priests, regulated for the sovereign the employment of all his hours, and when he had given the morning to the dispatch of business, prescribed to him religious duties and moral reading. Amasis did not neglect the duties of sovereignty ; on the contrary he established a strict administration throughout Egypt, and raised it to a high degree of prosperity. But having given the early hours of the day to business, he devoted the rest to pleasure, drank freely, and unbent his mind in pleasantries with his boon companions. His friends were scandalized at his levities, and thus addressed him : “ You do wrong, O king, in making yourself so cheap ; you ought to sit gravely in a throne of state, and give the whole day to business ; the Egyptians would then know by how great a personage they are governed, and you would be in better repute with them. Your present conduct is quite unkingly.” But Amasis replied : “ Those who have bows, string them when they want to use them, and unstring them when they have done ; for if they were kept always strung they would break, and be useless when they were wanted. And such is the case with man : if he were to attempt to be always serious, and never to relax with mirth, he would insensibly become mad, or lose his faculties. Aware of this, I give part of my day to business and part to amusement¹.” Amasis is the first king of Egypt of whose personal character we have any knowledge ; the older Pharaohs have been distinguished by their names, their public acts, and the length of their reigns ; but we have known nothing of the *men*. We readily recognize the qualities which made him the favorite of the people and the common soldiers ; Julius Cæsar, Henry V., are examples of a youth spent in licentious and even lawless courses, succeeded by a manhood of vigorous activity and equitable and

¹ Herod. 2, 172. See vol. i. p. 382, the account of the treatment which the different oracles underwent from Amasis after his accession.

sagacious administration¹; and the union of severe application to business, with the love of pleasure and a playful humor in the hours of relaxation, has a parallel in Philip of Macedon.

His reign was favored by external circumstances. The Nile was regular in its rise, and the land yielded abundance to the people; the number of inhabited places exceeded twenty thousand². A friendly alliance was made with Cyrene, and Egyptian prejudice so far set at nought, that Amasis married Ladike, the daughter either of the king of that city, or of an eminent citizen. No danger threatened on the side of Babylon; on the contrary, their relations were friendly, and Amasis, after the power of Cyrus became formidable, entered into an alliance with Nabonadius or Labynetus, the last king of Babylon, for the defence of Cræsus against the Medes³. The rapid movements of Cyrus defeated their purpose, and Sardis was taken before the allies of Cræsus could muster. This was in the year 546 B.C. The naval power of the Phœnicians was so much reduced by the war of Nebuchadnezzar against Tyre, that Amasis dispossessed them of Cyprus⁴, and made it tributary, which would facilitate his intercourse with Asia Minor. His internal regulations were so judicious, that he is reckoned with Menes, Sasychis, Sesostris and Bocchoris, as one of the great legislators of Egypt. They extended, according to Diodorus, to the whole administration⁵, but only one of them is specified⁶. It obliged every man to declare every year to the chief magistrate of his nome, by what means he lived, and if he could show no honest livelihood, he was to be put to death. It is probably more correctly stated by Diodorus⁷ that he who gave a false account of

¹ Παραδέδοται συνετός τε γεγονέναι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς καὶ δίκαιος. (Diod. 1, 95.)

² Herod. 2, 177.

³ Herod. 1, 77.

⁴ Herodotus says, εἰλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων, but this is evidently a mistake.

⁵ 1, 95.

⁶ Herod. 1, 177.

⁷ 1, 77.

himself, or followed an unlawful calling, was punishable with death. From the general character of the administration of Amasis, we should expect to find him moderating the severity of a penal law. Herodotus says that the law of Solon which was in force in his time and was an excellent law, was borrowed from Egypt; but Solon's law only punished idleness with the loss of civic rights, and that perhaps only if a man had for three successive years been without an honest calling¹.

Amasis at first was not favorably disposed towards the Greeks², by whose defeat he had been advanced to the throne, but he continued them in his service, and afterwards removed their quarters to Memphis, that they might be available against the population of the capital. He showed himself also very friendly towards the whole Greek nation. He allowed all who pleased to inhabit the city of Naucratis, and to those who came only for commercial purposes, he gave sites on which they might build altars to their gods. The largest and most illustrious of these factories was that which was called *Hellenion*, founded by the principal states of Asiatic Greece; Chios, Teos, Phocæa and Clazomenæ in Ionia; Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis in Doris; and the single city of Mitylene in Æolis. These cities enjoyed exclusively the privilege of appointing the magistrates or *consuls* who regulated the commercial concerns of the Hellenion; others claimed a share, but Herodotus emphatically declares that it did not belong to them. Ægina, however, had independently founded a *temenos* of Jupiter, the Samians of Juno and the Milesians of Apollo, their respective chief divinities; and these were probably older than the Hellenion, as the states which founded them were distinguished in navigation earlier than the others. Amasis sent

¹ Petit, *Leges Atticæ*, p. 520, ed. Wessel. Herodotus himself speaks of Solon's visiting Egypt *after* he had given laws to Athens (1, 30).

² Φιλέλλην γένόμενος ὁ Ἀμᾶσις is the expression of Herodotus (2, 177).

presents to several of the Grecian temples ; a gilded image of Minerva with his own picture, to Cyrene ; to Lindus, two statues of Minerva in stone, and a linen corslet of wonderful workmanship. According to the description which Herodotus gives¹ of a similar present made to the Lacedæmonians, each thread consisted of 360 filaments clearly to be distinguished. Figures were woven in the pattern of the linen, and it was adorned with gold and cotton². Cotton, being used as a costly material along with gold for the enrichment of the linen, was probably of recent introduction from Ethiopia or India ; for it seems not to have been known in Egypt in earlier times³. The corslet sent to Lindus remained to the time of Pliny, though nearly destroyed by the curiosity of travellers, and the examination of it verified the account of Herodotus⁴. Another occasion for displaying his liberality towards the Greeks was offered by the conflagration of the temple at Delphi, which took place 548 B.C. Its restoration was undertaken for the sum of 300 talents by the wealthy family of the Alcæonidæ, and was to be paid for by a general contribution of the members of the Amphictyonic confederacy. Of this sum one-fourth part was allotted to the Delphians, who being unable to raise it themselves, wandered throughout Greece and the Grecian settlements, begging for contributions, and visited among the rest their countrymen settled in Egypt. From them they received 20 minæ ; from Amasis 1000 talents, about 50,000 pounds weight of alum. It is ob-

¹ Her. 3, 47.

² Ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐννυφασμένων, συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοις ἃ πρὸ ξύλου. (Her. u. s.)

³ Jul. Poll. 7, 75. Plin. N. H. 19, 1.

⁴ Mirentur hæc (the fact that there were 150 threads in one rope of a hunting-net) ignorantes in Egyptii quondam regis, quem Amasim vocant, thorace, in Rhodiorum insula ostendi in templo Minervæ cccclxv. filis singula fila constare ; quod se expertum nuper Romæ prodidit Mutianus ter Consul, parvasque jam reliquias ejus superesse, l. i. experientiam injuria. (N. H. 19, 1.)

tained in great quantities from the Oases of the Libyan Desert, and this was reckoned the purest of any. It was of extensive use, especially in dyeing, and very costly ; in later times the Lipari Islands enjoyed the monopoly of it, and acquired incredible riches, says Diodorus, from this source¹. More recently it has been a source of great wealth, first to the Turks, and afterwards to the Popes, who for a long time possessed the monopoly².

The alliance and friendship of Amasis with Polycrates of Samos is very celebrated, and must belong to the latest part of Amasis' reign. Polycrates (532 B.C.) had made himself master of the whole of that island, having killed one of his brothers and expelled the other, and acquired a degree of power and splendor which no Grecian tyrant ever equalled, except Gelon and Hiero of Syracuse³. The Samians, as we have seen, were commercially connected with Egypt, and Polycrates cultivated the friendship of Amasis. For a time uninterrupted success attended his schemes ; but they were carried on with little regard for the rights of his neighbors⁴, whom he invaded and plundered without scruple. Amasis had marked his prosperity, and on occasion of some new success was so convinced that a dreadful reverse must be preparing for him, that he addressed to him, says Herodotus, the following letter :—"Amasis to Polycrates. It is pleasant to hear of the prosperity of one with whom we are connected in friendship and hospitality. But thy great successes displease me, knowing how envious the divinity is,

¹ Diod. 5, 10. Murray's Africa (2, p. 67), of the alum found in the Oasis of Shelima. Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, 428; Russegger, *Reise* (2, 1, 342), of the Oases Chardscheh, El-Dachel and El-Bacharieh. A Frenchman in partnership with the Viceroy was carrying on the manufacture there on a large scale at the time of Russegger's visit, 1836 (*Reise, u. s.* p. 53).

² Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions*, London, 1846, 1, 196. The ancient *alumen* appears not to have been so well purified as our alum from the sulphate of iron which is mixed with it in nature.

³ Herod. 3, 125.

⁴ Herod. 3, 39, 40.

and it is my wish for those in whom I am interested, that they should succeed in some things and fail in others, and thus experience an alternation of fortune through life, rather than be always prosperous. For I have never yet heard of any one who had been successful in everything, who did not suffer entire ruin before he died. Take my advice, then, and counteract your prosperity in this way ; consider what is the thing you value most and would be most grieved to lose, and throw that away in such a manner that it shall never come back again among men. And if in future good and ill fortune should not alternate with you, adopt the remedy that I suggest." The moral of this letter is that with which Herodotus himself philosophized on history and human life, and it coincides so exactly with the address of Solon to Cræsus, in another part of his work, even to the phraseology¹, as to leave no doubt that he has held the pen for Amasis, as he made himself the spokesman of Solon. Polycrates weighed the advice, and found that there was nothing which it would grieve him more to lose than a costly emerald ring, engraved by Theodorus of Samos². He therefore ordered a pentecontor to be manned, rowed out into the deep sea, and in the presence of all drew his ring from his finger, dropped it into the water, and returned to his palace with a heavy heart. It was a notion of the ancient religions that one who was threatened with an overwhelming calamity by the anger or envy of the gods, might break the force of the blow by volun-

¹ 1, 32. Ἐπισταμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτᾷ ἀνθρωπῶν πραγμάτων περί; 3, 40. Ἐμοὶ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἐσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἐστι φθονερόν. 1, 32. Χρὴ παντὸς χρημάτων σκοπεῖν τὴν τελευτὴν κῆ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὁ λῆβον ὁ θεὸς προῤῥίζους ἀνέτρεψε. 3, 40. Οὐδένα οἶδα ὅστις εἰς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόβριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα.

² Plin. N. H. 37, 1, 2. "Sardonychem eam gemmam fuisse constat; ostenduntque Romæ, si credimus, Concordiæ delubro, cornu aureo Augusti dono inclusam."

tarily taking on himself some minor evil, and thus compound his debt to Fate. But in this case the composition was refused. Five or six days after, a fisherman who had caught a fish of unusual size and beauty, carried it as a present to Polycrates. When the servants opened it they found in the stomach the lost ring, and in great joy brought it to their master, who, struck with the ominous character of the event, wrote a full description of all that had happened to Amasis in Egypt. He perceived that the god was bent upon the ruin of Polycrates, and sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, in order, says Herodotus, that when some terrible calamity should befall him, he might not be grieved by thinking of him as his friend. The story of the ring recovered by means of the fish, is one of the traditional stock of fictions whose origin is not to be traced. Amasis may have had reasons of policy for renouncing the friendship of Polycrates. He aspired to be master of Ionia and the islands¹, and voluntarily offered a naval armament to Cambyzes, for the invasion of Egypt, which was on the point of taking place when Amasis died². And though Herodotus has courteously omitted any intimation in the letter, that the abuse of power was a sure means of drawing down retribution, Amasis cannot have been ignorant that Polycrates was guilty of acts of tyranny, very likely to bring about his ruin. The unromantic account of Diodorus is, that Amasis renounced the friendship of Polycrates, on finding that he paid no regard to an embassy which he sent, exhorting him to abstain from his outrages on his own fellow-citizens, and on strangers who resorted to Samos³. The fulfilment of the augury took place a few years later, when Polycrates was crucified by the Persian Oroetes, into whose power he had put himself, in spite of the warning of dreams and oracles⁴.

Like others whom the Greeks classed under the general name

¹ Her. 3, 122.

² Her. 3, 44.

³ Diod. 1, 96.

⁴ Her. 3, 124, B. C. 523.

of tyrants, Polycrates collected poets and men of letters around him, and is said to have formed a library'. One of the most illustrious of these was Pythagoras, a native of Samos, of Phœnician parentage, who is said to have visited Egypt, recommended by Polycrates to the protection of Amasis. Of the wide peregrinations attributed to this philosopher, which reached even to India and Gaul, his residence in Egypt is the best-attested portion. The authors on whom we are compelled to rely for his history lived so long after his own time, and there is so much of mystery and exaggeration in their accounts, that we know not what reliance is to be placed on the stories of the severe trials which the priesthood made him undergo, and his final success in obtaining initiation into all their secrets. But that he had resided long in Egypt, and become acquainted both with their religion and their science, we learn on surer evidence, the character of his own philosophy and institutions. Herodotus all but names him as having derived from Egypt the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, of which we find no trace before in Greek religion or philosophy². His knowledge of medicine, and strict system of dietetic rules, lead us to conclude that he had been trained in Egypt, where medicine had attained the highest perfection, and dietary rules had been systematized with the greatest success. His attainments in geometry correspond with the ascertained fact that Egypt was the birthplace of that art. He is distinguished in the history of philosophy for an attempt, happily unsuccessful, because uncongenial to the Grecian mind, to make knowledge a mystery, to obstruct the approach to it by the interposition of long and repulsive discipline,

¹ Athen. Epit. lib. 1, p. 3. Wolf, without reason, throws doubt on this statement (Proleg. cxlv. note 7).

² Herodotus speaks of the prohibition to bury in woollen as belonging to the orgies which were called Orphic and Bacchic, but were really Egyptian and Pythagorean rites (2, 81); but this does not necessarily imply a belief in the transmigration of the soul.

by investing the teacher with a supernatural character to exalt his precepts into oracles, and to place the governing power of the state in the hands of an order who had been separated from their fellow-citizens and inspired with an *esprit de corps* by their education. In these respects the Pythagorean school resembled the Egyptian priesthood of this age, as far as the different circumstances of Greece and Egypt would allow imitation, and there was no other model in the ancient world that he could have copied¹.

Solon must have come to Egypt² before the reign of Amasis, if his visit preceded his legislation ; a supposition not necessary to account for the similarity between his laws and those of Egypt. Tradition related that he had been the companion of Psenophis, the priest of Heliopolis, and Sonchis, the priest of Sais, two of the most learned of their order, and philosophized with them³. His object would be very different from that of Pythagoras, not to dive into religious mysteries, but to learn practical wisdom, such as he might have applied to the benefit of his country on his return, had he not found its liberties overthrown by Pisistratus. If we may believe Plato, however, he brought home thence a wondrous tale of the ancient glories of Athens, in times some thousand years prior to Phoroneus and Niobe and Deucalion's flood, when she had

¹ According to Pliny, N. H. 36, 9, Semenpserteus was the name of the king in whose reign Pythagoras came to Egypt. The Bamberg MS. reads *Spemetnepserphreo*, whence Bunsen elicits *Psameticho Nephherphreo*. (Urkundenbuch, p. 85, Germ.)

² Herodotus (1, 29, 30) represents him as visiting Egypt after his legislation (594 B. C.), but does not expressly say that he was there in the reign of Amasis, who came to the throne in 570 B. C., although his words (2, 177) seem to imply not only this, but that Amasis was a legislator before Solon. Grote and Niebuhr have remarked that there is an error of forty years in Herodotus' chronology of this period (Grote, 3, 205). There is a similar variation of forty years in the assigned age of Pythagoras. See Fynes Clinton, F. H. vol. 2, p. 9.

³ Plut. Sol. 26. *Δογματάτοις οὐσι τῶν ἱερέων συνεφιλοσόφησε,*

repelled an invasion of the inhabitants of the since submerged island of Atlantis, who had overrun the whole of the west, as far as Egypt and Tyrrhenia¹. There is much in the story which betrays the desire of the priests of Sais at once to ingratiate themselves with the Athenians, by finding parallels between Attic and Egyptian usages, and to maintain their own superiority ; and no historical inference can be drawn from any part of it. Yet the mention of the impossibility of navigating the Atlantic, in consequence of the mud produced by the subsidence of the island, deserves notice, in reference rather to the age of Plato than of Solon. We have seen that after the time of Herodotus it became the established opinion that Africa could not be circumnavigated, owing to some obstruction vaguely described. The modern navigator finds neither mud nor shallows nor dead calms, but the seaweed which covers the ocean south of the Azores really does impede navigation, and would have stopped the enterprise of Columbus, had he not skilfully turned the terror of his crew into an encouragement, by representing it as a proof that land was near². Should it hereafter be ascertained that a ridge now covered by the Atlantic ocean once joined the two worlds, the tale of the priest of Sais, or of Plato, will only be an example of a guess curiously fulfilled, like Seneca's prophecy of the discovery of a new world.

Among the temples enlarged or decorated by Amasis, that of Minerva at Sais was particularly distinguished. He erected there propylæa, which, both for height and size and the magnitude and the quality of the stones employed, surpassed all others. These he brought from the quarries of Memphis, as well as the colossal figures and androsphinxes with which the dromos was adorned. A monolithical shrine of granite from the quarries of Elephantine excited the especial admiration of Herodotus. Two thousand men were appointed to bring it down the Nile ; from Elephantine to

¹ Tim. iii. 25, Steph.

² See Grote's Greece, 3, 382, note.

Sais was an ordinary navigation of only twenty days, but in this case three years were occupied, probably because the immense weight made it impossible to float it except during the season of the high Nile. Its height was above thirty feet ; its depth, from front to back, twelve feet ; its breadth twenty-one¹. After all the cost and labor bestowed on its extraction and conveyance, it was not erected in the temple of Minerva : as they were drawing it in, the superintendent of the works uttered a groan through weariness of the labor and the thought of the time that had been expended ; and Amasis, either because he deemed this ominous, or because one of the workmen had been killed in the process of moving it on levers, would not allow it to be drawn any further. When Herodotus visited Egypt, it remained lying on the ground before the temple. There remains at Tel-et-mai, the ancient Thmuis in the Delta, a monolithal shrine of the granite of Syene, bearing the name of Amasis, of similar form to that which Herodotus describes ; but its length is only twenty-one feet nine inches, and its breadth thirteen feet². Amasis erected also a colossus seventy-five feet in height at Memphis, before the temple of Ptah, and two of granite, twenty feet in height, one on each side of the inner sanctuary. One of the same size at Sais was prostrate like the great colossus. Judging from analogy, we may suppose that these were colossal statues of himself, which the Persian conqueror of Egypt threw down, among his other outrages on the memory of Amasis. He also built a large and splendid temple to Isis at Memphis³. Inscriptions are found on the rocks at Syene which confirm the accounts of Herodotus respecting the extensive excavations made there by this king for his various public works.

¹ See note on Kenrick's Herod. 2, 175. He gives its measures as it lay on the ground ; consequently what he calls the length was the *height*, and so of the other dimensions.

² Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 1, 191 ; Mod. Eg. and Thebes, 1, 440. Champ. Egypte sous les Pharaons, 2, 114.

³ Her. 2, 176.

His reign lasted, according to the lists and Herodotus¹, forty-four years ; and Rosellini has found a tablet in the quarries of Mokattam, bearing his name and this date². His death took place in the year 526 B.C., when his kingdom was on the point of being invaded by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus.

Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages, the son of the Cyaxares by whom Nineveh was besieged, had united the empire of the Medes with that of the Persians, and reduced Asia Minor, Lydia, and the Grecian colonies into subjection. Babylon alone remained in Western Asia as an independent state. It is remarkable that Herodotus says nothing of the expansion of the power of Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, but represents Nitocris, queen of the Babylonians, as alarmed at the growing empire of the Medes, after their capture of Nineveh³. It should seem that immediately after this event, accomplished by the alliance of the Medes and Babylonians, the Medes turned their arms towards Lydia, and left Babylon in possession of the greater part of the territories dependent on Nineveh ; for the king against whom Cyrus advanced is called, not king of Babylon, but king of Assyria⁴. The name of the queen Nitocris is so entirely Egyptian, that we cannot hesitate to consider her as a daughter of the Pharaohs⁵.

¹ 3, 10.

² Mon. Stor. 2, 152. It has been said by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (M. and C. 1, 179), that the title *Melek* is given to Amasis in some of his legends. Dr. Wiseman (Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion, page 301) says, that Amasis on his monuments *never* receives the Egyptian titles of royalty, but instead of a prænomen the Semitic title of *Melek*. This is a mistake ; Amasis has the usual titles, "Son of the Sun," &c. *Melek* is found over some shields bearing his name, but they may belong to the Amasis mentioned by Herodotus (4, 167), who lived in the reign of Darius. See Sharpe, Hist. of Egypt, plates 190, 191.

³ Her. 1, 185. Τὴν Μήδων ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσιν ἀλλὰ τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφύλαξάτο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα.

⁴ Her. 1, 188.

⁵ Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 1, 25, calls her a Median.

The wife of Psammitichus I., and the daughter of Psammis or Psammitichus II. both bear this name¹. Coupling this circumstances with the absence of all hostility between Egypt and Babylon after the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar², it seems probable that Nebuchadnezzar had married an Egyptian princess. The succession of the Babylonian kings is thus given by Ptolemy, whose authority must be considered as the highest :—

	Years.
1. NABOCOLASSAR (Nebuchadnezzar)	43
2. ILLOARADAMUS	2
3. NERIGASSOLASSAR (Neriglissar)	4
4. NABONADIUS	17

The Nabonadius of Ptolemy is evidently the Labynetus of Herodotus, the Belshazzar of Daniel, and, according to Herodotus, the son of Nitocris. Herodotus calls her husband also Labynetus, which does not agree with Ptolemy ; but he appears to have known only two Babylonian kings, both of whom he calls Labynetus³. In what relation Illoaradamus (Evilmerodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son) stood to Neriglissar we do not learn from Ptolemy, but Berosus⁴ informs us that Neriglissar was husband of his sister, and put him to death. It seems probable therefore that Nitocris was the widow of Nebuchadnezzar⁵ ; that after the death of Neriglissar, who reigned but four years, she was regent, or guardian, of her son Nabonadius, and that foreseeing the impending attack

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, 130, 137.

² See p. 352 of this vol.

³ Labynetus the Babylonian, whom he mentions (1, 74) as making peace between the Lydians and Medes, must be Nebuchadnezzar.

⁴ Jos. Apion. 1, 20.

⁵ From Jeremiah xxvii. 7, it has been inferred that Nebuchadnezzar's grandson was to lose his power, and Evilmerodach may have been the husband of Nitocris and father of Labynetus. But perhaps "son's son" may only mean a short succession, as Παιδες παίδων τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται in Homer, an indefinitely long one.

of Cyrus, she performed those works which Herodotus describes and praises for the protection of Babylonia against invasion. They are such as might naturally suggest themselves to a native of Egypt. That country had been rendered impracticable for the operations of cavalry by its canals. The Euphrates just above Babylon had previously flowed in a straight channel ; she gave it such a winding and interlaced course, that, according to Herodotus (1, 185), in descending in a boat you were brought thrice to the same place, and on the third day were no further advanced than on the first. She raised an embankment along the course of the river, resembling that by which Memphis was protected, and a reservoir like that of Mœris below the city to receive the superfluous waters of the inundation. These works were evidently intended to answer a double purpose, to regulate the operations of the river, and render the country inaccessible and difficult for an invading army. Another of her works was the construction of a bridge, consisting of piers on which planks were laid, for joining the two parts of Babylon on the opposite side of the Euphrates. We know from the monuments that the Egyptians had constructed such bridges some centuries before this time¹. All her precautions, however, were unavailing ; Cyrus defeated the Babylonians in the field, and afterwards captured the city by drawing off the waters of the river, and entering along its bed. This was in the year 538 B.C. No hostility against Egypt² followed the conquest of Babylon ; the attention of Cyrus was drawn towards the nomadic nations on his north-eastern frontier, and in an expedition against the Massagetæ, he lost his life in the year 529 B.C. He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who almost immediately began to prepare for an expedition against Egypt.

¹ See p. 218 of this vol.

² The assertion of Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*, 1, 1, that Cyrus conquered Egypt, is generally and justly rejected by historical critics.

Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Eight Persian kings.

	Years.
1. CAMBYSES, in the fifth year of his reign over Persia became king of Egypt, and reigned	6
2. DARIUS, son of Hystaspes	36
3. XERXES THE GREAT	21
4. ARTABANUS	7 m'ths.
5. ARTAXERXES	41
6. XERXES	2 "
7. SOGDIANUS	7 "
8. DARIUS, son of Xerxes	19
	124 4 "

No single or personal cause is at all necessary to account for an attack on a wealthy country like Egypt, by a newly-risen and aggressive power such as that of the Medo-Persians, which, according to Herodotus, "would not rest¹." In all recent encounters between the armies of Egypt and those of the great Asiatic states, Egypt had been worsted, if we except the invasion of Sennacherib, whose defeat the Egyptians themselves regarded as a miracle. Popular tradition, however, supplied many such causes. According to that which was most evidently devised in order to soothe the national pride of the Egyptians, Cambyzes was the son of Nitetis, a daughter of Apries, whom Cyrus had taken as a secondary wife—whereas, says Herodotus, it is notorious that no son of a secondary wife succeed to the throne of Persia, and that Cambyzes was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, a man of the Achæmenid family. The Persian story was, that Cambyzes had sent to Egypt to demand in marriage a daughter of Amasis, who, knowing she would be only a secondary wife and not his queen, substituted a beautiful daughter of Apries, and that Cambyzes discovering the fraud, was so enraged that he deter-

¹ Οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσιν. See note ², p. 371.

mined to invade Egypt. This story is refuted by chronology. Apries had died more than forty years before, and his daughter¹, though arrayed, as Herodotus says, "in royal vestments and gold," could never have gained the affections of the youthful monarch, as the story implies. Another version was that Nitetis was the wife, not of Cambyses, but of Cyrus. A Persian woman visiting his harem; was struck with the beauty of the children of Cassandane, and praised them greatly to their mother. "Yet would you believe it," said Cassandane, "Cyrus neglects me, the mother of such children as these, to pay honor to an Egyptian interloper²." On this, Cambyses, her elder son, a boy of ten years of age, exclaimed, "Therefore, mother, when I am a man, I will turn Egypt upside down;" and recollecting his promise when he came to the throne, he prepared to invade that country.

Among these various stories, one thing alone appears to have the sanction of Herodotus. An Egyptian, at the request of Cyrus, had been sent to him by Amasis, as the most skilful oculist in the country. This was equivalent to a perpetual separation from his wife and children; and either in revenge, or in the hope of revisiting Egypt, if war should result from the refusal of Amasis, he urged Cambyses to demand his daughter. The demand was probably refused—the Persians said, eluded. It happened about the time when Cambyses was preparing his expedition, that Amasis had given offence to Phanes of Halicarnassus, one of the commanders of his mercenary troops, a man of great valor and ability. He had got on shipboard, intending to join Cambyses, but Amasis, knowing his estimation among his auxiliaries, and his accurate acquaintance with everything relating to Egypt, sent a trireme in pursuit of him. The eunuch who had the command of the vessel

¹ Herodotus calls her *ἡ παῖς*, but we have before had occasion to observe how little he troubles himself with chronological difficulties.

² Τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ κτητὸν ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται (3, 3).

overtook and seized him in Lycia, but he made his guards intoxicated, and escaped to Cambyses. The Persian king was then deliberating how he should pass the Désert between Egypt and Palestine, and Phanes not only gave him information on this point, but laid open to him the whole state of Amasis' affairs. This Desert of sand extends from Kan Iones (Jenysus), about five or six hours' travelling to the south-west of Gaza, to Salahieh in Egypt. Along this distance of 107 geographical miles there is no trace of vegetation, nor any water fit for drinking; the first sixty miles, from Kan Iones to the commencement of the Casian Mount at the angle of the coast, are entirely destitute of water¹. The sands of the Isthmus are loose and shifting², and the track was marked by tall poles. The Casian Mount, on which a temple of Jupiter stood, was only a ridge of sandy downs, somewhat higher than the adjacent coast³. The sea-coast anciently possessed by the Philistines as far south as Jenysus was at this time in the power of the Arabians, and from Jenysus to the confines of Egypt, of the Syrians of Palestine⁴. The Arabians were Idumeans, who had encroached upon the territory of the Jews⁵, and extended themselves from Petra and the Ælanitic Gulf to the Mediterranean. The Syrians, according to the use of that name elsewhere by Herodotus, must have been Jews, some of those fugitives who, as we learn from various passages in the prophets, had settled themselves, at the time of the Captivity, along the frontiers of Egypt,

¹ Ἀνδρόν δεινῶς. (Her. 3, 5.)

² Nisi calami defixi regunt via non reperitur, subinde aura vestigia operiente. (Plin. N. H. 6, 33.)

³ Strabo, 16, p. 760. Lucan, Phars. 8, 539.

⁴ Ἀπὸ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὐρῶν τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἡ ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, αὐτὴς Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης. (Her. 3, 5.) By "the boundaries of the city Cadytis" Herodotus probably means Joppa, which was the port of Jerusalem. (Strabo, 16, 759.)

⁵ Ezek. xxxvi. 5.

from the neighborhood of Heliopolis to the sea. The Syriac language was spoken there, even in the days of Jerome¹.

Phanes advised Cambyzes to avail himself of the aid of the Idumæans for accomplishing his passage through the Desert. Without their friendship he could have obtained no adequate supply of water² : he had an auxiliary fleet of Asiatic Greeks, Ionians and Æolians whom his father had reduced ; but the nature of the coast precludes the possibility that an army should be supplied by a fleet accompanying its progress. It is destitute of harbors, and the shore is bordered by shifting sands, which appear firm, but give way under the foot³. The Egyptian kings had made no provision for a supply of water in this Desert, whose sands were a better bulwark to their kingdom than any wall or trench⁴. Cambyzes entered into a treaty for this purpose with the Idumæans. According to their usage, it was ratified by the representatives of the two contracting parties allowing a vein to be opened with a sharp stone in one of their hands, beside the middle finger. With a shred from the outer garment of each dipped in the blood, the person who officiated then anointed seven stones placed in the midst⁵, and called on Dionysus and Urania by the names of Orotal and Alilat to sanction the pledge⁶. Different accounts were given of

¹ Hieron. ad Is. 19, 18. "Ostracinam et ceteras juxta Rhinocoluram et Casium civitates usque hodie in Ægypto lingua Canaanitide, hoc est Syra, loqui manifestum est." See p. 269 of this vol. note ¹. ² Herod. 3, 88.

³ From Strabo (16, 758) it seems as if there were a tide here as in the Syrtes, and several other bays of the Mediterranean, which increased the danger of passing, especially as they were of irregular occurrence. See in Diod. 20, 73 *seq.* the account of the expedition of Antigonus, and the danger to which his fleet was exposed.

⁴ Rennell's Geogr. of Herodotus, 1, 339.

⁵ Compare Gen. xxi. 28. "To swear" in Hebrew is literally "to seven" שבע. Traces of this practice of taking an oath before a stone were found at Athens. (Poll. Onom. viii. 9, 86.)

⁶ Probably the Sun and Moon, who appear from Job xxxi. 26, 27, to have been worshipped in Idumæa, the country of the patriarch.

the manner in which the necessary quantity of water was supplied. It was said that a river had been conveyed through leather hose into three reservoirs on different parts of the line of march. But no such river existed anywhere within reach, and it appears that a great number of camels were laden with water-skins, and driven by the Idumæans to those points in the Desert at which the army of Cambyses would halt. The Book of Job affords a proof that the Idumæans possessed very numerous herds of camels, which in this age were unknown, except as foreign animals, on the western side of the Isthmus of Suez¹. The Persians immediately took measures to secure a regular passage, by laying down vessels of earthen-ware beside the track, which were filled with water² from the Nile.

Amasis died (525 B.C.) while Cambyses was preparing his expedition³, and had been embalmed and consigned to the tomb which he had constructed for himself in the temple of Minerva at Sais. His son PSAMMENITUS assembled his Greek and Egyptian forces, and awaited the approach of the Persians in his camp near Pelusium. Before the armies engaged, the Ionians and Carians took a cruel revenge on Phanes, by whose treachery the enemy had been enabled to pass the Desert. His children, whom he had left behind him in Egypt, were brought out, one at a time, into the space between the camps in view of their father, their

¹ See Ritter, *Asien*, 13, 757.

² This practice the Nabathæan Arabs also used. (Diod. 19, 94.) They buried pots full of rain-water in the Desert, in places known only to themselves. See Rennell, *u. s.*

³ A passage of Theopompus, preserved by Longinus, sect. 43, and describing the *κατάβαιος* of some Persian king into Egypt, has been referred by Toup (*l. c.*) and Schweighæuser (ad Athen. 2, 67) to the expedition of Cambyses. But the description evidently belongs to a much later period of the Persian Monarchy, nor is it easy to conceive how the reign of Cambyses should come within the scope of any work of Theopompus, who wrote a History of the latter part of the Peloponnesian war and the reign of Philip.

throats cut, and the blood which was received into a goblet, mixed with wine and water, and drunk by the auxiliaries. "And so," says the historian, "they went to battle¹."

The calamitous issue of the battle had been portended to the Egyptians by the fall of a shower of rain at Thebes²; it was obstinate, and attended with great slaughter on both sides, but ultimately the Persians triumphed, and the Egyptians fled in disorder to Memphis. The field remained strewn with skulls in the time of Herodotus, and those of the Egyptians could be distinguished from the Persians by their superior hardness (a fact confirmed by the mummies), the result, as he thought, of the practice of shaving the head from infancy. We read of no outrages or acts of cruelty committed by Cambyses on occasion of his victory; he sent a Mitylenean vessel, with a Persian herald on board, to Memphis to propose a pacification. The Egyptians, as soon as they saw it approaching, rushed down in a body, destroyed the ship, hacked the crew to pieces, and exposed their mutilated limbs on the wall. Cambyses immediately formed the siege of Memphis, which held out for a considerable time, but ultimately surrendered. Ten days after its capture, 2000 Egyptian youths were led out to be put to death, in reprisal for the 300 men of the Mitylenean vessel whom the people of Memphis had massacred. This was no sudden act of furious revenge on the part of Cambyses; the royal judges had decided that a tenfold retribution must take place. Darius without such provocation empaled 3000 of the most eminent Babylonians³. The law of reprisals is terrible in its operation, falling on the innocent instead of the guilty, or at best involving both; but it is the *ultima ratio* which upholds the law of nations,

¹ According to Polyænus (7, 9) Cambyses used a stratagem, placing in front of his line, dogs, sheep, cats, ibises and other animals held sacred by the Egyptians, and thus preventing them from using their missiles against the Persians as they approached.

² Her. 3, 10.

³ Herod. 3, 159.

clearly violated by the Egyptians. Herodotus thus relates the scene which passed. I regret the necessity of giving his narrative in any other language than his own :—

“Ten days after Memphis had surrendered, Cambyses brought out Psammenitus, who had been six months king of Egypt, and seating him, exposed to public contumely, in the suburb, along with other Egyptians of the first rank, put his spirit to the proof in this way. Having dressed the daughter of Psammenitus in the garb of a slave, he sent her forth carrying a pitcher to fetch water, and with her the maiden daughters of the chief men, in a similar garb to that of the princess. The other parents, when their children came opposite to where they sat, lifted up their voices and wept at the sight of their afflicted condition ; but Psammenitus, though he recognised his daughter, only bent his head towards the ground. When these were gone by, Cambyses made his son pass before him along with 2000 other Egyptians of the same age, gagged, and with ropes round their necks, who were on their way to execution, in reprisal for the Mityleneans who had been put to death at Memphis. The other Egyptians who sat near him wept and lamented as before ; but Psammenitus, though he saw them pass, and knew that his son was on his way to death, did as he had done when his daughter went by. But when they all had passed, there happened to come by an aged man, who had been one of his table-companions, now stripped of everything, and begging from the soldiers. On the sight of him Psammenitus burst into tears, and, calling on his friend's name, beat his head in grief. Men had been stationed to watch him, and report his behavior to Cambyses, who, being astonished, sent a messenger to him with this inquiry,—‘ Psammenitus, thy lord Cambyses asks thee why, when thou sawest thy daughter in affliction and thy son going forth to death, thou didst neither weep nor utter any exclamation, but hast shown respect to this beggar, who, as I hear, is no way allied to thee.’ Thus Cambyses questioned, and thus Psammenitus

replied:—‘O son of Cyrus, the misfortunes of my own family were too great for weeping, but the sorrow of my companion deserved tears ; on the threshold of old age he has fallen from great prosperity into beggary.’ ” The history beautifully illustrates the difference between the misery that closes, and the sympathy that unlocks the source of tears, and the sequel shows that it was not lost on Cambyses. The Persians who were present wept ; Cræsus, who had followed Cambyses from Lydia, wept ; he himself (it is the Egyptians who report) felt some touch of pity¹ ; he commanded the son of Psammenitus to be spared, and his father to be brought from the suburbs to his presence. The son had suffered before the messenger arrived ; but Psammenitus was conducted to Cambyses, and for the present lived unmolested in his household.

From Memphis Cambyses went to Sais, and commanded the mummy of Amasis to be brought forth from its repository. It was subjected to various indignities, the hair was plucked off, the body pierced and beaten with stripes. But the process of embalmment had made it so firm, that all this produced little change in it, and Cambyses ordered it to be burnt. This was an act, according to Herodotus, equally abhorrent to the feelings both of Persians and Egyptians ; for the Persians, who esteemed fire to be a god, would regard its employment for the consumption of a dead body as a pollution². The Egyptians believed or pretended³ that it was not really the corpse of their late king which underwent these indignities, but that Amasis, foreseeing the vio-

¹ Her. 3, 14. Ὡς δὲ λέγεται ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων . . . αὐτῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἰκτὸν τινα.

² Ctesias (Pers. § 57. Bähr.) appears to deny this burning of the body of Amasis, but only on the ground that it was not accordant with Persian usage. He does not indeed mention Amasis (the extract in Photius is obscure), but he charges Herodotus with falsehood, and there is no other part of the history to which he can refer.

³ Αἱ μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται οὗ μοι δοκέουσιν ἀρχὴν γονέσθαι, ἄλλως δ’ αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν. (Her. 3, 16.)

lation of his sepulchre, of which he had been warned by an oracle, had buried a corpse close to the entrance, and commanded his son to inter his own in an interior recess. Such outrages on the remains of the dead are justly reprobated as effusions of impotent rage, but they have been too often imitated among Christian nations.

As Egypt was subdued, and apparently incapable of resistance, Cambyses planned three expeditions for the extension and security of his conquests. The people of Lybia bordering on Egypt surrendered without a battle, submitted to become tributaries, and sent presents with which Cambyses was satisfied. The people of Cyrene and its colony, Barca¹, did the same ; but he either despised their gifts or doubted their sincerity, and flung the 500 minæ of silver which they had sent him in handfuls to his soldiery. He allowed, however, Ladice, the widow of Amasis, to return unmolested to Cyrene, her native city. The Carthaginians were the only other power in Northern Africa from whom Cambyses had anything to fear. They were at this time in the height of their prosperity, predominant over the colonies which they had planted among the Libyan tribes, without a rival in naval power in the western part of the Mediterranean², and enriched by an extensive traffic both maritime and inland. They could be reached, however, only by sea, and Persia had no fleet of her own, depending on her Greek subjects and her Cyprian and Phœnician allies³ ; and Carthage being a colony of Tyre, the Phœnicians professed to regard it as an impiety to attack their own children. Cambyses did not think it expedient to attempt to force them, and the rest

¹ Her. 4, 160. It had been founded about thirty years before. The remains of walls and sepulchres at *Merge*, about eight miles from Cyrene, which were first discovered by Della Cella, appear to mark its site. (Ritter, Erdk. 1, 942.)

² They had defeated the Phocæans in a great naval battle B.C. 536.

³ Her. 3, 19.

of his fleet not being able alone to cope with the Carthaginians, they escaped being reduced into slavery to Persia.

Nothing has contributed more to procure for Cambyses the character of a frantic madman than his expedition to Ethiopia. Had it been really undertaken against a people living, as Herodotus supposed, where Africa is washed by the southern sea¹ and in revenge for an insulting message, he would have deserved this character. But we must distinguish between the Ethiopia of Egyptian history and the Ethiopia of Greek mythology. The former is better known in this age than in the age of Herodotus. Its seat was in Upper Nubia, Dongola and Meroe, and though we have heard of no invasion of the Egyptian territories by the Ethiopians since the accession of the Saitic dynasty, we have no ground to believe that their power was so decayed as to be no longer formidable to Egypt, especially to Egypt when become a province of Persia, and filled with a discontented population. Sound reasons of policy might therefore induce Cambyses to undertake an expedition against it. The narrative of Herodotus is altogether romantic. Even in the time of Homer the Greek fancy was excited by tales respecting the Ethiopians. They were a blameless race, extending from the rising to the setting sun, devoted to the worship of the gods, and honored by their special presence. If Homer had any distinct conception of their geographical position, he probably placed them immediately above Egypt, whence he believed them to spread in indefinite extension to the east and west, wherever there was a rumor of sun-blackened men. But in the age of Herodotus the countries which bordered upon Egypt, though rarely visited by Greeks, were too well known to be the scene of prodigies; the course of the Nile to Meroe was explored and measured; it was believed that the limits of geographical knowledge had been carried forward a thousand miles

¹ Her. 3, 114.

above Meroe by the settlement of the Automoli. Yet fiction would not for this loose its hold of the Ethiopians ; to Herodotus as to Homer they were still “ the remotest of men, dwelling on the shores of the ocean¹ ;” but the ocean was now the southern boundary of Africa, a real sea, though misconceived by Herodotus in regard to its position and direction. The barbarism of the tribes who dwelt to the south of Meroe, and their consequent freedom from the vices of civilization, afforded an opportunity for making them the heirs of that peculiar favor of the gods which their mythic predecessors had enjoyed ; they surpass all men in beauty, strength and longevity, and instead of living by laborious culture of the soil, a table covered with flesh was said to be renewed every night by the bounty of their chief god, the Sun.

The first step which Cambyzes took in the execution of his enterprise was to send an exploring party into Ethiopia. Where the Ethiopia lay which he was intending to invade, is evident from his choice of spies. Psammitichus, as we have mentioned, had trained a body of the Ichthyophagi, the inhabitants of the eastern coast of the Red Sea, southward of Berenice, to assist him in seeking the fountains of the Nile, and a chief requisite for this purpose would be a knowledge of the language of the Ethiopians, who occupied the banks of the Nile for more than a thousand miles of its course. They appear to have been permanently established at Elephantine, the frontier town of the two nations and languages, where their services as interpreters would be equally valuable to the Egyptians and Ethiopians². The subsequent proceedings are thus related by Herodotus :—

“ When the Ichthyophagi appeared before the king of the Ethiopians, bringing the gifts which Cambyzes had entrusted to them (a purple garment, a twisted golden collar and bracelets, an ala-

¹ Il. ψ', 205 ; ά, 423. Od. ά, 22.

² Her. 3. 19. Strabo, 17, p. 818. The expression of Herodotus, 2, 29, is ambiguous, but it is probable he meant Elephantine by ἡ ἑσπερία.

baster vase of perfume and a jar of palm wine), they thus spoke : 'Cambyses, king of the Persians, wishing to be on a footing of friendship and hospitality with thee, has sent us to confer with thee, and offers thee as gifts these things, in using which he himself most delights.' The king of Ethiopia, knowing that they had come as spies, replied to them thus : 'The king of Persia has not sent you with these gifts because he values my friendship, but ye are come to spy out my kingdom : nor is he a just man ; for if he had been, he would not have desired any other country than his own, nor have reduced to slavery men who had done him no injury whatever. Give him then this bow, and say these words to him,—The king of the Ethiopians advises the king of the Persians not to invade the long-lived Ethiopians till the Persians can draw with ease such large bows as this, and then to come with superior forces. Till that time, let him thank the gods that they do not put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to add to their own territory.' Then unstringing his bow he gave it to the messengers of Cambyses. Next, taking up the purple garment, he asked what it was, and how it was made. The Ichthyophagi having told him all about purple and dyeing, he said they were deceitful men and their garments deceitful. Then he inquired about the golden collar and bracelets, and when the Ichthyophagi explained the ornaments, he laughed and said that they had stronger fetters than these, thinking they were meant for fetters. In the third place he inquired about the perfume ; and when they told him how it was made and how it was used, he said the same thing as about the purple garment. But when he came to the wine and heard how it was made, being excessively delighted with the draught he inquired on what the king lived, and what was the longest life that a Persian attained. They told him, on bread, explaining the nature of wheat, and that 80 years was the longest term of life that awaited man. 'No wonder, then,' said the Ethiopian, 'if those who live on dirt have such short lives ; they would not even have lived so long if they

had not kept themselves up with this liquor; in this one thing the Persians have the advantage of us.' The Ichthyophagi in their turn questioned the king about the life and diet of his people, and he said that the majority of them lived to 120 years and some even more; that their food was boiled flesh, and their drink was milk. When they expressed their wonder that the Ethiopians lived so long, he led them to a fountain, which made those who bathed in it sleek as if it had been oil, and had a fragrance like violets, and so light that neither wood nor bodies lighter than wood would swim in it; they all sunk to the bottom. Next they were taken to the prison, where all the prisoners had fetters of gold, and to the table of the Sun."

The view which a barbarian takes of the arts of civilized life always affords a lively contrast, and the opportunity of covert satire on artificial manners. Such is evidently the purpose with which this scene has been described. The king of the Ethiopians treats the dyed garment as a fraud, the perfumed ointment as a corruption of the simplicity of nature¹, and takes the royal ornaments for the collar and fetters of a culprit. In one thing only does he admit the superiority of the Persian—the art of producing wine, everywhere the most irresistible attraction to the savage. There is a certain adaptation in the story to what was known or believed respecting the interior of Africa, but it can only be received as a happy fiction. The Ichthyophagi vanish and re-appear, like theatrical messengers, without any note of time, Cambyses remaining as it should seem at Memphis, while they go to "the ends of the earth" and return². The sole fact on which we can rely is, that

¹ The rustic served the same purpose of contrast to Virgil, as the king of Ethiopia to Herodotus, or the author of the tale:—

Si non . . . varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes,

Alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,

Nec casia liquidi conrumpitur usus olivi;

At securo quies, cæter.—Georg. 2, 461.

In its disregard of time and distance this story resembles that of the

Cambyses sent an exploring party before he set out on his march against Ethiopia, a wise precaution, not indicative of that frenzy which the Egyptians imputed to all his actions.

When they returned, provoked, as Herodotus says, at the message of the king, he set out for Ethiopia. The Greeks were left behind at Memphis, and we are consequently deprived of the benefit of their evidence, as to the real events of the expedition. Taking with him the whole of his land forces, he proceeded from Memphis to Thebes. Hence it is said he detached 50,000 men¹ with orders to reduce the Ammonians, and burn the temple of Jupiter; with the remainder he pursued his march towards Ethiopia. He had made no provision of magazines of corn, and before he had accomplished a fifth part of the way, the victuals which the soldiers carried with them failed. They then devoured the beasts of burthen, but even this did not induce Cambyses to renounce his project; he still pressed on. The soldiers supported themselves on herbs, as long as the ground furnished them with any supply; but when they came into the sand, such was the extremity of their suffering, that they cast lots among ten, and he on whom the lot fell was devoured by the rest. Then Cambyses repented, and led back his army to Thebes, abandoning his enterprise against Ethiopia.

It would not be easy, from the brief description of Herodotus, to decide the direction of Cambyses' march beyond the frontiers of Egypt. Nature, however, has marked out the lines of communication between it and the country which he was endeavoring to reach, and they remain the same in all ages. He might have followed the Nile upwards from Syene, through Nubia and Dongola, expedition of Darius to the Wolga, Her. 4. (See Mr. Grote's remarks, *Hist. of Greece*, 4, 356.)

¹ This number far exceeds what would be necessary for the purpose of occupying the oases, nor is it credible that Cambyses should have withdrawn all his native troops at once from Egypt.

to Gebel-el-Birkel, and so further to Meroe; but this would have occupied many months, and would not have involved him in that Desert of sand which ultimately compelled him to return. He might have struck at once from Syene into the Desert, to proceed by the track which the caravans from Sennaar now often take, and which Bruce and Burckhardt followed; but this would be inconsistent with the account of Herodotus, who represents the soldiers as supporting themselves on the scanty vegetation which they found, before they entered the sand. The third track is that which is most commonly pursued by caravans and travellers at the present day. From Syene they ascend the river to Korosko (Derr), about half way between the First and Second Cataract. Here an *Akaba* or mountain pass opens into the valley of the Nile, leading through the Desert, by a route of about 250 miles, to Abou Hammed, near the island Mogreb, where it rejoins the river just at the beginning of its great bend to the south-west¹. The first part of the march, for about sixty miles, lies through a valley bordered by sandstone hills not wholly destitute of vegetation, since Hoskins was informed that the Bishareen Arabs come hither in the season to pasture their flocks². Beyond this valley lies a plain of desert sand, called *Atmoor-bela-ma*, the sea without water, extending to the south for fifty miles, on the west to the Second Cataract, and on the east nearly to the Red Sea³. The desert is seen here in all its horrors, which have been in some measure relieved by a variety in the scenery while passing through the rocky valley. The want of water is aggravated by the illusion which presents everywhere lakes and pools to the traveller suffering the extremity of thirst. The wind, sweeping over the unsheltered plain, raises pillars of sand, which choke the breathing-passages, while the heat of the blast relaxes his strength and augments his distress. Even

¹ See vol. i. pp. 21, 22.

² Russegger, *Reisen*, 2nd B. B. 1, p. 423. Hoskins, p. 23.

See Russegger's *Karte von Nubien*.

the obstinacy of Cambyses was compelled to yield to the sufferings of his followers and their dreadful effects; could he have struggled through the sand, there was still considerably more than 100 miles to be accomplished through a region of barren rock, before he could have reached the Nile at Abou Hammed. This desert, however, is not impassable for an army¹, if proper precautions be taken. In the reign of Augustus² the Ethiopians under Candace had advanced as far as Elephantine, the Roman garrison being weakened by the withdrawal of part of the troops under Ælius Gallus to attack the Arabians. Petronius, with about 10,000 infantry and 800 horse, first of all drove them from Elephantine into the fortress of Pselcis (Dakke), between Syene and Korosko, and then, as the remains of the army had fled into the Desert, "passing through the tract of sand³ where the army of Cambyses was overwhelmed, a violent wind falling upon them⁴, he came to Premnis, a strong place which he took, and then advanced against Napata." The Premnis here spoken of must be the *Primis Magna* of Ptolemy⁵. He places it *beyond* Napata, and just above Meroe, in his enumeration of towns on the eastern or right bank of the Nile. It must therefore have been somewhere near the termination of the pass of Korosko at Abou Hammed. Petronius was deterred from proceeding further south by the heat and the sand⁶, and could not

¹ That it was commonly traversed in ancient times is evident from what Mr. Hoskins says, that hieroglyphics are found near some of the wells (p. 24).

² Strabo, 17, p. 822.

³ *Θῆνες* was the appropriate name for these sandy regions. Clearchus (Athen. 8, 345) wrote a treatise, *Περὶ Θινῶν*, *De Locis Arenosis*.

⁴ Strabo has confounded the expedition against Ethiopia with that against Ammonium, but it is evident he believed the army of Cambyses to have been in the sandy desert.

⁵ Ptol. Geogr. 4, 7, p. 302, ed. Wilberg. *Πρώμης Μεγάλη* $\xi\beta^{\circ}$ (62°) $\alpha\zeta^{\circ}$ (17°) *Εν τεύθειν δὲ νησοποιεῖται ἡ Μερὴν χώρα*.

⁶ Dion. Cass. lib. 54, p. 784, Reiz. He calls Napata, *Τανάη*.

remain where he was with his whole army. He refortified Premnis, garrisoned it with 400 men, victualled it for two years, and returned to Alexandria. In his absence Candace attacked Premnis, but Petronius was in time to relieve the garrison, and compelled the queen to send an embassy to Cæsar. In this age the Desert had been long known and often travelled by those who passed between Egypt and Meroe, but to Cambyzes and his army its difficulties were unknown, and it is not wonderful that he should have been baffled in his attempt to cross it. The name of Magazine of Cambyzes¹, which Ptolemy places in lat. 18°, shows that while the main army attempted the passage of the Desert, another part advanced by the valley of the Nile into Upper Nubia; and this country remained tributary to Persia².

His expedition against Ammonium has been attributed to the same uncalculating frenzy as that against Ethiopia, inflamed by the fanatical wish to destroy the celebrated temple of Ammon. At this time, however, Cambyzes had committed no outrages against the Egyptian religion, and had his object been only to occupy Ammonium and destroy its temple, it might have been reached with much greater ease from Lower Egypt. It was evidently his design to take possession of all these Oases, which

¹ Καμβέσων Ταμειᾶ, Ptolemy, 4, 7. It was on the *left* bank of the river Ταμῆων was not merely a treasury, but a storehouse or magazine. (Pollux, 9, 5.) According to the account of Pliny, Petronius returned to Napata, on his second expedition, by the valley of the Nile, through Nubia and Dongola, for he enumerates the places which he took, in this order: Pseleis, Primis (Ibrim), Aboccis (Aboosimbel), Pthuris (Farras), *Cambusis*, Atteva, Stadiesis, "ubi Nilus præcipitans se, fragorē auditum accolis aufert." (6, 29.) This must be the Third Cataract, to which Pliny has transferred the popular account of the First.

² Her. 3, 97; 7, 69. Josephus, Ant. 2, 10, represents Cambyzes as conquering the capital of Ethiopia and changing its name from Saba to Meroe. Diodorus (1, 34) speaks of Cambyzes as occupying Ethiopia, meaning probably only Nubia.

might serve as retreats and mustering-places for the discontented Egyptians, and nests for robbers who might interrupt commerce. This was a wise policy for the new sovereign of Egypt, and the Great Oasis was accordingly occupied under Darius his successor. The fate of the 50,000 men said to have marched against it was never distinctly known. They reached in safety the Great Oasis, which is nearly in the same latitude as Thebes, and about 120 miles distant from it; it was inhabited by Samians of the Æschrian phyle, who had probably found their way to it from the north, as Ammonium appears to have had also a Greek population¹. Their route after leaving it would lie through the Oasis of El Farafreh in lat. 27°, nearly opposite Siout in Egypt, and thence through the Oasis of El Bacharieh, or the Little Oasis, in lat. 28° 20'. But it was only known that they never reached Ammonium, and never returned. The Ammonians said that they had arrived about half way² between the Great Oasis and their own, and while sitting down to take their meal were overwhelmed by a sudden and violent wind which buried them under heaps of sand. No well-attested instance is known of a traveller being deprived of life by the fall of the moving pillars of sand in the Desert, much less of whole armies and caravans being buried by them³. Nor is there any necessity to have recourse to this supposition to explain the loss of Cambyzes' army. They may have been misled by their guides; they may have found the wells dry or choked with sand, at which they expected to renew their supply of water; the wind may have obliterated the track by which they had advanced, and baffled their attempt to return. In all these cases they must perish miserably, and the traveller who saw their shrivelled bodies or their skeletons, covered with the drifted sand, would naturally

¹ Her. 2, 32. Vol. i. p. 60.

² Μεταξύ και μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος. (Her. 3, 26.)

³ Compare the accounts of Bruce (6, 458) with those of Burckhardt. (Nubia, 1, 207.)

suppose that its fall had buried them alive¹. The expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ was rash; so was that of Darius against the Scythians; but the Desert expeditions of Cambyses were far more rash, because, like Napoleon in Russia, he committed himself to a strife with the powers of nature.

We are not informed when it was that Psammenitus endeavored to raise an insurrection in Egypt, but it was probably during the absence of Cambyses on his Ethiopian expedition, when the country seems to have been left with few troops, except the Grecian, Phœnician and Cyprian mercenaries. It is therefore not wonderful that he treated Egypt on his return with much greater severity than before. Psammenitus, who might have retained the vice-royalty of Egypt, as Herodotus assures us, had he known how to remain quiet², was compelled to put himself to death by drinking bull's blood. Thebes first felt his vengeance, and here he began those outrages upon the religion of Egypt which made his name odious to the priesthood. Probably they had sympathised with the attempt of Psammenitus, and had ill concealed their joy at the disasters of Cambyses. The temples were not only stripped of their wealth in gold, silver³ and ivory, which was carried to Persia, but burnt; and no doubt ruins which were the work of time and earthquakes, and the neglect which is the lot of a deserted capital, were attributed to this arch-enemy of their country and religion. The rage of Cambyses against the priesthood was inflamed by hatred and contempt for their rites and dogmas. The Persians were not monotheists, in the sense in which the Hebrews were so; they worshipped the elements, earth, air, water,

¹ Ἄνεμος νότος ἐπὶν πνέουσα ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρῷ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τὰ σημεῖα, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρὴ πορεύεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν πελάγεσσι, τῇ ψάμμῳ· ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, οὔτε ποταμός, οὔτε δένδρον, οὔτε γέλοφοι βέβαιοι ἀνεστηκότες, οἷς τισιν οἱ ὁδοῖται τεκμαίροντο ἂν τὴν πορείαν, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἀστροῖς. (Arrian, 3, 3, of the march of Alexander to Ammonium.)

² Her. 3, 15.

³ Diocl. 1, 46.

and before all fire; the whole circle of heaven was their supreme god; but they viewed with abhorrence the confinement of the deity within the walls of a temple and his representation under a human form. They offered sacrifices, but without altar, or fire, or libation, or sprinkling of sacred meal, or music¹. These differences were quite sufficient to awaken the spirit of intolerance, which is naturally the strongest, when the most opposite opinions come into collision; when the monotheist is opposed to the polytheist, the iconoclast to the idolater.² In such conflicts a fanatical persecution is the first result; interest subsequently dictates toleration, if the parties have need of each other's services.

A circumstance occurred, which called forth in all its bitterness the contempt of the Persian for Egyptian superstition. When Cambyses arrived at Memphis he found the people feasting and in holiday attire, and suspecting that it was a rejoicing for his own defeat, he summoned the magistrates of Memphis to his presence and asked them why these festivities were going on now, though he had seen nothing of the kind when he was in Memphis before. They replied that a god had appeared among them as he was wont to do, but at considerable intervals of time. He regarded their answer as a falsehood, and commanded them to be put to death. Next he sent for the priests, and as they gave him the same account, he said he would know whether a god had really made his appearance among the Egyptians in the shape of a domesticated beast³, and ordered Apis to be brought in. When he saw a young steer fantastically marked, he drew his short sword and aimed a blow at the belly of Apis, but struck him on the thigh. "O stupid mortals," he exclaimed, "are these your gods? creatures of flesh and

¹ Herod. 1, 131.

² Cic. de Legg. 2, 10. Magis auctoribus Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur quod parietibus includerent deos quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus.

³ *Ἐὶ θεὸς τις χειροῦν ἢ ἀπὸ γαίης ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ.* (Her. 2, 28.)

blood, and sensible to the touch of steel ! But ye shall not with impunity make me your laughing-stock." He then commanded the priests to be scourged, and every Egyptian to be put to death who should be found engaged in festivity. Apis died of his wound and was buried by the priests without the knowledge of CambySES. He had not before been of sound mind, and, as the Egyptians said, became quite mad from the moment of this impious deed. Heliopolis, the seat of the worship of the bull Mnevis, suffered equally with Memphis from his fanaticism : both here and at Thebes the obelisks bore marks of the fires in which the temples had been consumed¹. Various other acts are recorded of him, indicative not so much of intolerance or cruelty, as of that heedlessness or insolence which in the gratification of curiosity overlooks the wound inflicted on the feelings of others. He went into the temple of Ptah and made great sport of the deformed and pygmy image of the god ; he also entered the temple of the Cabiri, the reputed sons of Ptah, and burnt their wooden images. He opened many of the ancient tombs and inspected the mummies. "I am quite convinced," says Herodotus after relating these things, "that CambySES was very mad ; he would not else have treated temples and established usages with ridicule. For if one were to propose to all men to select from all the usages in the world those which they deemed the best, they would each, after deliberate comparison, fix on their own. None therefore but a madman would treat these things with ridicule. And that this is the judgment of all men respecting their own usages I infer from many other proofs, and from this instance more especially. Darius once called the Greeks who were near him to his presence, and asked them for what consideration they would devour their dead parents ; and they answered for none that could be named. After this Darius called the Callatian Indians, who are accustomed to eat their dead parents,

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 805.

and asked them by an interpreter in the presence of the Greeks, for what consideration they would agree to burn their parents' corpses; and they with a loud outcry begged him not to shock their ears with such horrid words. Well has Pindar written, that Usage is lord of all." Had Herodotus, who here expresses the feeling of his own humane and reverent mind, been acquainted with the history of persecution, he would hardly have concluded Cambyses to be mad, because he treated with contempt the religious convictions and practices of others.

The acts of cruelty which Cambyses subsequently committed, his putting to death his brother Smerdis and his wife¹, who was also his sister,—his murder of the son of Prexaspes and execution of twelve Persians—belong rather to Persian than Egyptian history. We might conclude from them that he was really frantic, were there not so many parallel instances of cruelty in the acts of oriental sovereigns, and even of the successors of Cambyses himself. When Oiabazus supplicated that one of his three sons might remain with him, the wise and humane Darius promised that, as he was his friend and his request was moderate, they should all be left, and ordered them immediately to be put to death². In answer to a similar request, Xerxes commanded the eldest son of his host, Pythius the Lydian, to be cut in half³, that the army might march between the portions of his body. If the lust and cruelty of Henry VIII. appear less brutal than those of Cambyses, it is only because Christian civilization and the forms of a constitutional government imposed a certain restraint on the English sovereign. Cambyses, no doubt, was subject to epilepsy, which may have weakened his power of self-control; but to the last he showed no want of vigor or sagacity. Diodorus has rightly

¹ We may observe that the cruelty of his behavior towards his wife is aggravated into brutality in the Egyptian version of the story. (Her. 3, 32.)

² Her. 4, 84.

³ Her. 7, 37.

described him by saying, "that he had by nature a touch of insanity and mental aberration, but that the greatness of his power had much more to do in making him cruel and insolent¹."

Cambyzes had spent between three and four years in Egypt, when he was recalled to Persia by the usurpation of the two Magi, one of whom pretended to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyzes, whom he had murdered by the hands of Prexaspes. He had already reached a town in Syria, which Herodotus calls Ecbatana, when he met the messenger who was on his way to Egypt, to call on the army to renounce their allegiance to him. Leaping hastily on his horse to proceed to Persia, he shook off the knob which closed the lower end of the sheath in which he wore his short sword, and the point protruding wounded him dangerously in the thigh, precisely where he had wounded the god Apis. The bone became carious, and he died in Ecbatana, according to an Egyptian oracle, which he had interpreted to mean that he should end his days, an old man, in the ancient capital of Media, where all his treasures were laid up. Such is the account of Herodotus, which was no doubt derived from the Egyptian priests, and is suspicious from its exhibiting a striking proof of the vengeance of their god and the infallibility of their oracle. Ctesias says, he died at Babylon of a wound in the thigh which he gave himself while planing wood for his amusement². He had reigned over Egypt six years;

¹ Καμβύσης ἦν μὲν φύσει μανικὸς καὶ παρακεκνηκὸς τοῖς λογισμοῖς* πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὧρὸν καὶ ὑπερήφανον ἐποίησε τὸ τῆς βασιλείας μέγεθος. (Diod. Excerpt. p. 248.) Herodotus seems to doubt whether the misdeeds of Cambyzes were the consequence of his outrage on Apis or of natural influences—εἴτε διὰ τὸν Ἄπιν, εἴτε καὶ ἕλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἐώθεε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν (8, 33).

² I have not hitherto noticed Ctesias' account of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. According to him, Amyrteus was king of Egypt at the time of the invasion. Combaphes, his chief eunuch, was induced by the promise of the satrapy to betray his master, and Amyrteus being taken prisoner, was transferred to Susa, with six thousand Egyptians selected by himself. This is inconsistent with the Egyptian monuments, with Manetho

no memorial of him has been found on a temple or palace of Egypt, where he only destroyed; but his shield, bearing date in his sixth year, is seen with those of Darius and Xerxes, on the road to Cosseir near the Red Sea¹, mixed with some of the most ancient of the Pharaohs. It was natural that his memory should be the object of unmitigated hatred and abhorrence to the Egyptians; even the Persians, who had called Cyrus their father, gave Cambyses the title of Lord, in token of his severe and haughty temper², yet with an acknowledgment of the vigour with which he governed his dominions.

The conquests of Cyrus and Cambyses had been rapidly made, and not consolidated by any systematic administration. In the arts of government the Medes and Persians were as much inferior to the Egyptians, as they were superior to them in military force, and they had much to learn in civilization from their new subjects. The first care of DARIUS (520 B. C.) was to unite the heterogeneous members of the empire by a uniform system of government, which should secure the prompt and effectual execution of the commands of the central power, and at the same time to exchange the method of irregular and indefinite contribution (called *gifts*) which had prevailed under Cyrus and Cambyses³ for a fixed system of imposts.

The scale of taxation for each province was fixed by the satrap; Darius gained popularity for himself by making a considerable reduction upon the amount⁴. He divided his dominions into and Herodotus. The only circumstance in regard to which I think Ctesias account the more authentic is the death of Cambyses, which the Egyptians had an obvious motive to misrepresent, and which would be better known at Babylon than in Egypt.

¹ Burton, *Excerpta Hierogl.* pt. viii. The land of *Pars* is distinctly mentioned in the inscription. Rosellini (*M. Stor.* 2, 169) mentions a statue on which the name of Cambyses is found, but only as a date.

² Her. 3, 89. Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος· Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης· Κῆρος δὲ πατήρ.

³ Her. 3, 89. Ἐπὶ Κῆρου ἄρχοντος, καὶ αὐτὸς Καμβύσει, ἣν κατασθηκὺς οὐδὲν φέρου πέρα ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνουσι.

⁴ Polyæn. 7, 11, 3.

twenty provinces, each ruled by a viceroy called a satrap, who commanded the military forces, administered the affairs of the province, and collected the tribute which was systematically levied throughout the empire. The satrapy of Egypt, besides the country usually so called, included the coast of Libya as far as the Euesperidæ, a little westward of Cyrene, and the oases of the Libyan Desert. The country between the Nile and the Red Sea must also have been included in it, as the names of Persian sovereigns are found on the road to Cosseir. Ethiopia above Egypt, which had been subdued by Cambyses, paid no regular tribute, and was not included in the satrapy; but once in three years it brought a voluntary offering, consisting of two *chœnixes* (three pints) of gold dust, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty tusks of ivory, and five youths¹. The tribute paid by the satrapy of Egypt was seven hundred talents in money, independently of the produce of the fisheries of the Lake Moëris, which amounted to a talent a day during the six months that the water flowed in from the Nile, and a third part of that sum during the efflux². Egypt had also to furnish 120,000 medimni of corn as rations for the Persian troops and their auxiliaries, who were stationed in the White Fort of Memphis³. Except in the payment of this tribute (about 170,000*l.* sterling), which cannot be considered as oppressive to a country so productive as Egypt, no change

¹ Her. 3, 97.

² Her. 2, 149. According to Diodorus (1, 52) the revenue of the Lake, which he reckons at a talent a day, without distinction of seasons, was assigned by Moëris to his queen for the expenses of her toilette (*πρὸς μέρα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου καλλωπισμὸν*). This custom appears to have been Persian (Her. 2, 98), not Egyptian, and Herodotus describes the revenue of the Lake, as paid into the royal treasury (*τὸ βασιλεῖον*).

³ Herodotus (7, 187) reckons a military ration at a *chœnix* a day. The medimnus contained forty-eight *chœnixes* (Bœckh, *Haushaltung der Athener*, 1, 99), consequently each man consumed annually about seven and a half medimni, and the garrison consisted of about 17,000 men. The allowance of a *chœnix*, however, is mentioned by Herodotus as a *minimum*.

appears to have been made in the administration. The nomarchs levied the tribute and handed it over to the satrap¹. But Egypt could not reap the full benefit of the wisdom and humanity of Darius under the government of a satrap, whose character was more important to the country which he ruled than that of the distant sovereign: we know by modern examples, that the tribute rendered to a sultan may be far less onerous than the exactions of a pasha.

When Cambyses was recalled to Persia by the usurpation of the false Smerdis, he left Aryandes in command of Egypt, and Darius continued him in his post. Little is related of his government except his expedition into Libya. The jealousy which the Greeks of Asia and Europe felt of the Persian power naturally extended to the people of Cyrene and Barca, and they suspected their own reigning family of a design to perpetuate their dominion by allying themselves with Persia. The changes introduced by Demonax² into the constitution had been borne with impatience by the kings, whose prerogatives were transferred to the people; Arcesilaus III. had attempted to repossess himself of the ancient prerogatives and domains, and being worsted in the struggle, had fled to Samos. Here he collected a force, by means of which he re-established himself at Cyrene, and having treated his enemies with great rigor, and burnt alive many of them who had taken refuge in a tower, he was induced by the fear of vengeance and the recollection of an oracle to withdraw to Barca, where his father-in-law governed. At Barca he was killed by the inhabitants and some of the exiles from Cyrene. His mother Pheretime, who had fled to Cyprus when her son fled to Samos, had returned, and administered the government of Cyrene till his assassination. On that event she betook herself to

¹ Arrian, Hist. 3, 5, 6.

² Her. 4, 161. Τῷ βασιλεὶ Βάττω τεμένειν ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, τὸ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλῆες, ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

Egypt, and represented to Aryandes that her son had incurred the hostility of his subjects by his submitting to pay tribute to Cambyzes, and had been put to death because he leaned to Persia¹. Aryandes thought he saw a favorable opportunity for reducing all the Libyans into a real dependence on Persia²; but he first sent a herald to Barca, to demand the persons who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcæans adopted it as the act of all, and justified it by the tyranny of which he had been guilty. On this Aryandes sent all the disposable troops of Egypt with a fleet³, under the command of Amasis and Badres, against Barca. They besieged it in vain for nine months, and ultimately obtained possession of it by stratagem and perjury. The generals were divided in opinion whether they should also attack Cyrene, but Aryandes recalled them, and they returned to Egypt, the land forces having been much harassed by the Libyans on their march. We know not how long Aryandes continued in his office of satrap. Darius had introduced a gold coinage, the Daric, a thing unknown before in Asia, and Aryandes, in imitation of his master, a silver coinage in Egypt. Considering how much inconvenience Egypt must have suffered from the want of this instrument of exchange, there seems no sufficient reason for imputing to Aryandes a desire to usurp the functions of sovereignty. But the actions of a satrap are watched with morbid jealousy by his superior, and Aryandes had probably raised discontent among the Egyptians by some disrespect to the national religion, so that they were on the point of revolting⁴. Darius, passing through the Arabian Desert, came in person to Egypt, which he had not visited

¹ Her. 4, 165. Προῖσχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν Μηδιστὸν ὃ παῖς οἱ εἰθνηκε.

² Her. 4, 167. Dahlmann (Herodot. aus seinem Buche sein Leben, 2, p. 164) doubts this project of Aryandes.

³ To separate the civil administration from the military power in the satrapies appears to have been a subsequent refinement of Persian policy. See Heeren, Ideen, 1, 1, 524, Germ.

⁴ Polyæn. 7, 11, 7.

since he had attended Cambyses as one of his body-guards¹, put Aryandes to death, and conciliated the Egyptians by the offer of a reward for the discovery of an Apis, whose place was at that time vacant. We do not know the exact year of this visit, but that it was subsequent to the Scythian expedition of Darius, which took place 508 B. C., we learn from an anecdote preserved both by Herodotus and Diodorus². He wished to erect a statue of himself at Memphis, in front of the temple of Ptah, and *before* that of Rameses-Sesostris. The high-priest remonstrated, and ventured to observe, that he had not equalled the exploits of Sesostris; for that he had not been able, like him, to subdue the Scythians. Darius was so far from resenting this allusion to his unsuccessful expedition, that he was pleased with the priest's freedom of speech, and in reference to the long reign of Sesostris replied, that if he lived as long he hoped to accomplish as much. The Egyptians reckoned him after Menes, Sasyches, Sesostris, Bocchoris, and Amasis, the sixth of their great legislators. We may therefore conclude, notwithstanding the silence of history, that he made regulations for Egypt which secured its religion from the outrages to which it had been exposed from the fanaticism of Cambyses and Aryandes, and protected the people from oppression. "Hating," says Diodorus, "the lawless violence of Cambyses against the Egyptian temples, he pursued a humane and pious course of life. He associated familiarly with the Egyptian priests, who imparted to him a knowledge of their theology and the history contained in their sacred books. Learning from these the magnanimity of their ancient kings and their mildness towards their subjects, he imitated their course of life, and was so much honored by them, that he alone of the kings"

¹ Her. 3, 139.

² Her. 2, 110. Diod. 1, 58.

³ Diod. 1, 95. He means of course the Persian kings, who are here opposed to the τὰ παλαιῶν νομιμώτατα βασιλεύσασι κατ' Αἴγυπτον. Comp. 1, 90. Δακοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βασιλεῖς προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμῆν, ὡς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντας θεοὺς.

during his lifetime was called a god by the Egyptians, and after his death received the same honors as the ancient kings who had reigned most equitably." The monuments confirm these accounts. He is the only Persian king whose name is accompanied with a titular shield, and whose phonetic shield bears the crest of the vulpanser and disk, "son of the Sun." It is remarkable, however, that neither his name nor that of any of the Persian monarchs, is found on a public monument within the limits of Egypt. On an ornament of porcelain preserved in the museum of Florence, he is called "beneficent god¹," and this adoption of his name on an article of familiar use is perhaps the strongest proof of the affection which the Egyptians bore to his person. He even appears to have carried his conformity so far as to offer worship to their gods. At least he is represented in a sculpture with a sacerdotal ornament on his head, with a lighted lamp in each hand (the emblem of fire, the great divinity of Persia) before a shrine, in which stand Athor, and Osiris in the form of a mummy².

It was probably on occasion of this visit of Darius that the Persians obtained possession of the Great Oasis and the Oasis of Siwah, the temples in both bearing his inscriptions. He resumed the excavation of the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which Sesostris attempted and Neco partially executed. Its length, from near Bubastis to the Gulf of Suez, was four days' navigation. It should seem, however, that even Darius did not actually open a communication between the end of the canal and the Red Sea, though he left a very narrow space between them³.

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, p. 170. Wilkinson, *M. and C.* 1, 199. The same title is given to Xerxes in an inscription on the Cosseir road. (Burton, *Exc. Hierog.* pl. 14.)

² Champollion Figeac, *L'Univers*, pl. 87. The evidence which such a monument supplies of an actual offering of worship by Darius, is weakened by our finding a similar representation of Tiberius. See the same work, pl. 91.

³ A monument with cuneiform characters was found by the French near

He is said to have been deterred from cutting through this space, by the discovery that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of Egypt¹. The Macedonian rulers of Egypt appear to have been the first who made the communication perfect, and placed a lock at the entrance from the sea. The through-navigation would be practicable only during a few weeks of the year, when the Nile is highest.

The road from Coptos to Cosseir, judging from the inscriptions bearing the names of Persian sovereigns, must have been much frequented in these times, and was probably the principal channel of the trade with Arabia and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The increase of commercial intercourse with strangers is indicated by the number of contracts in the demotic character which bear date in the reign of Darius². This character appears to have been invented for such uses, and no specimens of it are found older than Psammitichus³.

The relations of Egypt with Greece probably remained friendly during the early part of the reign of Darius; the resort of Greeks thither for commercial purposes and the pursuit of knowledge continued. A change would take place after the revolt, as it is called, of the Ionian cities from the Persian power, and the burning of Sardis in 499 B.C.⁴ The Egyptians formed a part of the fleet which Persia employed for the reduction of Miletus⁵. From that time, Greeks, at least Ionian Greeks, the principal travellers whether for profit or improvement, would be excluded from the dependencies of Persia, and Egypt would not be open to them again, until she regained a temporary independence under Inaros and Amyrtæus.

the Bitter Lakes. See Rozière, *Descr. de l'Égypte Antiq.* Mém. 1, p. 265. It contains part of the name of Darius. (Lepsius, *Einl.* 1, 354, note.)

¹ Strabo, 17, p. 804, says, *δόξη ψευδέει πιστοθεῖς*. See p. 336 of this vol.

When Darius quitted Egypt, which he had probably visited in the interval between his return to Susa after his Scythian expedition¹ and the commencement of his wars with the Ionians, he appointed Amasis satrap of Egypt. He may have been the same who had led the Persian fleet against Barca; the evidence of his having held the office is, that a shield with this name and the word *Melek* inscribed over it, has been found on the Cosseir road². The title is neither Coptic nor Persian, but Semitic; that it was familiar, however, to the Egyptians is evident from its occurrence in the list of the nations conquered by Sheshonk³. Amasis, the father of Psammenitus, cannot be meant, as we have his shields with the full Pharaonic titles. Another shield, preceded by the word *Melek*, has been found at the same place, and the characters which it contains have been read, "Nephra son of Amasis." It bears date the 30th year of Darius (B.C. 489), and therefore Nephra seems to have succeeded Amasis in the satrapy. The defeat of Darius' troops at Marathon in the year 490, offered to the Egyptians a prospect of recovering their liberty, and while all Asia resounded with the preparations which he made for three years to invade Greece, and efface the dishonor of his arms⁴, Egypt revolted (B.C. 486). He died (B.C. 485) just when his preparations for attacking Egypt and Athens were complete, and left the execution of his enterprises to his son XERXES. The latest record of Darius' reign is a contract in the demotic character, dated in the month Phamenoth of his 35th year. An inscription in the Cosseir road mentions his 36th year, but this was engraved under the reign of Xerxes, who having recovered possession of Egypt, considered his predecessor's reign as uninterrupted, notwithstanding the revolt at its close⁵. Herodotus and the lists agree in assigning 36 years as the length of Darius' reign.

¹ Her. 5, 11, 25.

² Burton's Exc. Hierog. pl. 3, 4.

³ See p. 293 of this vol.

⁴ Herod. 7, 1, 4.

⁵ Rosellini, M. Stor. 2, 174. Burton, Exc. Hierog. 14, 3.

We know not by whom the revolt of the Egyptians was headed, or what form of government was established during the brief interval of its independence. The entire history of this event, which was almost lost to the Greek historians in the magnitude of the impending struggle between Persia and Greece, is contained in a few words of Herodotus. Xerxes was disinclined from a Grecian war, but Mardonius exhorted him first to tame the insolence of the revolted Egyptians, and then to lead his army against Athens. The advice was sound as regarded the order of his operations. To have attacked Greece, before Egypt was reduced, would have deprived him of the most valuable part of his naval force except the Phœnicians: it might have added an Egyptian fleet to the navy of the Greeks. In the year after the death of Darius, therefore, he made an expedition against Egypt, and having subdued it apparently with little difficulty (B.C. 484), reduced it to a condition of much more severe dependence than it had experienced under Darius¹, and appointed his brother Achæmenes satrap, who governed it for twenty-four years, till he lost his life in the revolt of Inaros, B.C. 460.

In the invasion of Greece, on which Xerxes entered after four years of additional preparation, by marching from Sardis in the spring of the year 480 B.C., the Egyptians bore a very important part. They furnished 200 ships. The Calasirians and Hermotybians (for the old names were still kept up) served on board of them as *epibatæ* or marines, and were armed specially for this service with boarding-spears and large hatchets². They assisted in the construction of the bridge of boats by which the Persian army crossed the Hellespont, furnishing the ropes of papyrus as the Phœnicians did those of flax, and conveyed corn to the places at which magazines were to be established for the supply of the army³. In the battle of Artemisium they distinguished themselves above the whole

¹ Her. 7, 7.² Her. 7, 89.³ Her. 7, 34, 25.

fleet, and captured five Greek vessels with their crews¹. None of them were enrolled in the land-army of Xerxes, but when the fleet lay at Phalerum, Mardonius disembarked the fighting portion of the crews, and they served as swordsmen in the battle of Platea². The internal history of Egypt is an entire blank from this time to the death of Xerxes, no doubt because all access to that country was forbidden to the Greeks. The name of Achæmenes is not found on any Egyptian monument, but that of Xerxes occurs on the Cosseir road with the date of his seventh year³. Early in the history of hieroglyphical discovery, Champollion read the name of Xerxes in Egyptian and cuneiform characters on an alabaster vase in the royal library at Paris, confirming his own discoveries and those of Grotefend⁴.

Xerxes was assassinated by ARTABANUS in the year B.C. 465, and after an interval of a few months⁵ was succeeded by ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, the second of his sons, in 464 B.C. The commencement of his reign appeared to offer a favorable opportunity of revolt to the Egyptians⁶. The Persian power had been greatly weakened by the result of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. Not only had his immense fleet and army been destroyed, but the Greeks, following up their victory, had driven the Persians from the Thracian Chersonesus, from Byzantium, from the coasts of Asia Minor, and from Cyprus; and Xerxes in the latter part of his reign had abandoned himself to luxury, and the baneful intrigues and jealousies of his court and harem. The first care of Artaxerxes was to punish the murderers of his father and brother, and substitute satraps friendly to his interests in those governments from which he apprehended hostility⁷. Artapanus, satrap of Bactria, made an obstinate resistance, and was only subdued after two pitched

¹ Her. 8, 17.

² Her. 9, 32.

³ Burton, Exc. Hierog. pl. 14.

⁴ Eusebius, Chron. p. 31, ed. Scaliger, makes Artabanus to have reigned seven months after his assassination of Xerxes and his eldest son Darius.

⁵ Diod. 11, 71.

⁶ Diod. 11, 71.

battles¹. The Egyptians thus obtained time for maturing their revolt. Inaros, the son of Psammitichus, probably a descendant of the Saitic princes, had made himself king of the Libyans who bordered on Egypt, and advanced with an army from Marea, the frontier town near the later site of Alexandria². He was joined by nearly the whole population of Egypt, and all the Persian revenue officers were driven out. Inaros raised a body of native troops and enlisted mercenaries, but as it was evident that he would have to contend with the whole force of Persia, as soon as order was established at home, he was naturally led to seek an alliance with Athens. At this time an Athenian fleet of 200 triremes was engaged in operations against Cyprus. To them Inaros would naturally make his first proposals, but it is not probable that they would act upon them without authority from Athens. According to Diodorus, he promised, besides many other advantages, to share with them the sovereignty of Egypt³. Such prospects were irresistible to the Athenian people, in whom success had already opened boundless hopes of dominion; they could hardly plead self-defence, for with the possession of Cyprus they were secure against any molestation by Persia. Forty triremes⁴ were accordingly detached from the fleet off Cyprus. Artaxerxes in the meantime had been collecting a fleet and army from all the satrapies of his empire, and was about to take the command in person, but on the advice of his friends gave it up to Achæmenes, who appears to have fled from Egypt to Persia after the first victory of Inaros⁵. Achæmenes, after a short interval employed in recruiting his army, advanced

¹ Ctes. Pers. c. 31; ed. Baehr.

² Thuc. 1, 104.

³ Diod. 11, 71.

⁴ Ctes. Pers. c. 32. Diod. 11 74, says 200. The construction of Thucydides, 1, 104, *Οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατεύμενοι ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἦλθον*, is ambiguous.

⁵ Diodorus, 11, 74, says that the Achæmenes who commanded the expedition was the son of Darius. Ctesias calls him Achæmenides, brother of Artaxerxes.

against Inaros, who had retired to the western side of Egypt to collect his forces from Libya and avail himself of the aid of the Athenians; and here at Papremis¹ a great battle was fought, in which Inaros slew Achæmenes with his own hand, and the Persians were defeated chiefly by the valor of the Athenians. The Persians fled to Memphis; the Athenians, sailed up the river in pursuit of them, and having possessed themselves of two out of the three regions of the city, besieged the Persians and the Egyptians who adhered to them in the citadel called the White Fortress. Artaxerxes first endeavored to oblige the Athenians to recall their fleet from Egypt by sending Megabazus with gold to Sparta, to induce the Peloponnesians to make an irruption into Attica. His money was expended in vain; Athens had just placed herself in security by the completion of the Long Walls², and had shown how formidable was her naval power by sailing round the Peloponnesus and burning the naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians. On the return of Megabazus, Artaxerxes collected another armament³, of which he gave the command to Megabyzus the son of Zopyrus. The fleet was equipped in Cilicia, and being joined by the army which had marched from Persia, proceeded by the coasts of Syria and Phœnicia to Egypt. The Athenians and Egyptians were still blockading the White Citadel, which during more than a year they had been unable to reduce⁴. The news of the arrival of the Persians caused them to raise the siege and retire into Lower Egypt⁵. They established themselves in the island Prosopitis, formed by a canal from the Canopic branch of the Nile, by commanding the navigation of which they kept open their communi-

¹ See Mannert, Geogr. x. 1, p. 591, for the position of Papremis in the western part of the Delta. (Diod. 11, 74.) ² Thuc. 1, 108, 109.

³ Diodorus says, of 300,000 men. This is a standing number with him. (11, 74, 75.) ⁴ Diod. 11, 75.

⁵ Ctesias speaks of an engagement in which Inaros was wounded and some of the Greeks killed (c. 33), and Thucydides agrees with him.

cation with the sea¹. After the experience which they had had of Grecian valor, the Persians abstained from battles in the field²; availing themselves of the dry season, they succeeded at the end of fifteen months in diverting the water from the channel in which the Athenian fleet lay, and the ships being thus useless, the Egyptians were alarmed and made conditions for themselves. The Athenians burnt their triremes, and were preparing for a desperate defence: as they were still 6000 in number, the Persian commanders did not desire to drive them to extremities, and agreed to allow them to retire from Egypt. Through Libya they reached Cyrene, but only a small remnant returned in safety to Athens³. Inaros, and some of the Greeks, were carried to Susa; their lives were at first spared, according to the capitulation; but Amytis, the mother of Achæmenes, who had been killed by Inaros, succeeded after five years, in persuading the king to give up Inaros to her, and he was crucified. Thannyris, the son of Inaros, succeeded him in his government of Libya⁴; Sarsames was made satrap of Egypt. A further misfortune befell the Athenians; fifty triremes, destined to reinforce the armament, touched at the Mendesian mouth, in ignorance of what had happened. They were attacked by the Phœnician fleet and Egyptian land-forces⁵, and nearly all destroyed. These transactions occupied a space of six years, from 462 to 456 B.C., but the chronology of each is not easily fixed.

The Persians thus obtained possession of the greater part of Egypt; but the marsh-lands near the mouths of the Nile, being extensive, difficult of access, and inhabited by a warlike population, were not subdued⁶. There was in this district an island called Elbo, in which Anysis many years before had taken refuge during the invasion of the Ethiopians⁷. Here Amyrtæus, descended from

¹ Champ., *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, 2, 162. Ctesias calls the place to which Inaros fled Byblos, a name otherwise unknown to Egyptian topography.

² Diod. 11, 77.

³ Thuc. 1, 110.

⁴ Herod. 3, 15. Ctes. c. 85.

⁵ Thucyd. 1, 110.

⁶ Thucyd. 1, 110.

⁷ Herod. 2, 140.

the Saitic dynasty, established himself and maintained his independence. The Athenians, during a temporary remission of their war with the states of Peloponnesus, after the peace of Five Years (B. C. 450), turned their attention again to Cyprus and Egypt¹, and sent sixty ships to the latter country on the invitation of Amyrtæus. In Cyprus they were victorious², but the death of Cimon (B. C. 449) put an end to the expedition, and the ships that had sailed to Egypt returned at the same time to Athens without having accomplished anything. Amyrtæus made submission to the Persians, and his son Pausiris was allowed to succeed to his father's power³. No monuments remain of any of these rulers.

Of the condition of Egypt under the re-established rule of Persia, we obtain some incidental account from Herodotus. The intercourse of the Greeks with the interior of that country had necessarily been suspended, during the insurrection of Inaros and Amyrtæus; it was renewed after the Athenian fleet had withdrawn, and peace virtually, if not formally, been established between Greece and Persia. Artaxerxes resumed the mild and tolerant policy of Darius. Herodotus describes the state of things which he saw in Egypt, subsequently to the battle of Papremis⁴, and probably to the suppression of the revolt in 456 B. C. The country appears to have been in profound peace, for Herodotus proceeded from the sea to the limits of Ethiopia without molestation. A traveller might even pass these limits and ascend the Nile as far as Meroe. Democritus, who was a little younger than Herodotus, and spent five years in Egypt, wrote a treatise on the sacred characters of Meroe⁵.

¹ Thucyd. 1, 112. Plut. Cim. 18.

² Plut. Cim. 18.

³ Herod. 3, 15.

⁴ 3, 12.

⁵ Diog. Laert. 9, 49. Fynes Clinton, F. H. sub an. 460 B. C. Herod. 2, 29. Eusebius (Chron. p. 53, ed. Scalig.) has a singular statement respecting Democritus and a Jewess learned in mysteries named Maria, which Scaliger (p. 419) thinks an interpolation of the monk Panodorus. See p. 75 of this vol. Jablonsk., Panth. Æg. Prol. cxliv.

The frontier towns and Memphis¹ were occupied by Persian troops ; but the worship at the temples, the celebration of the panegyries, went on as usual ; Greeks were found in all the principal towns, engaged in commerce and unmolested by the Egyptians, notwithstanding the strong repulsion which manners and religion placed between them².

Yet on the first opportunity which the state of Persia appeared to offer for throwing off the yoke, the Egyptians were eager to avail themselves of it. No other nation which formed a part of the Persian empire was so loosely connected with the general body as Egypt. It was in contact with it at a single point only, and even there difficult of access. No other nation could boast of so long an antecedent independence as Egypt ; the power of the Assyrians and Babylonians was of recent origin, compared with the monarchy of the Pharaohs. Religion, however, was the strongest obstacle to union between the Egyptians and their masters. Though persecution had ceased, the priests of the national religion had lost the ascendancy which they had once enjoyed. They might possess their revenues without disturbance or diminution, and worship their native gods without hindrance ; but they no longer chose their sovereign, enrolled him in their order, regulated his public policy, and controlled his daily actions. The tolerance which the Persians practised left the priests in possession of all their ancient power over the minds of the common people, whom it would be easy for them to stir up to rebellion, when a favorable occasion offered itself. During the reign of Artaxerxes, who governed with great vigor for forty years, they remained quiet. The domestic quarrels of the Greeks, who were engaged in the latter part of it in the Peloponnesian War, prevented their giving aid to Egypt, which without it could have no hope of success in a revolt from Persia.

¹ Her. 2, 80, 99.

² Herod. 2, 41.

On the death of Artaxerxes, B. C. 425, the usual disputes respecting the succession distracted the monarchy. His legitimate successor, XERXES II., was immediately murdered by his brother SOGDIANUS, and he in turn by Ochus, who possessed himself of the throne under the name of DARIUS, and is distinguished by the addition of Nothus (illegitimate), B. C. 424. He was not allowed to retain it without a struggle. His brother Arsites raised a revolt; and was only subdued by the help of Greek mercenaries in the service of Persia. The satrap of Egypt, Arxanes¹, had declared himself for Ochus, when he rebelled against Sogdianus; but this was merely a declaration of the Persian forces in favor of one sovereign and against another, in which the Egyptians had no interest. When, however, a truce for fifty years had been made between the Peloponnesians, Lacedæmonians and Athenians, B. C. 421, the hope of Athenian aid, which was now the hinge of Egyptian policy in its relations with Persia, would naturally revive, and a revolt speedily followed². It began in the second year of Darius Nothus; but was either suppressed or was very limited in its extent, till the tenth year of the same sovereign's reign, B. C. 414. In the interval the short truce between the contending powers in Greece had been broken, and the Athenians had engaged in the expedition to Sicily which in the following year produced such disastrous results. Egypt therefore had to struggle unaided for her independence. Once more we chronicle the events of Egyptian history by the years of a native dynasty.

Twenty-eighth Dynasty.

	Years.
AMYTEÆUS the Salte, reigned	6

It has been supposed that this Amyrtæus is the same person who

¹ Otes. Pera. c. 47, ed. Baehr.

² Syncell. p. 256 D. Αἰγυπτῶς τότε τὴν Περσίδι δουλοῦτο ἐπὶ Νέβου Δαπέτου.

established himself in the marshy regions of the Delta¹, nearly forty years before, and had there maintained an independent sovereignty, till this new revolt called him forth to place himself at the head of his countrymen. Nothing favors this supposition, except the identity of the name, and it involves serious chronological difficulties. Probably the Amyrtæus who constitutes the twenty-eighth dynasty was the grandson of him who fled into the marshes, and the son of that Pausiris to whom, according to Herodotus, the Persians conceded the sovereignty which his father had exercised. The attachment of the Egyptians to the ancient line of the Saitic kings sufficiently explains their placing Amyrtæus at the head of their re-established monarchy. History is entirely silent respecting the events by which they regained their independence. Their success might be aided by the revolt of the Persian satraps of Lydia and Caria, Pisuthnes and his son Amorges, whom the Athenians assisted by a body of mercenary troops under Lycon². That they maintained friendly relations with Athens, which was then engaged in hostility with Persia, is evident from the mention of corn-ships sailing from Egypt to Athens, which the Peloponnesians planned to intercept at the Triopian Promontory³. To protect themselves from invasion by land on the part of the Persians, the Egyptians entered into an alliance with the Arabians, without whose concurrence an army could not enter from Palestine. They also endeavored, in conjunction with the Arabians, to obtain possession of Phœnicia, the great source of the naval power of Persia; but Pharnabazus suddenly appeared on the Phœnician coast with three hundred triremes and frustrated this design⁴.

In this dearth of historical information the monuments give us

¹ See p. 409 of this vol.

² Ctes. Pers. 52. Thuc. 8, 5.

³ Thuc. 8, 35, with Poppe's note.

⁴ Diod. 13, 46. From Thuc. 8, 109 (τὰς διαβολὰς περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν πλοῶν), it should seem as if Diodorus had confounded Pharnabazus with Tissaphernes. See Ley, *Fata Egypti sub imperio Persarum*, p. 55.

valuable aid, by showing that Amyrtæus was sovereign of the whole kingdom of Egypt and its dependencies, and that Manetho was justified in assigning him that rank. In the temple of Chons at Karnak is an inscription, expressing that it had been repaired by him,—the first record of any such work, since Thebes was destroyed by Cambyses¹. The temple of Eilithya, dedicated to Sevek, bears a record of a similar restoration by the same sovereign. The shield at Karnak appears also to express that he had been the conqueror of the “land of Heb,” or the Great Oasis; and his name has been found on the temple in the Oasis of El Khargeh, in a position which shows that it was introduced subsequently to that of Darius². At his death his body was placed in a magnificent sarcophagus of green breccia. This was one of the trophies of the British expedition to Egypt, having been taken by the French from the mosch which had formerly been the basilica of St. Athanasius. Dr. E. D. Clarke supposed it to have been the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great; but it bears the shield of Amyrtæus³, and by its size and beauty of execution, proves that art had declined but little since the days of Psammitichus. Amyrtæus reigned only six years, and the Saite dynasty expired with him (B.C. 408); an additional proof that he is not the Amyrtæus of Herodotus, who was succeeded by his son Pausiris.

Twenty-ninth Dynasty. Four Mendesian kings.

	Years.
1. NEPHERITES, reigned	6
2. ACHORIS	13

¹ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, 201. There is some obscurity in the characters, but Egyptologists are generally agreed that the shield belongs to Amyrtæus, (Champollion-Figeac, L'Univers, p. 383.)

² Wilkinson, Mod. Egypt and Thebes, 2, 367.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, 205; an engraving of it is given in the great French work on Egypt, Ant. vol. 5, pl. 40.

	Years.	
3. PSAMMUTHIS	1	
4. NEPHERITES	0	4 months.
	20	4

[Eusebius in Syncellus adds a fifth, Muthis, reigning one year. In the Armenian, Muthis is placed before Nepherites.]

It may appear singular that no attempt should have been made by Persia to recover its dominion over Egypt, especially at the extinction of the Saitic dynasty, and that a new family should have been allowed quietly to possess itself of the throne. Just at this time, however, the Persian power was shaken by a revolt of the Medes¹, who had endeavored in the time of Cambyses to regain their lost ascendancy in what was called the conspiracy of the Magi, and had never been reconciled to the monopoly of the great offices of government which the Persians had assumed. How long the revolt lasted, and whether it was put down easily or not, we are not informed, our whole knowledge of the event being derived from a short passage in Xenophon; but while it lasted it must have precluded all thoughts of attempting the reduction of Egypt. Darius Nothus died soon after, B.C. 405, and was succeeded by Artaxerxes Mnemon. The ambition of his brother Cyrus led to the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks, which he was preparing from the time of their father's death², till the year B.C. 401. Cyrus having perished in the battle of Cunaxa, the first care of Artaxerxes was to recover his authority in Asia Minor, which had been the government of Cyrus and had joined in his revolt. He was thus brought into hostility with Sparta; Clearchus, the Lacedemonian, had been the leader of the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus; the oppressed cities of Ionia called for protection on Sparta, which,

¹ Xen. Hell. 1, 2, ad fin. Καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι, ἀπὸ Δαρίου, τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. This was B.C. 409 ² Xen. Anab. 1, 1.

by the issue of the Peloponnesian War, had been placed in the *hegemonia* of Greece and was protectress of its liberties. When she prepared, in obedience to this call, to invade Asia, she made an alliance with Nephreus, king of Egypt, the Nofreopth of the monuments¹, and NEPHERITES of the lists, and he sent a hundred triremes and large supplies of corn². The ships which conveyed it entering the port of Rhodes, which was in possession of Conon, who commanded the Persian fleet, were all taken. The success of Dercyllidas and Agesilaus (399-394 B.C) fully occupied the Persian arms in Asia Minor for several years, and it was not till the power of Athens revived, and a league was formed in Greece against Sparta by the influence of Persian gold, that Artaxerxes could attend to the re-establishment of his authority in other parts of his dominions. The peace of Antalcidas, concluded B.C. 387, freed him from all further apprehension on the side of Greece, by sacrificing the liberty of the Asiatic cities, and leaving the principal states of the mother country nearly balanced in power, and each prepared to resist the ascendancy of another.

His first attack, for which he had been collecting forces during several years, was made on Cyprus. If held by a hostile naval power, it not only gave the command of the southern coast of Asia Minor, of Syria and Phœnicia, but even of Egypt. Evagoras of Salamis had availed himself of the weakness of Persia, to make himself master of nearly the whole island³. In the war which resulted, Evagoras was powerfully aided by the Egyptians. Nephreus was dead. We know nothing more of the events of his reign than his alliance with Sparta, unless he is the Psammitichus of whom Diodorus relates a disgraceful transaction⁴. After the

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, 209. His name is not found on any building in Egypt, but on a statue in the Museum of Bologna.

² Diod. 14, 79. Justin calls the king of Egypt *Hercynio* (6, 2). Achoris.

³ *Isocr.* Evag. ed. Battie, 2, p. 101.

⁴ Diod. 14, 85.

death of Cyrus, the satraps of Asia Minor, who had favored his cause, were alarmed for their own safety, and Tamos, the satrap of Ionia, had put his children and property on board ship, and taken refuge in Egypt with Psammitichus, who basely seized the fleet and the property, and put Tamos and his children to death, notwithstanding the ancient relations of friendship between them. The chronology of this period is uncertain, and we cannot tell whether the infamy of the act belongs to Amyrtæus or Nepherites¹.

When Evagoras sought the succor of the Egyptians, ACHORIS was on the throne. Artaxerxes had been long preparing his attack, and had collected a fleet of 300 triremes with a corresponding land force, while Evagoras had endeavored to protect himself by forming an alliance with Egypt, Arabia, Tyre and Caria². Achoris, besides furnishing him with supplies of corn, sent him fifty triremes, which were engaged in the unsuccessful naval battle fought by Evagoras with the Persians off Citium, in the year 385 B.C. After this defeat he visited Egypt, to arrange with Achoris the means of carrying on the war. Achoris encouraged him to persevere, and entered into a league against Persia with the people of Barca³; but the pecuniary assistance which he gave him was less than Evagoras had expected, and he ultimately made peace with Artaxerxes on condition that he should pay an annual tribute to Persia, but retain the rank of a dependant king⁴; and

¹ Diodorus calls Psammitichus a descendant of the ancient king of that name, which suits best with Amyrtæus, who was a Saite. As the flight of Tamos took place soon after the death of Cyrus (B.C. 401), it is probable that it fell within the life of Amyrtæus, but that Diodorus has confounded him with Psammuthis.

² Diod. 15, 2. Βαυβάρον is an unquestionable corruption for 'Αράβων Isocrates u. s. says he had taken Tyre by assault.

³ Theopompus ap. Phot. clxxvi., who seems to make the Cyprian war ἐπὶ ὑπὸ Νεκτανέβου.

⁴ Diod. 15, 2. Ὑπακούειν ὡς βασιλῆος βασιλεὺς πρῶτον πάντων.

thus the Cyprian war ended, after eight years spent in preparation and two in actual hostility¹. Egypt, however, found an unexpected ally. Gaos, the son of Tamos, commanded the Persian fleet, and dreaded the displeasure of Artaxerxes, by whom his father-in-law Teribazus had been imprisoned. Availing himself of his popularity with the fleet, he induced the commanders of the triremes to revolt, and entered into a treaty with Achoris. Sparta joined the league. She had brought ignominy on herself by sacrificing the Asiatic Greeks to Persia in the peace of Antalcidas, and was desirous of recovering her ascendancy and her reputation by a new war². The death of Gaos by treachery, in the year 383³, prevented any hostile operations against Persia. Tachos succeeded to him, and fortified himself on the coast of Asia Minor, between Smyrna and Phocæa, but dying soon after the league fell to pieces. Sparta, by a change of policy, began to court the aid of Persia, in order to make herself sovereign of Greece⁴, and seized the citadel of Thebes 381 B.C. During these events, Egypt was unmolested by the Persians, but towards the close of the reign of Achoris, very formidable preparations were made by Pharnabazus for its invasion. To repel them Achoris collected a large body of Greek mercenaries, twelve or twenty thousand; and as he had no general capable of commanding them, he invited Chabrias the Athenian. Chabrias undertook the command, if Diodorus be correct, without the approbation of the people, and was recalled on the remonstrances of the satrap, who regarded it as a violation of the peace existing between Persia and Egypt⁵. He appears, however, to have remained long enough in Egypt to assist Nectanebus in establishing his power,

¹ Isocr. Evag. p. 102, ed. Battie. Isocrates places this peace six years after the naval defeat. See the chronology discussed by Mr. Fynes Clinton, F. H. vol. 2, p. 278.

² Diod. 15, 9.

³ Diod. 15, 18.

⁴ Diod. 15, 19.

⁵ Diod. 15, 20. Corn. Nep. Chabrias, 3

on the extinction of the Saitic dynasty¹, and rapidly trained the Egyptians into accomplished seamen².

Memorials of Achoris are found in several places, as at Medinet-Abou on a restoration of a building erected by Thothmes IV., and probably destroyed by Cambyzes, and among the ruins of Karnak. The quarries of Mokattam also contain his shield; and there is a sphinx in the Museum of Paris, on the base of which his name is found hieroglyphically written, with the addition, "beloved of Kneph³."

Of the short reign of Psammuthis there is no record in history, but his shield has been found at Karnak⁴; NEPHERITES is equally unknown in history and in the monuments. The Muthis of Eusebius appears to have originated from a repetition of the last syllable of Psammuthis, whom he follows in the Armenian, reigning like Psammuthis one year.

Thirtieth Dynasty. Three Sebennyitic kings.

	Years.	
1. NECTANEBES, reigned	18	10 (Euseb.)
2. TEOS	2	2
3. NECTANEBUS	18	8
	38	20

The accession of NECTANEBES, or Nectanebus, the first king of the Sebennyitic dynasty, falls probably in the year B. C. 380. He was immediately called upon to defend his kingdom against the invasion which Pharnabazus was preparing when Achoris died.

¹ Corn. Nep. Chabrias, 2. "Chabrias multa in Europa bella administravit quum dux Atheniensium esset; in Ægypto sua sponte gessit. Nam Nectanabin adjutum profectus regnum ei constituit."

² Polyænus, 3, 2, 7.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, p. 213. Champollion-Figeac, L'Univers, p. 384.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, p. 214.

The Athenians had not only recalled Chabrias, in obedience to the demands of Persia, but had sent Iphicrates to lead the Greek mercenaries in the Persian service¹. The movements of the satrap were slow, for all his measures were subject to the control of the king, and awaited his sanction for their execution. At length, however, the fleet and army mustered at Acre, the nearest harbor on the Syrian coast where such a fleet could lie². The land-forces consisted of 200,000 barbarians and 20,000 Greeks³; the fleet of 300 triremes, 200 triacontors (galleys of thirty oars each), and a great number of corn ships. They began their march at the opening of summer, B. C. 373, the fleet accompanying the army. Nectanebes had improved the time which the long delay of Pharnabazus had given him. Every navigable branch of the Nile was fortified by two towers, joined by a boom which prevented the entrance of a fleet. Pelusium, the key of Egypt, had been strengthened with peculiar care; the roads had been laid under water, the navigable channels made dry by embankments, and every weak point protected by fortifications. Pharnabazus and Iphicrates found that they had no chance of capturing Pelusium, and sailed away to the Mendesian mouth. Landing here with 3000 men, they attacked the fort by which the entrance was protected; the garrison, of about equal numbers, marched out to give them battle, and being defeated, the Persians entered the fort along with the flying Egyptians. Dissensions arose between the generals, which prevented any results of this first success. Iphicrates, who had heard from the prisoners that the troops had all been withdrawn from Memphis, would have

¹ Corn. Nep. Iphicrates, 2.

² Πτολεμαῖς, ἢν Ἀκκην ὠνόμαζον πρότερον· ἣ ἐχρῶντο ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Πέρσαι. (Strabo, 16, 758.) It was while the armament was mustering here that the defection of Datames from the Persians took place. (Corn. Nep. Dat. 5.)

³ I give these numbers on the authority of Diodorus; they seem exaggerated.

sailed thither before they could return. Pharnabazus thought this too hazardous, and wished to wait till the whole Persian army came up. Iphicrates then proposed to undertake the adventure with his own mercenary troops alone. This also Pharnabazus refused, fearing, it is said, that Iphicrates designed to conquer Egypt for himself, but as is more likely, because he did not choose, on his own responsibility, to attempt a movement, which could be justified only by an improbable success. Meanwhile the Egyptians rallied their forces, garrisoned Memphis, and attacked the fortress at the mouth of the Mendesian branch, which the Persians had seized. They had the advantage in all the encounters which took place; as the summer advanced the waters of the Nile began to rise, and their efflux being retarded by the strength of the Etesian winds, the whole country was covered with the inundation. The Athenian and Persian generals had committed the same error, which led to the destruction of St. Louis and his army, in 1249, and which Bonaparte avoided in his campaign of 1798¹, and were compelled to return into Syria. Their discomfiture produced a quarrel between Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, who, fearing the fate of Conon, soon after secretly embarked for Athens. Pharnabazus sent an embassy thither, and accused him to the people of being the cause of the ill-success of the Egyptian expedition; they replied, that if they found him guilty they would punish him; and soon

¹ "Les Chrétiens étaient entrés dans Damietta, le 7 Juin; c'est l'époque des plus basses eaux; le Nil ne commence à croître que quinze jours plus tard, au solstice d'été; et il s'élève lentement jusqu'à l'équinoxe, où l'on coupe ses digues. Un grand maître dans l'art de la guerre, comparant son expédition à celle de Saint Louis, nous fait sentir tout le prix du temps perdu par les croisés. 'Si le 8 Juin 1249,' dit Napoléon, 'Saint Louis eût manœuvré comme ont fait les Français en 1798, il serait arrivé le 26 Juin au Caire; il aurait conquis la Basse-Egypte dans le mois de son arrivée. Il aurait attendu ensuite dans l'abondance d'une capitale, le débordement, puis la retraite, des eaux.'" (Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, 5, 149, ed. de Bruxelles.)

after gave him the command of their whole fleet¹. We find him in the autumn of the same year, B. C. 373, commanding in the waters of Coreyra².

If even with the aid of Grecian mercenaries, Persia could not succeed in reducing Egypt, there was little likelihood that its own resources should avail for this purpose. The state of Greece precluded the hope of obtaining aid from thence. Sparta was engaged from 371 B.C. to the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C., in a deadly warfare with Thebes, while Artaxerxes vainly endeavored to reconcile them³, that he might employ the Greek forces in his own service. Athens, though not directly embroiled in the conflict between Sparta and Thebes, sat by, watching its events, and flinging its weight alternately into the lighter scale. Egypt therefore enjoyed peace during the remainder of the life of Nectanebes. His name, spelt *Nacht ef neb*⁴, occurs at Philæ on a temple dedicated to Athor, and on the rocks of the island of Beghe; at Coptos, in a church built out of the fragments of an old Egyptian edifice; and at Medinet Aboo in a small building of elegant workmanship, in which he is represented offering to Amun Re and the other gods of Thebes⁵. According to Pliny he cut out an obelisk from the quarry, which Ptolemy Philadelphus afterwards floated down the Nile, and erected in honor of his sister in the Arsinoë nome⁶. Its excavation probably took place towards the end of the

¹ Diod. 15, 43.

² Clinton, F. H. sub anno.

³ Diod. 15, 70. Xen. Hist. 7, 1, 33, seq.

⁴ Rosellini, Mon. Stor. 2, p. 220.

⁵ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 1, 209, quotes a Greek papyrus in the possession of Signor Anastasy, which describes Nectanebus as restoring the temple of Mars at Sebennytus with great splendor, in obedience to a dream.

⁶ He calls the king Necthhebis (36, 8), and according to the common reading (36, 13), makes him to have lived 500 years before Alexander the Great. The Bamberg MS. reads—"Necthhebis regis D ante Alexandrum

reign of Nectanebes, as it remained without an inscription. The celebrated Lions of the Fontana di Termini at Rome, now placed in the Museum of Egyptian antiquities in the Vatican, show that the art of sculpture, in the execution of animals, had declined but little; they are the last specimen of Egyptian sculpture executed under native princes¹.

Eusebius has shortened the duration of the Sebennytic dynasty from thirty-eight years to twenty, and the reign of Nectanebes from eighteen to ten. That the Greek text of Manetho is correct is in part proved by a stele preserved at Rome, on which his thirteenth year is mentioned².

TEOS (361 B.C.), the successor of Nectanebes according to Manetho, is evidently the Tachos of the Greek historians. In what relation he stood to his predecessor we are not informed, probably that of son. The empire of Artaxerxes was at this time surrounded with enemies³. The maritime provinces of Asia had before revolted, and the generals and satraps, Ariobarzanes of Phrygia, Mausolus of Caria, Orontes of Mysia, were preparing to march against the Great King. The Syrians and Phœnicians, and the adjacent litoral states of Cilicia, Pisidia and Lycia, had joined the league. The Spartans were hostile to him, because he had demanded that the Messenians should be included in the terms of the peace made in 361 after the battle of Mantinea⁴. The finances of Persia were disordered by the loss of revenue arising from so

Magnum;" and Bunsen supposes that Pliny wrote "regis Δ," i. e. fourth king, copying some Greek author. (Urkundenbuch, p. 84, 89. Germ.)

¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 2, 222.

² Champollion-Figeac, *L'Univers*, p. 385.

³ Diod. 15, 90. Ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καιρῶν ἔδει πρὸς τε τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείᾳ πολεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑλλήϊναι πόλεις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον ξυμμάχους σατυράπας καὶ στρατηγούς, τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὲν τῶν παραθαλασσίων τόπων, συντεθειμένους δὲ κοινοπραγίαν

⁴ Diod. 15, 89. Xen. *Ægea* 2, 28.

many revolts, and the necessity of great armaments to suppress them. These circumstances appear to have emboldened Tachos no longer to act on the defensive, but to attack Persia. Rheomitres was sent to him on the part of Orontes and the other revolted satraps, and received from him 500 talents of silver and fifty ships of war. With these he sailed to Leuce on the coast of Asia Minor, but on his arrival seized the rebel chiefs and sent them bound to Artaxerxes, making his own peace by giving up to the king the money with which he had been furnished to carry on war against him¹. Tachos raised a fleet of 200 sail, with an army of 80,000 Egyptians and 10,000 Greek mercenaries. The Greek troops he placed under the command of Agesilaus, who at the age of eighty, and with a body maimed and scarred by war, undertook this office, through restlessness and love of gain². If we may believe Xenophon, Tachos had promised him the supreme command; on his arrival with a thousand Spartan hoplites, he found that only the subordinate command of the Greek mercenaries was destined for him, Chabrias the Athenian commanding the fleet, and the king himself being supreme³. This first gave him offence, and a difference of opinion soon arose between him and Tachos respecting the conduct of the war. Agesilaus advised that Tachos should remain in Egypt, and commit active operations to his generals—advice that we cannot wonder Tachos should have declined, since

¹ Diod. 15, 92.

² Plut. Agesilaus, 36.

³ Diodorus says, that Chabrias took the command of the fleet without authority from Athens. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχειρισεν Χαβρία τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπεσταλμένῳ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συστρατεύειν πεπεισμένῳ (15, 92). This so closely resembles 15, 29, where, speaking of Achoris, Diodorus says, Οὐκ ἔχων στρατηγὸν ἐξῆχρεων μετεπέμψατο Χαβρίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον· οὗτος ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου γνώμης προσδεξάμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφῆγεῖτο τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον δυνάμεων, that he has probably repeated himself. It is not likely that Chabrias should twice have gone to Egypt unauthorized. It is certain that he was here now, without a commission from the state. See Plut. Ages. 37.

two of these generals were foreigners, of a nation notoriously ready to embrace the side which policy or profit recommended. He placed Nectanebus, his brother or brother-in-law¹, at the head of the Egyptian land-forces, and advanced into Phœnicia. The measures which he had adopted to raise money for this expedition on the recommendation of Chabrias had been very unpopular. The Athenian general had represented to him how much money that might be usefully employed for the service of the state was expended on religious rites, and recommended the abolition of many of the priesthoods. The priests, unwilling to renounce their offices, gave up their private property to the king. But when they had made this sacrifice, he ordered them to expend in future only a tenth part of what they had been accustomed to lay out on religious rites, and to make a loan of the rest to him, till the expiration of the war with Persia. Besides this, Clabrias advised him to impose a house-tax and a poll-tax, a duty of an obolus on the sale of every artaba (nine gallons) of corn, and a tax of a tenth of the profits of navigation, manufactures, and every kind of occupation. All the gold and silver bullion was to be brought to the king, who gave an assignment on the nomarchs for its repayment from the taxes². These devices of the Athenian financier must have been very distasteful to the Egyptians, who appear hitherto to have been lightly taxed³. A people enthusiastic in the defence of their religion and their liberties have submitted cheerfully to much greater sacrifices, but the Egyptians were not threatened by any imminent danger, and might reasonably regard Tachos as engaged in a war of ambition rather than of self-defence. The

¹ The Nectanebus who revolted was nephew to Tachos. (Plut. Ages. 37.)

² Aristotelis (sive Anonymi) *Οικονομικά*, c. 23, ed. Goettling, where many singular expedients, on the part of states and financiers for raising money, are collected.

³ See p. 29 of this vol.

general who had been left in command of Egypt during his absence, though so nearly related to him¹, perceiving the discontent of the people, sent a message to his son Nectanebus, exhorting him to claim the crown. Nectanebus had been detached with some Egyptian troops to besiege the strong places of Syria, and adopting the suggestion of his father², induced the generals by gifts and the soldiers by promises to espouse his cause. He endeavored to persuade Agesilaus and Chabrias to employ their forces also for the establishment of his power. Chabrias was desirous of supporting Tachos; Agesilaus had been mortified and offended by him, and as the Egyptians generally had declared for Nectanebus, refused to fight against those whom he had been sent to aid³. He dispatched messengers to Sparta, instructed to make representations favorable to Nectanebus; the rivals also sent each his ambassador. The Spartans, after deliberation, left it to Agesilaus to act as he thought most advantageous for his country. He carried over not only the Spartans, but all the mercenaries to the side of Nectanebus, and the Athenians, at the instigation of Persia, recalled Chabrias⁴. Tachos, thus abandoned by his troops, native and foreign, first retired to Sidon⁵, and then crossing the Desert, which extends on both sides of the Euphrates⁶, came to the king at Babylon or Susa by whom he was favorably received, and according to Diodorus, entrusted with the command of an expedition against Egypt.

This expedition Artaxerxes Mnemon did not live to carry into execution. He died in the year B. C. 359, and was succeeded by

¹ See note 1, p. 425.

² Diod. 15, 92.

³ Plut. Agesil. 37.

⁴ I refer to this period what Diodorus (15, 29) relates of the reign of Achoris. See notes, p. 419 and 424.

⁵ Xenoph. Ages. 2, 30.

⁶ Diod. 15, 92. Ὁ Τάχως καταπλεγε. ἐτόλμησε διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. This is the Arabia of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1, 5), lying south of the Araxes.

his son Darius Ochus, sometimes also known by the name of Artaxerxes. He was at once cruel and unwarlike¹; he had secured his own succession by murders surpassing the ordinary measure of oriental barbarity; the kingdom was distracted by the revolt of the satraps which we have already mentioned. He suspended therefore all operations against Egypt; Tachos was retained at the Persian court, and soon ended his days there, a victim to indulgence in its luxuries, so different from the simple habits of the Egyptians². But though delivered for the present from a foreign invasion, Egypt was divided by a civil war. A native of Mendes, whose name has not been preserved, had risen up in opposition to Nectanebus, had been proclaimed king, and raised a large army, composed, like that which Sethos led against Sennacherib, not of hereditary soldiery, but of the unwarlike population³. The inhabitants of a country like Egypt, however, covered with trenches and embankments, soon grow dexterous in the use of the spade for fortification. Agesilaus, who was now in the service of Nectanebus, became suspected by him, in consequence of a message from the Mendesian, tempting his fidelity, and though urged by Agesilaus to attack the enemy forthwith, Nectanebus left the open country and took possession of a large town, where, as Agesilaus foresaw, the numbers of the enemy and their familiarity with the art of entrenchment would enable them to hem him in⁴. This they had nearly accomplished, and supplies began to fail. Nec-

¹ Diod. 16, 40.

² Ælian, V. Hist. 5, 1. Diodorus makes him return to Egypt and recover his throne by the aid of Agesilaus (15, 93), but the best authorities are against him. See Wesseling ad loc.

³ Μιγάδες καὶ βάνανσοι καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν ἐγκαταφρόνητοι. (Plut. Ages. 38.) These were the class especially aggrieved by the new system of taxation.

⁴ Κελεύουσιν αἰτοῦ διαμάχεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους ἀγῶνος, πολυχειρίᾳ δὲ περιελθεῖν καὶ περιταφρεύσαι δυναμίους, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς πόλιν ἐσπερὴ καὶ μέγαν ἔ. τριβύλον. (Plut. Ages. 38.)

tanebus was now eager to march out and give battle, and the Greeks joined with him in demanding it. But Agesilaus saw that the trench which the besiegers had drawn around the town, with the exception of a single point, would prevent their own forces from being concentrated. At nightfall therefore he persuaded Nectanebus to join him in an united and rapid attack on the part which remained open, and they forced their way through, routing the troops opposed to them, before the others could assemble to support them. Soon after he gained a decisive victory by superiority of tactics. Being greatly outnumbered by the Egyptians, he took post where both his flanks were covered by a canal, and thus avoiding the danger of being surrounded, he easily defeated those who attacked him in front, and routed them with great slaughter. NECTANEBUS II. was thus secured on the throne.

Agesilaus immediately set sail on his return to Sparta. As it was already mid-winter, he coasted along Libya, not venturing to stand straight across the Carpathian sea, and had reached the port of Menelaus, opposite to Crete, on his way to Cyrene, where he died in his 84th year¹. With the departure of the Greeks, in the end² of the year 359 B.C., our knowledge of the internal state of Egypt, during the reign of Nectanebus, ceases, till 350 B.C., when Persia resumed and carried into effect the project of reconquest. It is probable that hostilities never entirely ceased between the kingdoms. Ochus made more than one unsuccessful attempt to enter Egypt³, and was defeated by the skill of Lamius of Sparta and Diophantus of Athens, whom Nectanebus placed at the head of his forces⁴.

¹ Plut. Ages. 40.

² Μέσου χειμῶνος ὅτερος ἀποπλεῖ οἰκάδε. (Xenoph. Ages. 2, 81.)

³ Ἀποστέλλων δυνάμεις καὶ στρατηγούς, πολλάκις ἀπετύγχανε. (Diod. 16, 40.) The language of Isocrates, 1, p. 280, ed. Battie, may seem to imply that Ochus had commanded in person.

⁴ Diod. 16, 48,

Ochus was an indolent and unwarlike prince, but the ridicule with which he had been covered by the defeat of his attacks on Egypt, roused him at last to make a great effort. Not only had his name become a by-word among the Egyptians for heaviness and sloth¹, but the dependent rulers of Cyprus and Phœnice were encouraged to follow the example of Egypt². The Persian empire was evidently in danger of dissolution, but the vigorous exertions to which Ochus was stimulated preserved it for a quarter of a century. He began by reducing Cyprus and Phœnicia. Sidon, the most flourishing of the Phœnician cities, had made great preparations for defence, but it was surrendered by the treachery of its king Tennes, and the inhabitants, having first destroyed their fleet, burnt themselves, their wives, and children, and slaves³. Cyprus was also subdued⁴. The states of Greece were invited to furnish mercenaries; Athens and Sparta promised neutrality, but declined co-operation; the Thebans, Argives and Asiatic Greeks sent together 10,000 men, and Ochus, after the destruction of Sidon, advanced by the same route as Cambyses to the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine⁵. In passing the Serbonian Lake, part of his army were lost in the quicksands called Barathra which border the coast⁶. Had Tennes, the king of Sidon, been alive, he might have saved the Persians from this disaster, for he was well acquainted with the approaches to Egypt and the proper points for making a descent⁷. Nectanebus had not neglected the

¹ Ὡχον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ Ὀνον ἐκάλουν, τὸ νοθεὺς αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης διαβάλλοντες. (Ælian, V. H. 4, 8.) The Coptic for ass is *Eio*.

² Diod. 16, 40.

³ Diod. 16, 45.

⁴ Diod. 16, 46.

⁵ It appears to me that the account quoted by Longinus from Theopompus (p. 378 of this vol.), describes the expedition of Ochus.

⁶ This is probably the event, which Diodorus (1, 30) has exaggerated into the swallowing up of whole armies. Comp. Par. Lost, 2, 593, . . . "the Serbonian bog, Where armies whole have sunk."

⁷ Diod. 16, 43.

means of defence. He had under arms 60,000 of the Hermotyrians and Calasirians, 20,000 Libyans, and an equal number of Greek mercenaries. In sea-going ships he was far inferior to the Persians, who had the command of the Cyprian and Phœnician navies, but he had a large fleet of boats adapted for fighting on the branches of the Nile; and he had rendered the frontier towards Arabia nearly impregnable, by a continuous chain of entrenchments and fortifications. Pelusium was garrisoned by 5000 Greeks, under the command of Philophron. The Thebans in the Persian army, eager to maintain the glory which they had acquired at Leuctra and Mantinea, advanced alone and rashly, across a deep canal to attack Pelusium. The garrison sallied out and a fierce conflict ensued, which lasted till night. Next day the whole body of Greek mercenaries were brought up in three divisions, each under the joint command of a Greek and a Persian. Lacrates, who commanded the Thebans, cut the banks of the canal, letting off the water, and having filled it up with earth, planted his military engines on the embankment. These soon made breaches in the walls; but the besieged rapidly raised new walls behind, and erected wooden towers upon them. Ochus might have returned again discomfited, but in the meantime a great calamity had befallen Nectanebus. It was evidently his policy to avoid a pitched battle and let the enemy exhaust their strength, in endeavoring to reduce the number of strong positions which he occupied; but the eagerness of his Greek auxiliaries to fight prevented his carrying this plan into execution, and he was outmanœuvred by the enemy. With 30,000 Egyptians, 5000 Greeks, and half the Libyan auxiliaries, he was guarding an important passage. Nicostratus, the commander of the Argives who were before Pelusium, was guided by some Egyptians whose wives and children were in the power of the Persians as hostages, to an obscure branch of the river, by which he brought up his fleet and secretly fortified himself on the Egyptian side. When he was discovered,

the garrison of a neighboring fortress, Greek mercenaries to the number of 5000, under the command of Cleinias of Cos, marched out against them, and a pitched battle ensued, in which the troops of Nectanebus were nearly all cut to pieces. He was alarmed, and apprehending that the rest of the Persian forces might cross the river and cut off his retreat on Memphis, marched thither with all his army. Diodorus severely censures him, and alleges that he was ruined by the over-confidence arising from previous success—success of which the merit belonged not to him, but to Diophantus and Lamius. His own narrative, however, justifies no other censure on Nectanebus, than perhaps a want of vigilance in allowing Nicostratus to fortify a position in his rear. When that position was made good by a victory, nothing appears to have been left for Nectanebus but to retire on Memphis, before he was intercepted. The garrison of Pelusium perceived that any further resistance was vain, and surrendered to Lacrates on condition that they should be transported to Greece with their property untouched. This condition was violated by the Persian troops, who endeavored to plunder the Greeks as they marched out. Lacrates, indignant at this breach of his pledged word, attacked the Persians and killed some of them. Bagoas, their commander, complained to Ochus, but he justified the Greeks, and ordered the Persians who had broken the truce to be put to death. Mentor, the commander of another division of the Persian army, soon reduced Bubastis and the other cities of Lower Egypt. They were all occupied by mixed garrisons of Greeks and Egyptians, and as he caused the rumor to be spread that those who surrendered should be treated with kindness, while a more terrible fate than that of Sidon awaited all who made resistance, they were eager to anticipate each other in submission. Nectanebus found that he could not maintain himself at Memphis, and fled into Ethiopia, having reigned between eight and nine years. His flight closed

the Thirty Dynasties of the Pharaohs—a succession unexampled in ancient or modern times¹.

Ochus took possession of all Egypt, razed the walls of the principal towns, and plundered the temples. It is said that he imitated the outrages of Cambyses, killed Apis and gave his flesh to the cooks, and commanded an ass to receive the honors due to the god. When he subsequently fell a victim to assassination by Bagoas, who made dagger-handles of his thigh-bones, and gave his flesh to cats, superstition saw in this a retribution corresponding to that which fell on Cambyses². The temples were not only stripped of the gold and silver which they contained, but rifled of their ancient records, which Bagoas subsequently restored for a large sum to the priests³. The Greek mercenaries were dismissed with munificent rewards; Pherendates was made satrap of Egypt, and Ochus in 350 B.C., led back his army in triumph to Babylon.

Of the administration of the Persians in Egypt during the remainder of the reign of Ochus and that of Darius Codomannus, nothing is known. The long struggles of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, for supremacy in Greece, had ended in their subjugation by Macedonia, and one of the first uses which Philip made of the command which he acquired by the battle of Chæronea, was to prepare an expedition against Persia. His own assassination by Perdiccas prevented his execution of this plan, but it was resumed

¹ Lynceus (who lived 280 B.C. See Clinton, F. H. 3, 498) says that Nectanebus was taken prisoner and invited to supper by Ochus. The feast appeared mean to Nectanebus, who requested to be allowed to order his former cooks to prepare an Egyptian supper. When Ochus had partaken of it he exclaimed, "O Egyptian, what folly to leave such feasts as these, and set your heart on a more spare diet!" (Athen. 4, p. 150.) Persian diet, however, was more luxurious than Egyptian.

² *Ælian*, V. Hist. 6, 8. *Suid.* s. v. Λαβαίς. Ὠχός. *Ælian*, Hist. Anima. 10, 28.

³ *Diod. Sic.* 16, 12.

by Alexander, who crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C. The battle of the Granicus gave him possession of Asia Minor; that of Issus, of Syria; the sieges of Tyre and Gaza, of the coast of Phœnicia, Palestine, and the Idumean Arabia¹. Seven days' march brought him from Gaza to Pelusium, the fleet accompanying him. Mazaces, whom Darius had appointed satrap of Egypt, did not attempt resistance. The Persian armies had been driven across the Euphrates, and the Egyptians were prepared to welcome the conquerors of their own masters. Having placed a garrison in Pelusium, he marched through the desert country along the eastern bank of the Nile to Heliopolis, and crossing the river there came to Memphis, where his fleet, which had sailed up the Nile, was awaiting him. Greek philosophy had banished fanaticism from his mind, and policy clearly dictated that he should conciliate the Egyptians, whose religious feelings had been deeply wounded by the Persians. Having sacrificed to the other gods and Apis, he descended the Nile by the Canopic branch, and fixed the site of the new city, which still preserves his name and attests his sagacity. Hence, after founding a temple to Isis, he set out for the oracle of the Libyan Ammon, a divinity whom Greeks and Egyptians agreed to honor. His expedition was performed along the coast of Libya as far as Parætonium, thence through the Desert to the Oasis of Siwah. On his return he avoided the dangers to which he had exposed himself, and took the shorter route by the Natron Lakes to Memphis². Here, while recruits were

¹ Arrian, *Hist.* 3, 1.

² On the point whether Alexander returned by Parætonium or the Natron Lakes, two generals of Alexander, Aristobulus and Ptolemy Lagi, were at variance in their memoirs. Aristobulus did not write his history, however, till he was 84 (see St. Croix, *Examen Critique*, p. 43), and may have forgotten minute circumstances. I have followed Ptolemy, whose account is the more probable. Curtius agrees with Aristobulus, and makes Alexander found Alexandria on his way home (4, 33).

raising in Greece, to repair the losses which his army had sustained in the battles of the Granicus and Issus, and the sieges of Tyre and Gaza, he employed himself in arranging the future administration of Egypt. Two Egyptians, Doloaspis and Petisis, were appointed monarchs of Upper and Lower Egypt; but Petisis declining the office, the whole kingdom was placed under Doloaspis. Cleomenes, a native of Naucratis, had the chief administration of the finances, and was instructed to allow the kingdom to be governed entirely according to its ancient laws and customs; the inferior nomarchs collected the tribute and paid it to Cleomenes, by whom it was transferred to the Macedonians. Thus foreigners were prevented from coming into collision with the Egyptians, in the odious character of tax-gatherers, but all real power was placed in the hands of the Macedonians. A fleet of thirty triremes and four thousand men¹ sufficed to maintain his conquest. The command of the garrisons of Pelusium and Memphis was given to *companions* of the king; other Greeks held the offices of præfect of Libya and Arabia, the command of the army, the mercenaries, and the fleet. Alexander introduced the principle, which the Romans afterwards carried out in the administration of Egypt, not to allow any one man to have sole authority in a kingdom so fertile and so strong by natural position, and from various causes so prone to revolt². Cleomenes, however, the præfect of Arabia, after Alexander's departure, appears to have availed himself of the power which his office as chief financier gave him, to usurp a kind of supremacy³, and various acts of extortion are recorded of him, in the interval between the conquest of Egypt and the establishment of the Ptolemaic monarchy⁴. He repeated the threat of

¹ Q. Curt. 4, 33.

² Tac. Hist. 1, 11; Ann. 2, 59. Ita visum expedire provinciam aditu difficilem, annonæ fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem ac mobilem, insciam legum, domi retinere. (Arrian, 3, 5, 10.)

³ Κλεομένης Αἰγύπτῳ οὐαρτυπέων. (Arist. Econom. c. 32.) ⁴ Arist. u. 4

Nectanebus, to suppress some of the priesthoods on account of their number, and the largeness of the sums expended on religious ceremonies, and thus obtained from the priests considerable sums, not only from their private property, but from the treasures of the temples.

Alexander left Memphis early in the spring of 331 B.C., and having crossed the Nile and its various canals on bridges, passed the Desert, and at Tyre joined his fleet, which had preceded him. He never again visited Egypt; but his corpse was brought hither from Babylon and deposited at Alexandria in a sarcophagus¹, within a funeral hypogæum². In the division of his empire Egypt was chosen for his portion by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with whom begins a new period of its history.

¹ Juvenal, Sat. 10, 172.

² Lucan, Pharsal. 10, 19, speaking of Julius Cæsar,—

Effossum tumulis cupide descendit in antrum.
Illic Pellæi proles vesana Philippi
Felix prædo jacet.



INDEX.

A.

ABABDEH, the, i. 54.
Abaris (Auaris), ii. 153, 163, 269.
Abosimbel (Aboccis), i. 20; ii. 390 note.
 —, Greek inscription there, ii. 346.
 —, temple of, ii. 232.
Abydos, i. 38.
 —, Tablet of, ii. 90, 135, 170.
Acacia, i. 122.
Achoris, ii. 417.
Actisanea, ii. 308 note.
Adonis, mourning for, i. 348.
Ægyptus, ii. 261.
Æra, not used by the Egyptians, ii. 79.
Æsculapius, i. 333.
 —, worship paid to his serpent, ii. 2.
Africa, whether circumnavigated by the Phœnicians, ii. 338.
Africanus, Julius, ii. 74.
Agésilaua, his campaign in Egypt, ii. 424.
Alabaster, quarries of, i. 41.
Alabastron, i. 41, 196.
Alexander, his supposed sarcophagus, ii. 414.
Alexandria, its population, i. 151.
 —, foundation of, ii. 433.
Alluvium, deposit of, i. 66, 127.
Alphabetical characters, when arranged, ii. 271.
Alum, i. 61; ii. 363.
Amasis, ii. 357.
 —, his laws, ii. 39.
 — (satrap), ii. 404.
Amenmeses, ii. 284 note.
Amenophis I., ii. 174.
 — II., ii. 196.
 — III., ii. 197.
Amenthe, i. 330, 406.
Ammonium, i. 52.

Ammonium, expedition of Cambyzes against, ii. 390.
Amosis, ii. 172.
Amun, i. 310.
Amun Khem, i. 315; ii. 275.
Amunt, i. 321.
Amuntuanch, ii. 211.
Amyrteus, ii. 409, 412.
Anaglyphs, i. 268.
Anatomy, whether known in Egypt, i. 228; ii. 103.
Anaxagoras, his doctrine concerning God, i. 367.
Androsphinx, i. 115, 145.
Animals, sanctity of, in India, ii. 9.
 —, Egyptian worship of, ii. 1-21.
 —, as military ensigns, ii. 6.
Anouke, i. 323.
Anubis, i. 356.
 — with head of jackal, i. 356.
Anysis, ii. 304.
Aphrodite, Celestial, i. 324.
Apion, ii. 152.
Apis, his worship when introduced, ii. 5.
 —, honors paid to him, ii. 18.
 —, his marks, ii. 18.
 —, *Epiphaneia* of, ii. 326, 393.
 —, mummies of, ii. 20.
Apollodorus, his list of kings, ii. 81, 164 note.
Arabic numerals, i. 290.
Arch, its antiquity, i. 217.
Ark of the Covenant, i. 386.
Armais, ii. 262.
Aroeris, *see* Haroeris.
Art, Egyptian, i. 171; ii. 295, 326.
 —, —, influenced by religion, i. 223, 225.
 —, —, its progress the same as that of civilization, i. 229.
 —, decline of, ii. 285, 423.
Artaxerxes Mnemon, ii. 423.

Arutu, nation, ii. 188.
 Ases (Asseth), i. 278; ii. 160 note.
 Ashes, criminals plunged in, ii. 126.
 Asp, emblem of the Sun, ii. 17.
 Asphaltum, its use in embalment, i. 413.
 Assyrian empire, ii. 284.
 Assyrians, their power, ii. 157, 179.
 Atet, fortress, ii. 218.
 Atinre, ii. 211.
 Athens, whether a colony from Sais, ii. 331.
 —, its alliances with Egypt, ii. 408, 413.
 Athom, i. 330.
 Athor, i. 325.
 Atlantis, island, its submersion, ii. 338, 369.
 Atmoo, i. 330.
 Atmosphere of Egypt, its effect on colors, i. 220.
 Auaris (Abaris), ii. 153.
 Automoli, ii. 330, 331.
 Azotus, siege of, 328.

B.

B, pronounced as *ou*, i. 329.
 Bab, its signification, i. 140.
 Babylon, ii. 191.
 —, Egyptian, ii. 241.
 Babylonians, their inventions, i. 286
 Bagoas, ii. 431.
 Bahr-be-la-Ma, i. 58, 66.
 Bahr-Jusuf, i. 37, 95, 124.
 Barabras, i. 87.
 Barathra, ii. 429.
 Barbarians, all other nations so called by the Egyptians, ii. 209.
 Bari, i. 177, 385, 420, 426.
 Basalt, i. 221.
 Basis, ii. 106.
 Bas-relief, Egyptian, its peculiarity, i. 228.
 Beans, an impure vegetable, i. 375.
 Beard, absence of, in African nations, ii. 141.
 Beitoualli, temple of, ii. 226.
 Belzoni, i. 20, 108.
 —, tomb discovered by, i. 141.
 Berbers, ii. 209.
 Bessa, i. 381.
 Birket-el-Kerur, i. 42; ii. 131.

Blemmyes, i. 23.
 Bocchoris, ii. 301, 303.
 —, his legislation, ii. 47.
 Boeckh, his view of Manetho's chronology, ii. 77 note.
 Bonaparte, his campaign in Egypt, ii. 421.
 Book of the Dead, i. 407.
 Books not in common use in Egypt, i. 239.
 Bow, mode of drawing, i. 189.
 Breccia, quarries of, i. 53.
 Bridge in Egyptian monuments, ii. 218 note.
 — of boats over the Hellespont, ii. 405.
 Bridges, none on the Nile, i. 178.
 Bubastis, ii. 290.
 Bull, of what a type, ii. 15.
 Bunsen, his mode of reconciling Eratosthenes and Manetho, ii. 82, 110 note.
 Busiris, king, ii. 66.
 —, city, i. 47.
 Buto, goddess, i. 321.
 Byblos, i. 344, 348.

C.

Cabiri, i. 319, 333.
 Cadmus, the historian, ii. 56.
 Calasirians, i. 187; ii. 34, 327, 405.
 Camels in Egypt, i. 63; ii. 378.
 Canal, between the Nile and the Red Sea, ii. 245, 335, 402.
 Cancer, Tropic of, i. 23.
 Candace, her war with the Romans, ii. 389.
 Canopi, i. 341.
 Canopic mouth, first frequented by the Greeks, ii. 52.
 Captives represented on furniture, i. 198.
 Caravan routes from Egypt to Meroe, i. 21; ii. 388.
 Carchemish, battle of, ii. 342.
 Carians in Egypt, i. 390.
 —, their settlement in Egypt, ii. 321.
 Caricature, i. 226.
 Carthaginians, their naval power, ii. 382.
 Casluhim, ii. 161.

- Caste, law of, ii. 23, 36, 37.
 Cat, sanctity of, ii. 3.
 —, consecrated to the moon, ii. 17.
 Cataracts, i. 12, 16, 18, 26.
 Cavalry, not used in Egypt, i. 191.
 Cedar, oil of, i. 414, 417.
 Ceilings, astronomical, i. 142, 143.
 Cemeteries, Egyptian, on the western side of the Nile, i. 420, 421.
 Cerberus, i. 342.
 Chabrias, his campaigns in Egypt, ii. 418, 424.
 Chæremón, his work on Hieroglyphics, ii. 306 note.
 Charon, i. 426.
 Chebros, ii. 176.
 Cherubim, i. 386.
Chemí, name of Egypt, ii. 97.
 Chemistry, origin of the name, i. 182.
 Chesebt, metal, ii. 192, 218.
 Chinese writing, i. 259.
 Chiun, worship of, ii. 272.
 Coachutæ (not Cholehytæ), i. 423.
 Chous, i. 322.
 Chronicle, the Old Egyptian, ii. 79.
 Chronology, Egyptian, ii. 75, 77, 166.
 Circesium, battle of, ii. 342.
 Circumcision, i. 376, 378.
 Clemens Alexandrinus, his enumeration of Egyptian priests, ii. 85.
 Coinage not known in Egypt, i. 290.
 — introduced by the Persians, ii. 400.
 Colchians, their similarity to the Egyptians, ii. 238.
 Colossal in art, its effect, i. 224.
 Color, conventional, of the male and female in Egyptian painting, i. 82.
 — applied to sculpture, i. 220.
 Comasæ, i. 384.
 Comastes, i. 25; ii. 384.
 Concharis, ii. 160.
 Concubines, their children legitimate, ii. 47.
 Constellations, influence of, i. 382.
 Copper mines, i. 51; ii. 118.
 Coronation, ceremonies of, ii. 274.
 Corslet, linen, of Amasis, i. 182; ii. 362.
 Cosseir road, inscriptions in, ii. 124, 403, 404, 405.
 Cotton, whether used in bandages, i. 414.
 —, whether grown in Egypt, i. 159; ii. 362.
 Cranium, the Egyptian, distinguishable by its hardness, i. 208 note.
 Criosphinx, i. 115, note 145.
 Crocodile, not now found in Lower Egypt, i. 79.
 —, mode of its capture, i. 172.
 —, its import in mythology, i. 330.
 —, worship of, i. 29; ii. 16.
 —, symbol of Typhon, ii. 15.
 —, — of darkness, i. 383.
 —, ornaments bestowed upon, ii. 13.
 Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, i. 208 note.
 Cubit, Egyptian, i. 290.
 Cycle, Sothiac, i. 280.
 —, its commencement, ii. 247.
 Cynocephalus, i. 359.
 —, emblem of Thoth, ii. 15.
 Cyprus, conquest of, ii. 276.
 —, its relations to Persia, ii. 407, 416.
 Cyrene, foundation of, ii. 353.
 — war of Apries against, ii. 356.
 —, of Aryandes against, ii. 399.

 D.
 Dahæ, ii. 188.
 Danaïdes bring the mysteries of Demeter to the Peloponnesus, i. 392.
 Danaus, story of his migration, ii. 52, 260.
 Darius Hystaspis, ii. 397.
 — Ochus, ii. 427.
 — Codomannus, ii. 438.
 Dead, state of, according to the Hebrews, i. 397, 399 note.
 —, according to the early Greeks, i. 398.
 Debtor and creditor, law of, ii. 47.
 Decans, i. 287.
 Delta, apex of, 45.
 —, its formation, i. 66; ii. 105, 106.
 Demigods, their reigns, ii. 93.
 Democritus, ii. 63.
 —, his visit to Egypt, ii. 410.
 Demotic character, when first introduced, ii. 403.

Desert, the, between Palestine and Egypt, ii. 377.
 —, between Egypt and Ethiopia, ii. 388.
 Dialect, sacred, i. 265, 268.
 Dicearchus, ii. 64, 139.
 Diodorus, ii. 64–72.
 —, variations between him and Herodotus, ii. 70.
 Divination, i. 380.
 Doric order, its origin, i. 214.
 Draughts, game of, i. 204; ii. 281.
Dromos, i. 219.
 Dynasty, its meaning, ii. 94.
 Dynasties of Manetho, whether contemporaneous, ii. 80, 156.

E.

Egypt, extent of its coast, i. 49.
 —, want of harbors, i. 49.
 —, fertility of its soil, i. 72.
 —, temperature, i. 77, 79.
 —, healthiness, i. 77.
 —, cheapness of living, i. 153.
 —, native name of, i. 182.
 —, fecundity of women in, i. 153 note.
 —, its monarchy one, ii. 80.
 —, taxation under the Persians, i. 397.
 —, amount of population, i. 151.
 —, state under the Persians, ii. 411.
Eimoph, i. 333.
Elbo, island of, ii. 305, 318.
 Election of kings, ii. 24.
 Elephant, found in Egyptian pictures, ii. 187.
 Elephantiasis, i. 79.
 Eleusinian Mysteries, i. 394.
 Elians, their visit to Egypt, ii. 346.
 Embalment, its antiquity, ii. 103.
 —, its purpose, i. 399.
 —, different mode of, i. 412.
Emeph, i. 313.
Emeralda, mines of, i. 53.
Epagomenæ, i. 278.
Epiphaneia of Apis, ii. 18.
Eratosthenes, ii. 64, 81.
Ergamenes, i. 22.
Etesian winds, i. 68, 292.
 Ethiopia, conception of, in the age of Herodotus, ii. 383.

Ethiopian monarchy, extent of, ii. 305.
 Ethiopians, visit of gods to, i. 385.
 Ethiopic language, ii. 303 note.
 Eunuchs, whether known in ancient Egypt, ii. 138.
 Evagoras, his alliance with Egypt, ii. 417.
 Eusebius, his chronology, ii. 74.
 —, arbitrary changes in, ii. 151 note.
 Exodus of the Israelites, ii. 262–272.
 Eye of Osiris, i. 337.
 Eyes, artificial, i. 417.
 “Eyes of the King,” ii. 244 note.
 Ezekiel, his prophecy against Egypt, ii. 352.

F.

Factories of the Greeks in Egypt, ii. 362.
 Famine in Egypt, i. 71.
 Fanbearers, ii. 28.
 Feast of the gods with the Ethiopians, i. 385.
Fekkaroo, ii. 277, 279.
 Fish forbidden to priests, i. 375.
 Fish of the Nile, their species, i. 173.
 Flint knives, i. 411.
 Flowers in Egypt not fragrant, i. 75.
 —, their symbolical import, ii. 12.
 Forest, petrified, near Cairo, i. 66.
 Fortification, art of, i. 195 note.
 Fowl, domestic, whether known in Egypt, i. 174.
 Frog, emblem of Life, i. 349.
 Fruits of Egypt, i. 167.
 Furniture, buried with deceased persons, i. 423.
Fyoum, i. 42.

G.

Gardening, art of, i. 168.
 Gardens of Solomon, i. 169.
 Germanicus, his visit to Thebes, i. 192.
Giligammæ, ii. 256.
 Gloves, worn by northern captives, ii. 186.
 Gods, division of, i. 307, 308.
 —, reign of, ii. 95.

Gold mines, i. 54.
Goshen, its position, ii. 195.
Grain, what species cultivated in Egypt, i. 158.
Granite, quarries of, i. 27.
Greeks, their contempt for barbarians, ii. 63.
—, their neglect of foreign languages, ii. 324.
Grotto of Benihasan, i. 39.
— of Koul-el-Ahmar, i. 41.
Gymnastic exercises, i. 189, 200, 203, 228.

H.

Ham, name of, i. 81.
Hapimou, i. 332.
Harka, i. 323.
Haroeris, i. 329, 353.
Harper's Tomb, ii. 280.
Harpocrates, i. 345, 354.
Hatching by artificial heat, i. 175.
Hawk, emblem of Horus, ii. 15.
Head-stool, used by the Egyptians, i. 199.
Heavens, emblematic figure of, 142, 331.
Hecateus of Miletus, i. 85; ii. 56.
Hellenicus, ii. 57.
Hellenion, factory of the Greeks in Egypt, ii. 362.
Henneh, use of, 211.
Heracleopolis, ii. 130.
Hermapion, his interpretation of an obelisk, i. 245.
Hermes, books of, ii. 85.
Hermes Trismegistus, i. 358.
Hermotyrians, i. 190; ii. 34.
Herodotus, ii. 56-62.
—, his deficiency in calculation, ii. 331.
Heroes, worship of, i. 362.
—, reign of, ii. 95.
Hestia, i. 323.
Hieroglyphics, i. 238-272.
—, knowledge of them how far diffused, i. 240; ii. 62.
—, order of reading them, i. 260.
Hierogrammateus, i. 378; ii. 86.
Hineks, Dr. E., ii. 134.
—, his modifications of Champollion's system, i. 272.

Hipparchus, discoverer of the precession of the equinoxes, i. 283.
Hippopotamus, i. 171.
—, symbol of crime, ii. 100.
—, symbol of darkness, i. 342.
Hippys of Rhegium, ii. 56 note.
Homer, his account of Thebes, i. 150 ii. 54.
—, his account of Pharos, ii. 53.
Horapollo, i. 242.
Hor-hat, his emblem, i. 219, 329.
Horologium, i. 276; ii. 86.
Horoscopus, i. 378, 383; ii. 85.
Horse, its use, i. 166, 167.
Horus, god, i. 353.
—, king, ii. 208.
—, "the golden," ii. 125.
Hyksos, their invasion, ii. 153.

I.

Iamblichus, i. 302.
Iatromathematic, i. 292.
Ibis, emblem of Thoth, ii. 16.
Ichneumon, ii. 132.
Ichthyophagi, act as interpreters, ii. 384.
Idumæans, ii. 377.
Illumination in honor of Neith, i. 391.
Inaros, ii. 407.
India, supposed early connexion with Egypt, i. 89, 92.
—, tenure of land in, ii. 22.
—, sanctity of plants and animals in, ii. 9.
Interest, rate of, ii. 48.
Interpreters, caste of, ii. 36, 324.
Io, legend of, ii. 1, 51.
Ionic order, its origin, i. 215.
Iphicrates, his campaigns in Egypt, ii. 420.
Is, bituminous springs of, ii. 192.
Isaiah, his prophecies against Egypt, ii. 315.
Isiac rites, i. 394.
Isis, i. 340.
Islands of the Blessed, i. 51, 404, 408.

J.

Jablonsky, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, i. 298, 311.

Jebusites, ii. 159.
 Jehovah, his name unknown to the Jews in the time of Moses, ii. 272.
 Jeremiah, his prophecy against Apries, ii. 350.
 Jerusalem, capture of, by Sheshonk, ii. 292.
 —, —, by Neco, ii. 340.
 —, —, by Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 349.
 Jews, not the same as the Hyksos, ii. 158.
 —, their departure from Egypt, ii. 263.
 —, Manetho's account of, ii. 267.
 —, employed in brickmaking, ii. 194.
 Jewish laws, resemblance to the Egyptian, ii. 48.
 Josephus, his unfairness, ii. 158, 159, 166.
 Judgment of kings, posthumous, ii. 27.
 Judgment-scene, i. 341, 360.
 Jukasa, land of, ii. 192.

K

Kanana, land of, ii. 216.
 Karnak, royal tablet of, ii. 90, 193.
 —, statistical tablet of, ii. 187.
 Khamsin, i. 67 note.
 Kings of Egypt, their mode of life, ii. 25.
 —, number of, ii. 160 note.
 Kneph, i. 318.
 Koresko, Akaba of, 388.
 Kufa, nation, ii. 186.
 Kuphi, i. 374.

L

Labyrinth, i. 44; ii. 144, 148, 322.
 Lacerates, commands the Theban troops in Egypt, ii. 430.
 Lakes, the Bitter, ii. 335.
 Land, threefold division of, ii. 22, 29.
 —, tenure of, in Egypt, ii. 22.
 Lark, crested, venerated by the Lemnians, ii. 14.
 Laterculus of Syncellus, ii. 79, 164 note.

Latus, the fish, i. 34.
 Law, administration of, ii. 33, 41.
 —, Egyptian, its humanity, ii. 43.
 Layard's Nineveh, ii. 190, 285.
 Legislators, Egyptian, ii. 26.
 Lemanen, nation, ii. 191.
 Leopard's skin, worn by priests, i. 421.
 Lepidotus, the fish, i. 345.
 Leprosy among the Jews, ii. 270.
 Lepsius, his discovery of marks of rise of the Nile in Nubia, i. 18 note.
 —, reading of the name Osortasen, ii. 135.
 —, — of the name of the builder of the Labyrinth, ii. 146.
 —, — of the name Set, ii. 215.
 Leto, i. 323.
 Lex talionis, ii. 44.
 Library of the Rameseion, i. 131.
 Libyans, ii. 99.
 Linant, his discoveries in the Fyoun, i. 42; ii. 131.
 Lion-hunt, ii. 278.
 Lion, tamed, accompanying the king, i. 194 note.
 Lions, of the Fontana di Termini, ii. 428.
 Lotus, the sacred, i. 76.
 —, its use for food, i. 161.
 Ludim, nation, ii. 222.
 Ludnu, nation, ii. 187, 217.
 Lydia, had a partly Semitic population, ii. 218.

M

Magicians of Egypt, i. 382.
 Mandoulia, i. 331.
 Mandoo, i. 331.
 Maneroa, song of, i. 201.
 Manes, reign of, ii. 76.
 Manetho, ii. 73, 76.
 —, whether his dynasties were consecutive, ii. 79-82.
 —, duration of his dynasties, ii. 91, 149.
 Manmisi, i. 32, 214; ii. 200.
 Manoskh, i. 148.
 Marriage of sisters and brothers, ii. 46.

- Mars, i. 364, 390.
 —, worship of, at Papremis, i. 390.
 Marshes of Egypt, character of the population of, ii. 52, 409.
 Mashiosa, ii. 276.
 Maunthemva, ii. 197, 200, 207.
 Medicine, i. 290.
 Megabazus, his mission to Sparta, ii. 408.
 Melampus, i. 335, 337, 391; ii. 262.
 Melek, on Egyptian monuments, ii. 371 note, 404.
 Memnon, ii. 203–208.
 Memnonia, unhealthy employments carried on there, i. 412.
 Memphis, etymology of, ii. 96.
 Mendes, worship of the goat there, ii. 5, 106.
 Mennahom, nation, ii. 276.
 Menzaleh, lake of, i. 46.
 Meroe, i. 8, 88; ii. 305.
 —, whether the civilization of Egypt was derived thence, ii. 41 note, 144.
 Metempsychosis, i. 91, 400, 406; ii. 8.
 Mexican writing, i. 259.
 Milesians, their settlement in Egypt, ii. 301, 322.
 Military age, i. 152.
 Mines, the working of, ii. 44.
 —, emerald, i. 53.
 Minotaur, legend of, ii. 1.
 Mizraim, ii. 97.
 Mnevis, worship of, ii. 5.
 Mœris, lake, i. 43; ii. 131, 193.
 —, its fisheries, i. 173.
 —, etymology of, ii. 131.
 Mokattam, quarries of, i. 116.
 Moloch, his worship, ii. 272.
 Momemphis, ii. 322.
 Mous Casius, ii. 162 note.
 Months, Egyptian, their names, i. 277 note.
 Monuments, public, their superiority to all other evidence, ii. 169.
 Mora, game of, i. 205.
 Mountains of the Moon, i. 6.
 Mourning, i. 411.
 Mouse, an emblem of destruction, ii. 318.
 Mummies of animals, i. 120, 121, 140; ii. 4.
 Mummies, pledged for debt, ii. 48.
 —, kept in houses, i. 419.
 —, Greek, i. 415 note.
 Mummy, derivation of, i. 418 note.
 —, introduced at banquets, i. 201.
 Mysteries, i. 392.
 —, Eleusinian, i. 395.
 N.
 Nænia, metrical, i. 411 note.
 Naharaina, ii. 178, 183, 192.
 Nahsi, ii. 218, 256.
 Namhu, ii. 218.
 Nantef, ii. 144.
 Napata, i. 15; ii. 389.
 Nasamones, ii. 256.
 Natron Lakes, i. 59.
 Natron, its use in embalmment, i. 413.
 Naucratis, ii. 54.
 Navigation, disesteemed in Egypt, ii. 36.
 Nebuchadnezzar, his invasion of Egypt, ii. 352.
 Nectanebus I., ii. 420.
 Nectanebus II., ii. 428.
 Nefruatep, ii. 144, 161.
 Negro in Egyptian monuments, ii. 185.
 — physiognomy different from the Egyptian, i. 82.
 Neith, i. 326.
 Nemroud, Egyptian tablets found at, ii. 190, 285 note.
 Nemt-amen, peculiarity of, ii. 179.
 Neni, supposed Nineveh, ii. 190.
 Neocoros, ii. 25.
 Neo-Platonists, i. 297.
 Nepenthe, ii. 53.
 Nephra, son of Amasis, ii. 404.
 Nephthys, i. 355.
 Netpe, i. 334, 416.
 Nevopth, tomb of, i. 40; ii. 142.
 Niger, the, confounded with the Nile, i. 5.
 Nile, its changes of color, i. 73.
 —, figure of, i. 333; ii. 201.
 Nile-water, i. 73, 200.
 Nile, omens derived from, ii. 107.
 Niloa, i. 332, 388.

Nilometer, i. 28.
 Nilos, town, i. 332.
 "Nine Bows," nation of, ii. 178, 213,
 257 note.
 Nineveh, capture of, ii. 342.
 Nitocris, her history, ii. 126.
 —, queen of Babylon, ii. 371.
 No-Ammon, i. 128
Nofre, i. 331.
 Nomes, their division, ii. 40.
 —, twelve predominant, ii. 41.
 Noph, ii. 286.
 North, symbol of, ii. 292.
 Nubia, its climate and soil, i. 24.

O.

Oaths by vegetables, ii. 12.
 Obelisk of St. John Lateran, i. 230;
 ii. 184.
 — of Nectanebus, ii. 422.
 — of Luxor, i. 144.
 — of Heliopolis, i. 46.
 — of the Fyoun, i. 43; ii. 184.
 — of Karnak, i. 145.
 — of Monte Citoric, i. 230; ii. 326.
 — of Apries, i. 230.
 — of the Piazza del Popolo, i. 232.
 — of Philæ, i. 26, 251.
 Obelisks, placed in pairs, i. 144.
 — in the quarries of Syene, i. 185.
 — of the Roman times, i. 232 note.
 —, mode of raising, i. 288.
 Obliteration of names, i. 350.
 Ocean, whether an Egyptian name
 for the Nile, i. 425.
 Officers of state, ii. 28.
 Onions, whether worshiped in
 Egypt, ii. 11.
 Orphic doctrines, i. 318, 320, 325,
 337, 400.
 Osarsiph, ii. 269.
 "Osirian," appellation of deceased
 persons, i. 408; ii. 249.
 Osiride columns, i. 216.
 Osiris, i. 334, 342.
 —, forty-two assessors of, i. 143,
 342.
 —, mythe of, i. 343.
 —, porcelain figures of, i. 415.
 —, eye of, i. 422.
 Osymandyas, tomb of, i. 130, 131; ii.
 286.

Osymandyas, circle of, i. 286
 Otsch, fortress, ii. 218.
 Oxyrrynchus, town, i. 41.
 Oxyrrynchus, fish, ii. 15.

P.

Paamyles, i. 343.
 Paamyliæ, i. 392.
 Painting, art of, i. 139, 227.
 — of tombs, i. 139.
 Pallaces, of Jupiter, i. 143.
 Palm, emblematic, i. 359.
 Palm-tree, its uses, i. 74.
 —, Theban (Doum), i. 79, 168.
 Panegyries, hall of, i. 148.
 —, where held, i. 389.
 Papremis, i. 364, 390.
 Papyri, age of the earliest, ii. 85.
 —, funeral, i. 408.
 Papyrus, its manufacture, i. 75.
 —, use for food, i. 161.
 — of Sallier, ii. 242.
 Paraschistes, i. 413.
 Pastophori, i. 378; ii. 87.
 Pathros, i. 325 note.
 Patnouphis, title of Hermes, i. 358
 note.
 Pepi, ii. 123.
 Persea, i. 167; ii. 10.
 Perseus, i. 39.
 —, tower of, i. 48.
 Persian conquest of Egypt, its effect,
 ii. 56.
 Perspective, its neglect in Egyptian
 art, i. 226.
 Petesuchis, ii. 147.
 Pethempamenthes, title of Osiris, i.
 340, 349.
 Petronius, his expedition against
 Napata, ii. 389.
 Phagrus, the fish, i. 345.
 Phanes, his treachery, ii. 377.
 Pharos, Homeric description of, ii.
 53.
 Pheron, ii. 246, 254, 282.
 Philistus, ii. 63.
 Philitis, ii. 162.
 Phœniciana, said to have circumna-
 vigated Africa, ii. 337.
 —, their connexion with Egypt,
 ii. 162.
 Phœnix, i. 280.

Phre, i. 323 note.
 Phrygians, claim superior antiquity to the Egyptians, ii. 332.
 Physicians, i. 290; ii. 31.
 Pilgrimages, i. 390.
 Pindar, his doctrine of transmigration, i. 403.
 Pithom, ii. 195.
 Plague, the, i. 78.
 Plants, sanctity of, ii. 10.
 Plato, his testimony to the antiquity of Egypt, i. 2.
 —, of the forms of Egyptian art, i. 222.
 —, his visit to Egypt, i. 45.
 —, his doctrine of transmigration, i. 405.
 Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, i. 296.
 Plutus and Pluto the same, i. 337.
 Poetry, historical, in Egypt, ii. 89.
 Polycrates of Samos, his history, ii. 364.
 Polygamy, i. 378; ii. 47.
 Potipherah, i. 323 note.
 Pount, land, ii. 185.
 Precession of the equinoxes, i. 283.
 Premnis (Primis Magna), ii. 389.
 Priesthood, effects of their power, ii. 37.
 —, their condition and influence, ii. 29.
 Priests, whether judges, ii. 33.
 Primis (Ibrim), ii. 396 note.
 Processions, i. 384.
 Prophetes, i. 379, 381; ii. 25, 86.
 Proseynema, i. 422.
 Prussian Expedition, their discoveries, i. 112, 131.
 Psammitichus I., ii. 320.
 — II., ii. 345.
 — III., assassinates Tamos, ii. 417.
Pschent, i. 208 note, 329; ii. 275.
Pthuris (Farras), ii. 390 note.
 Pulley, whether known to the Egyptians, i. 288 note.
 Pylon, meaning of, i. 31.
 Pyramids, proportions of, i. 100.
 —, mode of erecting, i. 106.
 —, their number, i. 112.
 —, in Upper Egypt, i. 125.
 —, builders of, ii. 111-116.
 —, Ethiopian, i. 10.

Pyramidion of obelisk gilded, ii. 184.
 Pythagoras, his visit to Egypt, ii. 325 note.
 —, his residence in Egypt and doctrine, i. 234, 274, 275, 286, 294, 367, 400; ii. 14.

Q.

Qoorneh, sepulchres of, i. 138.
 Quails in Egypt and the Desert of Sinai, i. 174.
 Queens, their prerogatives, ii. 107.

R.

Ra, i. 328.
 Raameses, city, ii. 195.
 Rain in Egypt, i. 79.
 Rameses I., ii. 211.
 — I., ii. 226.
 — III., ii. 228.
 — IV., ii. 272.
 — V.-XIV., ii. 282-284.
 Ramsinitus, ii. 282.
 Ranpo, i. 365.
 Re, i. 328.
 Rebo, nation, ii. 279.
 Records, antiquity of, in Egypt, ii. 83.
 Red Sea, routes from Egypt to, i. 36, 52.
 Rehearsing, sign of, in Egyptian pictures, ii. 274 note.
 Rekamai, i. 39.
 Remai, ii. 124.
 Remanen, nation, ii. 191, 217.
 Rent, its proportion to produce, ii. 22.
 —, its amount in Egypt, ii. 22.
 Resurrection, doctrine of, i. 397; 410.
 Rhadamanthys, etymology of, i. 408.
 Rhodopis, ii. 128.
Rot, ii. 218.
 Rotno, nation, ii. 187, 217.

S.

Sabaco, ii. 308.
 Sacrifices, human, i. 369, 371, i. 52.
 Sacrilege, law of, ii. 45.
 Saf, "Lady of Letters," i. 131; ii. 201.

- Sagdas*, i. 374.
Sais, ii. 318, 319.
Samaritan Pentateuch, ii. 264.
Sandstone rock, its extent in Egypt,
 i. 29.
Sasychis, ii. 290.
Sataspes, voyage of, ii. 338.
Scape-goat, i. 372.
Scarabæus, sanctity of, ii. 9, 17.
Scythians, their invasion of Egypt,
 ii. 333.
Seb, i. 334.
Sebek, i. 329.
Sebekatop, sovereigns of this name,
 when they lived, ii. 161.
Semneh, ii. 182.
Sennacherib, ii. 311.
Septuagint, its variation from the
 Hebrew, ii. 264.
Serapis, i. 362.
Serbonian bog, ii. 429.
Serpent, emblem of *Agathodæmon*,
 i. 314.
 — of *Æsculapius*, ii. 2.
Serpents, winged, ii. 16.
Sesonchis, ii. 291.
Sesonchosis, ii. 122.
Sesostris, ii. 138.
 —, his emblems, ii. 140.
Set, name of *Typhon*, i. 351; ii. 214.
Sethos, ii. 311.
Sethroite nome, ii. 153, 157.
Shairetaan, ii. 278.
Sharu or *Kharu*, nation, ii. 227.
Sharpe, Samuel, i. 216 note; ii. 176
 note.
Sheol of the Hebrews, i. 336.
Shepherd kings, ii. 152.
Shepherds, disesteemed in Egypt,
 ii. 267.
Sheshonk, his invasion of Judæa,
 ii. 91.
Sheto, nation, ii. 234, 243, 319.
Shields, royal, titular, and phonetic,
 ii. 124.
Shishak, ii. 290.
Shos, ii. 216, 227.
Sidon, capture of, by *Ochus*, ii. 429.
Sidonians, ii. 187.
Silco, king of the *Blemmyes*, i. 23
 note.
Silphium, ii. 256, 355.
Simoum, i. 57 note.
Sinai, peninsula of, i. 51.
Singara, ii. 192, 222.
Skhai, ii. 212.
Slaves, protected by law, ii. 43.
 — did not attend on the king, ii.
 26.
Socari, i. 320.
Soldiery, Egyptian, their migration
 to Ethiopia, ii. 330.
Solomon, his connexion with Egypt,
 ii. 288.
Sothiac period, ii. 77 note, 247.
Sothis (*Isis* and *Dog-star*), i. 281.
 —, spurious work of *Manetho*,
 ii. 73 note.
Soul, wicked, its punishment, i. 403.
South, symbol of, ii. 292.
Sphinx, meaning of, i. 115.
 —, female, i. 115.
Sphragistes, i. 371.
Stability, emblem of, i. 319, 349.
Standard of kings, ii. 125.
Stele, its meaning, ii. 190 note.
Stibium, use of, i. 211.
Stolistes, ii. 86.
Stork, veneration of, ii. 14.
Suchus, i. 329.
Sukiim, ii. 291 note.
Sun, a divinity, i. 331.
 —, Fountain of the, i. 60.
 — worshipers, ii. 91, 212.
 — in a state of weakness during
 winter, i. 352.
Swine, use of, in agriculture, i. 156.
 —, herds of, i. 388 note.
 —, sacrifice of, i. 336, 391.
 —, emblem of gluttony, i. 403.
Swineherds, excluded from temples,
 ii. 36.
Syncellus, George the, ii. 75.
 "Syrians of Palestine," the *Jewa*,
 ii. 376.
 T.
Tablet of Abydos, i. 38; ii. 90.
 — of *Karnak*, ii. 90.
 —, statistical, of *Karnak*, ii. 187.
Tachos, ii. 423, 427.
Tahai, nation, ii. 187.
Taia, ii. 198, 207.
Tamhu, nation, ii. 218.

- Iamos, his assassination by Psammitichus III., ii. 417.
 Tanis, ii. 286.
 Taochi, ii. 188.
 Taricheutæ, i. 412.
Tax, or cruz ansata, its signification, i. 247 note, 254.
 Tau, placed on the tongue, ii. 25.
 Taxation in Egypt, ii. 28.
 Thammuz, mourning for, i. 348.
 Thebes, origin of the name, i. 126 note.
 —, once co-extensive with Egypt, ii. 81.
 Theology, Egyptian, its threefold source, i. 309.
 Theosophy, Egyptian, i. 304.
 Thermuthis, i. 322, 365.
 Thesmophoria, i. 392.
 Thieves, how organized in Egypt, ii. 45.
 This, its site, ii. 95.
 Thoñ, i. 358.
 —, worshiped in Nubia, i. 19, 24.
 Thoñmes I., ii. 176.
 — II., ii. 180.
 — III., ii. 181.
 — IV., ii. 197.
 Thunder, rare in Egypt, i. 382.
 Thuoris, ii. 254.
 Tides at Suez, ii. 336 note.
 Timæus, king of Egypt, ii. 160.
 Tirkakah, i. 13, 46, 136; ii. 197, 310.
 Tithrambo, i. 365.
 Titular name, whether incorporated, ii. 136 note.
 Tohen, nation, ii. 218, 276.
 Tokari, nation, ii. 278.
 Tomba, royal, i. 141.
 Tools, buried with artificers, 423.
 Toparchies, ii. 41.
 Tourah, quarries of, i. 118.
 Tpe, i. 416.
 Transmigration of souls, i. 401.
 Trees, sanctity of, ii. 10.
 Triacenterides, i. 396.
 Troglodytes, i. 55.
 Tropic of Cancer, i. 23, 28.
 Trumpet, of late introduction in Greece, i. 235.
 Truth, goddess of, i. 342, 360, 374, 427; ii. 43.
 Turin, papyrus of, ii. 86.
 Turks, their similarity to the Hyksos ii. 165.
 Typhon, his emblem, i. 350.
 —, mythe of, 343-352.
 Typhonia, i. 214, 219.
 Tyre, siege of, by Shalmaneser, ii. 350.
 —, —, by Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 351.
 Tyrians, camp of, ii. 324.

 U.
 Uchoreus, ii. 85.
 Unity of God, i. 367.
 Urim and Thummim, ii. 43 note.

 V.
 Vava, nation, ii. 188.
 Venus, Egyptian, i. 324.
 Viscera, the, considered as the cause of sin, i. 409.
 —, their embalmment, i. 409.

 W.
 Wadi Magara, i. 54; ii. 118.
 Water, mode of raising, i. 160.
 Weeks, reckoning by, i. 283.
 Wells, Artesian, i. 61.
 Winckelmann, his opinions of Egyptian art, i. 223 note.
 Wine, its growth in Egypt, i. 161.
 Women, their condition in Egypt, ii. 46.
 —, whether admitted to the priesthood, i. 379; ii. 30.
 —, never appear reading or writing, i. 239.
 Wood, semicircle of, used to support the head, i. 199.
 Woods used in carpentry, i. 186.
 Wool, its use for garments, i. 164.
 Woollen wrappers of mummies, i. 110, 118, 413.
 Worship of animals among the African nations, ii. 9.
 Wounding the forehead in mourning, i. 390.

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